Mr. NEAL's HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS,

OR

Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

BY

JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.





R.t Newman Sculp.t

REVD JOHN DOD.

Died 1645. Aged 95.

10 D 1

THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS,

OR,

Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,

FROM THE

BATTLE OF EDGE-HILL, TO THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES I.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

Their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their principal Divines.

VOLUME III.

WITH

A SUPPLEMENT.

By DANIEL NEAL, *M. A.*

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

By JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Author.

BUT IF YE BITE AND DEVOUR ONE ANOTHER, TAKE HEED YE BE NOT CONSUMED ONE OF ANOTHER. GAL. V. 15.

BATH, PRINTED BY R. CRUTTWELL;

AND SOLD BY

C. DILLY, POULTRY; AND J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON; AND J. LLOYD, BRISTOL.

M DCC XCV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

37.
9. 22.
25.

THE

EDITOR's ADVERTISEMENT.

FROM the two volumes of this edition of Mr. *Neal*'s Hiſtory of the Puritans, which are already before the publick, it ſufficiently appears in what manner it hath been conducted, ſo as to preclude any further explanation of the Editor's deſign and method. This volume will ſhew, that he has continued to examine the ſtrictures of Biſhop *Warburton* and Dr. *Grey*. He is not conſcious of having been backward to meet the ſevereſt animadverſions of thoſe writers. The reader will judge with what care he has inveſtigated, and with what ſucceſs he has attempted to obviate, their objections.

The chief thing, which the Editor has now to obſerve is, that in this volume he has purſued the Hiſtory of ſome Sectaries, who ſprang up among the *Puritans*, more fully than in the preceding ones; particularly that of the Engliſh *Baptiſts*; whoſe hiſtory has been written by Mr. *Croſby*, in four volumes, octavo; a performance which is ſcarce; and, though not judiciouſly compoſed, it contains materials which, it is hoped, will form an acceptable addition to Mr. *Neal*'s work, and render this edition of it more complete and valuable: as it will contain an abſtract and the ſubſtance of the former to the period of time with which the latter concludes.

Taunton, 11*th February*, 1795.

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

From the Battle of EDGE-HILL to the Calling of the ASSEMBLY of DIVINES at WESTMINSTER.

THE king purſues his march to London. Motives of it. Remarks. Encouraging proſpect of the king's affairs. Ordinance of the parliament exhorting to repentance. Treaty of Oxford. The parliament's propoſitions. Bill againſt innovations: for puniſhing ſcandalous clergy: againſt pluralities and non-reſidence. The king's propoſals. Death and character of Dr. *Criſp*. Lord *Brooke*'s death. *Tomkins*'s plot. A new oath or covenant. Proclamation againſt the city of London. The people reduced to great hardſhips. Succeſs of the king's affairs. Sufferings of the puritan clergy, and of the epiſcopal. Committees for religion: for ſcandalous miniſters. Caſes of the Rev. Mr. *Symonds*, Rev. Mr. *Squire*, and Rev. Mr. *Finch*. Committee for plundered miniſters: their proceedings cenſured. Country committees: their inſtructions. Quality of the perſons ejected; ſequeſtration of their eſtates: a further explanation of it. Abjuration oath. The effects of this ordinance. The king makes repriſals. Vacant benefices filled up. Strict obſervation of the ſabbath. Manner of keeping the monthly faſt. Occaſional faſts. The king diſſolves the parliament faſt, and appoints another. Removal of monuments of ſuperſtition: ordinance for that purpoſe: manner of the execution of it. Orders for reſtraining the preſs.

CHAPTER II.

From the calling the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter to the Oxford Parliament.

Ordinance for calling an aſſembly of divines. Names of the lay-aſſeſſors, of the divines. Reaſons of the epiſcopal divines againſt the aſſembly; character of it; it opens: rules agreed to by it. Regulations ſent them by the parliament. Aſſembly's petition for a faſt. Alterations in the thirty-nine articles. Cenſures of antinomianiſm. Parliament and aſſembly apply to the Scots. Reaſons of the general aſſembly of Scotland for aſſiſting the Engliſh parliament. Committee appointed to frame a ſolemn league and covenant. Mr. *Marſhall*'s and *Nye*'s letter to the aſſembly at Weſtminſter. Debates upon it. The ſolemn league and covenant. Manner of taking it. An exhortation to taking the ſolemn league and covenant: anſwered. Inſtruc-

tions for taking the covenant in the country. The influence it had on the clergy. The king brings over forces from Ireland. Ill conſequences of it. The king's proteſtation. Aſſembly's letter to the foreign churches. The king's reply. Remarks. Diſcipline of the church diſſolved. Parliament nominates men to livings. Committee to examine clergymen. Their method of examination. Death of Mr. *Chillingworth*. Character of Mr. *Hampden* and of Mr. *Pym*.

CHAPTER III.

The Oxford Parliament. Progreſs of the War. Viſitation of the Univerſity of Cambridge by the Earl of *Manchester*. Committee for plundered, ſequeſtered, and ſcandalous Miniſters.

The Oxford Parliament. The king's letter to the queen. Scots army enters England. Earl of *Eſſex* defeated in Cornwall. Riſe of the clubmen. Character of the king's officers, and ſoldiers. Fight of Newbury. Character of the parliament army. State of affairs at the end of the year. Affairs of the church. Behaviour of the univerſity of Cambridge. Cambridge viſitation. Ordinance for the committee of ſequeſtration. Character of the earl of *Mancheſter*. Manner of his proceeding. Covenant not tendered to the whole univerſity. Numbers ejected. Reaſonableneſs of it. Characters of the ejected profeſſors: and of their ſucceſſors. Remarks. Form of induction of the new maſter; the oath: and of the fellows. Committee for ſcandalous miniſters. Earl of *Mancheſter*'s warrant empowering them to act: inſtructions to them. The earl's letter. Their method of proceeding. Remarks. Numbers ejected: compared with the ejected miniſters in 1662. The fifths. The hardſhips on both ſides.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the ſeveral Parties in the Aſſembly of Divines. Preſbyterians, Eraſtians, Independants. Their Proceedings about Ordination, and the Directory for Divine Worſhip. The Riſe, Progreſs, and Sufferings of the Engliſh Anabaptiſts.

Parties in the aſſembly of divines. Of the Preſbyterians; the Eraſtians; the Independants. Remarks. Vindication of the Independants. Of the Anabaptiſts. Proceedings of the aſſembly. Order to confer about diſcipline. Of ordination. Advice of the aſſembly. Directory for publick worſhip. Preface to it. Variations in it from the common-prayer. The ſucceſs of it. Ordinance for enforcing the uſe of the directory. Remarks. King forbids the uſe of it. Riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh anabaptiſts. Their confeſſion of faith: their character and ſufferings. Mr. *Clarkſon*'s recantation. Remarks.

The

The *Palatinate* family favourites of the puritans. State of religion. Ordinance for better obſervation of the Lord's day: for laying aſide the obſervation of Chriſtmas. Remarks. The death of biſhop *Weſtfield*, and of Dr. *Downing*.

CHAPTER V.

Abſtract of the Trial of Archbiſhop *Laud*; and of the Treaty of Uxbridge.

Trial of Archbiſhop *Laud*. Articles of impeachment. Archbiſhop's anſwer. Order and method of the trial. Summary of the charge. Serj. *Wild* opens the impeachment. The archbiſhop's ſpeech. Firſt branch of the charge for ſubverting the rights of parliament. Manager's charge. Archbiſhop's reply. Arbitrary ſpeeches made for the king by the archbiſhop. King's ſpeech March 29 and May 11, 1620, and March 27, 1629. Archbiſhop's reply. Arbitrary ſpeeches of the archbiſhop himſelf. Archbiſhop's reply. Parliament's power in matters of religion. Archbiſhop's reply. Of the king's prerogative, and canons of the church. Archbiſhop's reply. Second charge: attempt to ſet aſide the laws: of ſhip-money, tonnage, and poundage. Archbiſhop's reply. Depopulations and pulling down houſes. Archbiſhop's reply. Illegal commitments and prohibitions in the ſpiritual courts. Archbiſhop's reply. Bribery objected to the archbiſhop. His reply. Commutation of penance. Alterations in the coronation oath. Archbiſhop's reply. Attempt to ſet up an independent power in the clergy. Archbiſhop's reply. Sitting of the convocation after the parliament. Archbiſhop's reply. Remarks. Third general charge: ſubverting religion. Paintings, and images, and crucifixes. Archbiſhop's anſwer. Managers' reply to the antiquity of images in churches. Conſecration of churches and altars, and feaſts of dedication. Archbiſhop's anſwer on conſecrating churches: on feaſts of dedication: on conſecrating altars and their furniture. Managers' reply on the antiquity of conſecrating churches: on conſecrating altars and their furniture: on the antiquity of feaſts of dedication. Antiquity of altars, their ſituation, and railing them in. Archbiſhop's anſwer. Managers' reply on the antiquity of altars and railing them in: on their ſituation: altars not anciently fixed to the eaſt wall of the chancel: on their furniture. Antiquity of bowing towards the altar. Archbiſhop's anſwer. Bowing at the name of Jeſus. Of copes. Managers' reply on bowing to the altar: on the *Gloria Patri*, and bowing at the name of Jeſus. On reading the ſecond ſervice: on copes: and the univerſity ſtatutes. Book of ſports. Archbiſhop's anſwer. Managers' reply. Remarks. Doctrinal errors. Arminianiſm. Archbiſhop's anſwer. Managers' reply. Preaching on the five points. Abuſe of the preſs by prohibiting books: by caſtrating them: by licenſing popiſh books, and conniving at their importation. Archbiſhop's

biſhop's anſwer. Managers' reply. Proſecuting puritans. Archbiſhop's anſwer. Managers' reply. Reconciling the church of England with Rome, and aſſuming papal titles, and diſcouraging foreign proteſtants. Archbiſhop's anſwer: on his aſſuming papal titles: on the church of Rome being a true church: on unchurching foreign proteſtants: on correſponding with popiſh prieſts. Managers' reply. On his aſſuming papal titles and honours: on his forbidding to pray for the queen's converſion: on the church of Rome no true church: on his reconciling the church of England to Rome: on his unchurching foreign proteſtants: on his countenancing popiſh prieſts: and diſcountenancing their proſecutors: on his concealing *Habernfield*'s plot. The managers' concluſion. The archbiſhop's ſpeech at the cloſe of the trial. Points of law debated. Mr. *Hearn*'s argument. Cenſures of the archbiſhop's behaviour. His character of the witneſſes. His cenſure of the managers. Petitions for juſtice againſt him. Condemned by bill of attainder. His laſt ſpeech and prayer. His character. Treaty of Uxbridge. The king's cabinet opened. The commiſſioners. The treaty begins. Mr. *Love*'s ſermon. Of the militia: of Ireland: of religion. The king's inſtructions to his commiſſioners. Parliament's inſtructions. Mr. *Henderſon*'s ſpeech againſt biſhops. Dr. *Steward*'s reply. The king's conceſſions. Remarks. The parliament's reply. Remarks. The treaty breaks up. Reaſons of it. Remarks. Earl of *Glamorgan*'s treaty with the Iriſh. Death of Mr. *White*.

CHAPTER VI.

The Progreſs of the War. Debates in the Aſſembly about Ordination. The Power of the Keys. The Divine Right of Preſbyterian Government. Committees for Comprehenſion and Toleration of the Independants.

Earl of *Eſſex* removed, and the army new-modelled. Character of the generals. Riſe of enthuſiaſm in the army. Their ſtrict diſcipline. Progreſs of the king's forces. Battle at Naſeby. Parliament's care for a regular clergy. Directory for ordination of miniſters. Former ordinations invalid. Debates upon it with the independants. Power of ordination given to the aſſembly *pro tempore*. The divine right of preſbytery. Objections of the eraſtians: and of the independants. Preſbyterians' reply. Subordination of ſynods. Complaints of the independants. Conduct of the eraſtians. The clauſe of the divine right loſt in the houſe of commons. Several petitions of the parliament to admit it. Of the power of the keys in excommunication: opinion of the independants, of *Selden*, and of *Whitlocke*. The ordinance for ſuſpenſion and excommunication. Parliament's proviſo. Preſbyterians diſſatisfied. Ordinance for erecting preſbyteries. Remarks. Exceptions of the Scots to the new diſcipline.

cipline. Parliament's reply. Engliſh preſbyterians' petition againſt the ordinance. They are threatened with a præmunire. Queſtions ſent to the aſſembly relating to the jus divinum. Remarks. They are terrified, and appoint a faſt. Committee of accommodation. The committees revived. Propoſals of the independants. Reply of the preſbyterians. Anſwer of the independants. The preſbyterians' reply. Anſwer of the independants. Concluſion of the preſbyterians. Remarks. Debates about toleration and liberty of conſcience. Scots declaration againſt toleration. Independants for a limited toleration. Anſwer to the reaſons of the London clergy. The king foments their diviſions. Cenſures of *Paul Beſt*. Ordinance to ſeize the revenues of cathedrals. Revenues of the univerſity of Cambridge preſerved. Death of Dr. *Featly:* of Mr. *Dod*.

CHAPTER VII.

The Concluſion of the firſt Civil War, by the King's ſurrendering his Royal Perſon to the Scots. Petitions of the Aſſembly and City Divines againſt Toleration, and for the Divine Right of the Preſbyterial Government, which is erected in London. Debates between the King, Mr. *Henderſon*, and the Scots Commiſſioners. His Majeſty is removed from Newcaſtle to Holmby-houſe.—Further account of the Sectaries.

The king's melancholy condition at Oxford: ſurrenders his perſon to the Scots. Concluſion of the firſt civil war. Articles of peace with the Iriſh papiſts. Parliament's commiſſioners proteſt againſt it. Preſbyterians petition againſt ſectaries: and are ſeconded by the Scots. Parliament's anſwer. Independants oppoſe it. Aſſembly's ſentiments of the jus divinum. Sentiments of the London Miniſters. Their paper of conſiderations and cautions. Claſſical diviſion of the province of London. Remarks. Scots behaviour to the king at Newcaſtle. Conference between the king and Mr. *Henderſon*. The king's firſt paper. Mr. *Henderſon*'s firſt reply. King's ſecond paper. Mr. *Henderſon*'s ſecond reply. King's third paper. Mr. *Henderſon*'s third reply. King's laſt papers. Remarks. Mr. *Henderſon*'s pretended recantation: the falſeneſs of it. Parliament's propoſitions to the king at Newcaſtle. Great interceſſion is made with the king to comply: but he refuſes. His conference with the Scots commiſſioners. Scots kirk will not truſt the king. Their ſolemn warning and declaration. Proceedings of the Scots parliament relating to the king. They deliver him up, and publiſh their reaſons. Engliſh commiſſioners receive the king, and convey him to Holmby. Remarks. The king at Holmby-houſe. Ordinance for aboliſhing archbiſhops and biſhops: and for ſale of their lands. Preſbyterians petition

petition againſt the ſectaries. Proceedings of parliament upon it. Further account of the ſectaries. *Edwards*'s *Grangræna*. Mr. *Baxter*'s account of them: lord *Clarendon*'s. Biſhop *Bramhall*, of the papiſts. Death of the earl of *Eſſex*: of Mr. *Colman*: of Dr. *Twiſſe*: and Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Proceedings of the Aſſembly upon their Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſms. Provincial Aſſemblies of London. The King taken out of the Parliament's cuſtody and conveyed to the Army. His Majeſty's conduct. He eſcapes from Hampton-Court, and is confined in the Iſle of Wight.

Proceedings of the aſſembly upon their confeſſion of faith. They preſent it to the parliament. Debates of the commons upon it. Articles of diſcipline rejected: but the whole received by the Scots aſſembly and parliament. Cenſures of it. Aſſembly's larger and ſhorter catechiſms. Scots commiſſioners take leave of the aſſembly. They appoint a faſt for the diſtractions of England. Firſt provincial aſſembly. The ſecond. Their petition to parliament. London miniſters teſtimony to truth and againſt error. Dr. *Hammond*'s vindication: and Mr. *John Goodwin*'s: his reply to the Rev. Mr. *Jenkins*. Views of the different parties concerned in the war: of the king: of the parliament and preſbyterians: of the army and independants. Controverſy between the parliament and army. Council of the officers and agitators. The king's anſwer to the propoſitions at Newcaſtle: ſeized and carried to the army: which ſtrikes the two houſes with ſurprize. Declaration of the army. The preſbyterians in parliament reſolve to oppoſe the army. Eleven of their members impeached. Commotions in the city. Tumults in the parliament-houſe: which occaſion ſeveral of the members to retire to the army. Proceedings of the remainder. Army reſolves to march to London. City ſubmits. Preſbyterian miniſters' vindication of themſelves. Remarks. Mr. *Baxter*'s opinion. The king's motions with the army. *Cromwell*'s and *Ireton*'s conference with the king. His majeſty's miſtaken conduct: which proves his ruin. Reaſons of the army's deſerting the king. The king eſcapes from Hampton-Court: and is confined in the iſle of Wight. Propoſals of the army. Agreement of the lords: and of the commons. Propoſals of the preſbyterians. Motive of the king's eſcape from Hampton-Court. Private treaty with the Scots. The king's conceſſions from the iſle of Wight. Remarks. The army unite with the parliament. Votes of non-addreſſes. Parliament's remonſtrance. Ordinance for aboliſhing the obſervation of Chriſtmas and other ſaints' days. Time allotted for ſervants' recreation. The king diſapproves of it. It occaſions tumults. The king's clergy petition to be reſtored to their livings. *Fairfax*'s anſwer. Counter-petition of the preſbyterians. Ordinance in their favour.

CHAPTER IX.

The Viſitation of the Univerſity of Oxford. State of Religion at the end of the year.

Condition of the univerſity of Oxford. Parliament ſends miniſters to reform it. Their conduct and ſucceſs. Parliament reſolves on a viſitation. Ordinance for that purpoſe. Abſtract of the univerſity's reaſons againſt the covenant. Exceptions againſt the preface: againſt the covenant in general: againſt the firſt article: againſt the ſecond: againſt the third: againſt the fourth: againſt the fifth: againſt the ſixth: the concluſion. Contradictions in the covenant: doubtful expreſſions in it: abſurdities. Salvoes for taking it. Objections to the negative oath and directory. Remarks. Viſitation opened. The univerſity uſes the viſitors ill, and will not ſubmit. Parliament reſolve to ſupport their viſitors. Their viſitation revived. The univerſity will not ſubmit. They are heard by their council: but are caſt. Their ſtubborn behaviour. Earl of *Pembroke*, chancellor, viſits in perſon. His proceedings: reports the behaviour of the univerſity to the parliament. Numbers ejected. Inſolence of the ſcholars. The garriſon ſearches the colleges for arms. Scholars expelled. Heads of the colleges that ſubmitted and kept their places: their characters. Characters of the profeſſors that ſubmitted. Heads of the colleges ejected: their characters. Profeſſors ejected. New heads of colleges that ſucceeded. New profeſſors. Their behaviour. Remarks. Vacancies in the univerſity filled up. Cauſes of the increaſe of lay-preachers. Petition for unordained preachers. Stage-plays put down. State of religion. Death of Mr. *Herbert Palmer*, of Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, of Mr. *Saltmarſh*.

CHAPTER X.

The ſecond Civil War. The concluſion of the Aſſembly of Divines. The progreſs of Preſbytery. The Treaty of the Iſle of Wight. The Death and Character of King *Charles* I. His Works. And the Authors of his unhappy Sufferings.

The ſecond civil war. The Scots army enters England: and is defeated by *Cromwell*. Proceedings of the parliament; which is entirely preſbyterian. Remarks on the confuſion of the times. Concluſion of the aſſembly of divines. Their works. Their character. Proceedings of the third provincial aſſembly: of the fourth. Provincial aſſembly of Lancaſhire. Agreement of the people. Country aſſociations. Ordinance againſt blaſphemy and hereſy. Remarks. Ordinance for ſettling the preſbyterian diſcipline. Treaty of the Iſle of Wight. Parliament's propoſals, and the king's reply. His conceſſions on the article of religion. Conference between the king's and

and parliament's divines. The king's firſt paper to the parliament divines. Abſtract of their reply. The king's ſecond paper. Parliament divines' reply. The king's laſt paper. Remarks. Of the coronation oath. The king's final conceſſions. Arguments and motives of the parliament commiſſioners to gain the king's conſent. States of Scotland preſs the king's conſent. The king's ſpeech to the commiſſioners. Remarks. Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s ſentiments. Concluſion of the treaty. King's letter to the prince. Remarks. The caſe of the army. Their proceedings. Their remonſtrance. They ſeize the king's perſon a ſecond time. They march to London, and purge the parliament. Votes of the remainder of the houſe of commons. The army reſolves to try the king. Voice of the nation. Dr. *Gauden*'s and Dr. *Hammond*'s proteſtations: and the whole body of preſbyterian miniſters in London: their further vindication. Behaviour of the independants: and of the Scots. Proceedings of the army and parliament. The king's trial and execution. His character. His works. Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ a ſpurious performance. Books publiſhed for and againſt the king's death. Authors of the king's death. Of the king and his divines. Of the preſbyterians. Of the independants. Sentiments of Dr. *Du Moulin:* Mr. *Baxter:* Biſhop *Burnet:* of the papiſts: and of the convention parliament.

SUPPLEMENT.

The extent of Mr. *Neal*'s deſign. An apology for Mr. *Neal.* Complaints of the baptiſts and the quakers. Number and variety of hereſies in the reign of *Charles* I. Increaſe of the antitrinitarians. The caſe of *Thomas Webb:* of *Paul Beſt:* of *John Fry.* Intolerance of the times. The number of antitrinitarian aſſemblies and publications. The imprimatur of *John Bachiler.* A pamphlet entitled "Religious Peace." *Edwards*'s Gangræna. Engliſh baptiſts: their origin: the number of their congregations: their firſt ſeceſſion: the church of them at Shrewſbury: at Bickenhal: and at Cheſterton. Their increaſe impeded. Their revival. Their publications. Their confeſſion of faith. Two diviſions of them. Their opinions defended by Lord *Brooke*, Mr. *Daniel Rogers*, and biſhop *Taylor.* Severe ordinances and invectives directed againſt them. Their ſufferings: thoſe of Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, Mr. *Edward Barber*, Mr. *Cox*, Mr. *Henry Denne*, Mr. *Coppe*, Mr. *Lamb*, Mr. *Paul Hobſon*, Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, Mr. *John Sims*, Mr. *Andrew Wyke*, and Mr. *Samuel Oates.* The imprudence and impetuoſity of their zeal. The iniquity of perſecution, but one good effect of it. The writings of the baptiſts in favour of toleration. Diſtinguiſhed preachers among them: Mr. *Helwiſe*, Mr. *John Morton.* Mr. *Neal*'s repreſentation of the baptiſts cenſured by Mr. *Croſby.* Origin of the quakers. A ſtricture on Mr. *Neal*'s account of it.

THE

THE

CONTENTS OF THE NOTES.

PAGE 2. The ſincerity of the parliament in their petition for peace; the charge of treachery in the king confirmed; and Mr. *Neal* vindicated againſt Dr. *Grey*. p. 3. Who of the Brentford priſoners were condemned to die, aſcertained. Dr. *Downing* and Mr. *Marſhall* defended againſt a charge of Dr. *Grey*. p. 4, 5. Mr. *Neal*'s charge of the king's want of faith ſupported. A ſtricture of Dr. *Grey* conſidered. The king's violation of his word. p. 7. Mr. *Neal*'s veracity defended. p 8. The policy and deſign of the ceſſation of arms granted to the Iriſh. p. 9. The nature of the king's propoſals for the eaſe of tender conſciences. p. 14. The preamble of the king's reply to the propoſitions from the parliament. p. 16. The king's civility to the commiſſioners of the parliament. p. 20. The different conſtructions put on the death of lord *Brooke*. p. 22. A reference. p. 40. The length of the religious ſervices of the parliament party. A propoſal for a round-head's feaſt. p. 42. The banter caſt on the zeal with which croſſes were pulled down. p. 45. References from Dr. *Grey*.

CHAPTER II.

Page 47. The conſtitution of the Weſtminſter aſſembly. p. 54. A reference from Dr. *Grey*. p. 56. Dr. *Grey*'s cenſure of the Weſtminſter divines. p. 56, 57. *Selden*'s ſentiments concerning convocations. p. 61. An error corrected. p. 62. A ground of the king's reſentment. p. 64. Biſhop *Burnet*'s reflection on the unanimity and ſpeed with which the aſſembly adopted the propoſed ſolemn league and covenant. p. 72. Biſhop *Warburton* animadverted on. p. 77. The charges of cruelty brought by Dr. *Grey* againſt the Engliſh adherents to the parliament. p. 84. A remark adopted from biſhop *Warburton*. p. 87. On the precedency granted to the Engliſh biſhop at the ſynod of Dort. p. 88. Mr. *Baxter*'s reflection on the impriſonment of Dr. *Featly*. p. 92. Dr. *Cheynel*'s treatment of *Chillingworth*: the ſpirit of his book againſt him. A counter-part to it in Dr. *Snape*'s writings. An excellent reflection of biſhop *Hoadley*. p. 93, 4. Particulars concerning Mr. *Hamden*. p. 94, 5. Mr. *Pym*'s character vindicated.

CHAPTER III.

Page 96. The parliament vindicated from the charge of high-treaſon. Its power to raiſe contributions. The king's impolicy in calling the Oxford parliament, and Mr. *Selden*'s repreſentation of it. p. 97. A date ſupplied. p. 98. Biſhop *Warburton*'s opinion of the king's views. p. 100. Mr. *Neal*'s account of prince *Rupert*'s cruelty ſupported by authorities. p. 101. Mr. *Neal*'s character of lieut.-general *Wilmot* vindicated, and an inſtance of the generoſity of the general conſidered. p. 103. The character of the parliament army. The ſame according to Dr. *Grey*. Mr. *Baxter*'s character of the ſame explained.

plained. p. 104. Dr. *Grey*'s misapplication of his authorities. p. 113. Anecdote of Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*. Dr. *Cudworth*'s intellectual system. Who was his daughter. p. 114. Character of Dr. *Whichcot*. Archbishop *Laud*'s friendship to Mr. *Palmer*. p. 115. Character of Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*.

CHAPTER IV.

Page 129. The name, Puritan, lost in other distinctions. p. 138. Bishop *Hall*'s complaint of being restrained in his power of ordination, and Dr. *Grey*'s conclusion from it. p. 143. The Westminster assembly set aside dipping, and declare sprinkling sufficient in the administration of baptism. p. 149. Mr. *Baxter*'s character of the baptists. p. 151. A reflection on recantations. Mr. *Clarkson*'s case. p. 153. The elector *Palatine*'s views. On his pension. p. 154. High repute of the covenant. p. 156. Observation of Christmas appointed.

CHAPTER V.

Page 163. Dr. *Grey*'s vindication of archbishop *Laud*'s speech. p. 171. A charge against Mr. *Neal*. p. 181. Archbishop *Laud*'s explanation of a passage from the psalms, used at the consecration of Creed-Church. p. 190. Mrs. *Macaulay*'s remark on the ceremonies and measures adopted by archbishop *Laud*. p. 192. Dr. *Grey*'s opinion of the authority of the canons, when licensed by the king. p. 194. Mrs. *Macaulay*'s reflections on the manner in which the reformation was conducted. p. 196. On the connection between arminianism and despotism. p. 207. Reflections on *Laud*'s disavowal of popery. p. 214. The length and expences of *Laud*'s trial. p. 217. The defect of the law in not providing for the punishment of attempting to introduce a despotick government. p. 218. The frivolousness of *Laud*'s plea from the concurrence of others in his measures. p. 219. *Laud*'s charge against *Prynne* of instructing witnesses. p. 220, 21. The conduct of the council against *Laud*. The character of serjeant *Wild*, and the charges against him examined. p. 222. On *Prynne*'s management of the trial of *Laud*. p. 223. Dr. *Grey*'s remark on the bill of attainder against *Laud*. The severity of the parliament to the archbishop. p. 224. Mrs. *Macaulay*'s remarks on his last speech. p. 226. The same on his being executed. p. 227. On the archbishop's learning. His munificent acts. p. 228. His superstition, and the publication of his Diary. p. 229. Mrs. *Macaulay*'s delineation of his character. p. 230. The reception which the king gave to the commissioners. p. 231. Mr. *Neal* vindicated, and the subterfuges of the king. The same, and the proceedings against Mr. *Love*. p. 234. A quotation from *Rapin* explained. p. 235. Reply to a stricture of bishop *Warburton*; and his defence of the king. p. 239. The inaccuracy of a reference. Earl of *Pembroke*'s judgment on episcopacy and presbyterianism. p. 240. A mistake concerning the design of *Hooker*'s ecclesiastical polity. p. 244. A reference to Dr. *Grey*. p. 244, 5.

244, 5. Mr. *Neal*'s veracity vindicated. The earl of *Southampton* rides poſt to the king. The Marquis of *Montroſe*'s letters. p. 246. The queen's influence over the king. p. 247, 8. On the earl of *Glamorgan*'s commiſſion to the Iriſh rebels. p. 249. *White*'s character defended.

CHAPTER VI.

Page 251. Remarks on the ſelf-denying ordinance, and the power given to ſir *Thomas Fairfax*. p. 256, 7. One inſtance of liberality in the aſſembly at Weſtminſter. p. 264. On the inſolence of majorities. p. 287. Toleration oppoſed by the preſbyterians. p. 293, 4. Dr. *Featley*'s ſpirit in his work againſt the baptiſts, and his diſputation with his fellow-priſoner, Mr. *Denne*. p. 296. An inſtance of the happy influence of Dod's ſayings.

CHAPTER VII.

Page 299. The agreement the Scots made with the king. p. 300. The king's letter to the Iriſh papiſts June 11. The articles of the treaty with them, their number, and tenor. p. 301. The ninth article. The remonſtrance of the clergy on theſe articles. p. 302. The truth of Mr. *Neal*'s aſſertion, that the king refuſed to deliver up the Iriſh forts, diſcuſſed. p. 303. The intolerance of preſbyterianiſm. p. 310. The boldneſs of a Scotch miniſter preaching before the king at Newcaſtle. p. 311. The abilities diſplayed by the king in his controverſy with *Henderſon*. p. 320. The ſame, and Dr. *Harris*'s reflection on the ſubject. p. 321. The cauſe of *Henderſon*'s death. p. 323. *Henderſon*'s character of *Charles* I. proved a forgery. p. 324. The importance of it, if genuine. p. 327. The humble and earneſt ſolicitations of the commiſſioners. p. 328. Mr. *Neal*'s omiſſion, and Dr. *Grey*'s fears. p. 329. A reference to Dr. *Grey*. p. 333. The tranquillity of the king's temper. p. 334. The queſtion, whether the Scots ſold the king, conſidered. From whom the money paid to the Scots was borrowed. p. 335. The infelicities of the king's ſituation at Holmby-houſe. p. 340. Some account of Mr. *Thomas Edwards*. p. 348. Anecdotes concerning Dr. *Twiſſe* and Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Page. 351. The number of copies of the aſſembly's confeſſion printed. p. 353. The remark of Mr. *Robinſon* on the directory's inſtructions to preachers. p. 353. The plan of Scots preſbyterianiſm. p. 360. The intolerant principle of the aſſembly's catechiſm. p. 361. One inſtance of the liberality of the Weſtminſter aſſembly, in not requiring ſubſcription to their confeſſion, and negativing the motion for ſubſcription to the ſhorter catechiſm. p. 373. The cauſes of the ſeceſſion of the members of both houſes. p. 375. The Weſtminſter aſſembly's petition for peace. p. 377, 8. A remark of biſhop *Warburton* on the intolerance of preſbyterians. The liberality of modern preſbyterian

preſbyterian eſtabliſhments inimical to liberty. p. 378. A reference to Dr. *Grey*. p. 396. A reference to Dr. *Grey*.

CHAPTER IX.

Page 399. The names of thoſe who drew up a paper of reaſons againſt the covenant. p. 416. Anecdotes of Dr. *Morley* and a generous reply of his. p. 423. An anecdote of Dr. *Pocock*. p. 425. Charitable and munificent acts of Dr. *Sheldon*. p. 426. An omiſſion in Mr. *Neal*. p. 427. Dr. *Sanderſon*'s modeſty and mode of lending money. p. 428. Mr. *Greaves* enquiries after antiquities. p. 429. Character of biſhop *Wilkins*, his inſtitutions, philoſophical chimæras and witty reply to the dutcheſs of *Newcaſtle*. p. 433. Dr. *Seth Ward*'s character, benefactions and endowments. p. 434. Dr. *John Wallis*'s inventions.

CHAPTER X.

Page 445. The reaſons of the execution of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*. The king's grief for the former. Biſhop *Burnet*'s vindication of the duke of *Hamilton*. p. 446. The number of the Scots' forces that entered England, July 8, 1648. p. 449. *Cromwell*'s victory, and the ſpirit of Dr. *Grey*'s remarks. p. 453. Biſhop *Warburton*'s queſtion anſwered. p. 455. A ſtricture on biſhop *Warburton*. p. 459. A fact ſtated by the biſhop, and *Cromwell*'s reply to the London miniſters. p. 458. The ordinance of the parliament againſt hereſy cenſured. Dr. *Diſney*'s reflection on the puniſhment it appointed. p. 460. The oppoſition to it. p. 462. Who were allowed to attend the king at Hampton court. p. 463. The attachment of the parliament to preſbyterianiſm. p. 464. The ſum granted to the king in lieu of the court of wards. His adherence to the delinquents. p. 475, 6. A reference to Dr. Grey. p. 479, 80. Mr. *Neal*'s reaſons for the unſucceſsfulneſs of the treaty at Newport defended againſt Dr. *Grey*'s remarks; and his reflection on the king's inſincerity and dilatorineſs ſupported. p. 485. Mr. *Neal*'s character of the officers of the army explained. p. 486. *Ludlow*'s ſtate of the queſtion in diſpute between the king and the parliament. p. 488. The number of repreſentatives propoſed in a paper called "The Agreement of the People." The vote of the 5th of December reverſed. p. 489. The proteſt of the ſecluded members. p. 497. The king tries his fortune by the Sortes Virgilianæ. p. 498. The king's inſincerity in the treaty at Newport. Some remarkable circumſtances, which attended the execution of the king. p. 499. Biſhop *Warburton*'s remark on the anniverſary ſermons of 30th of January. p. 500. A conceſſion of biſhop *Warburton* concerning the king's breaches of faith. p. 501. The great ſale of the Eikon Baſilikè, and the effects it produced. p. 503. Biſhop *Warburton*'s ſentiments on its authenticity. p. 505. Biſhop *Warburton*'s deſcription of the operations of the army. p. 507. Biſhop *Warburton*'s conſtruction of the conduct of the preſbyterians with reſpect to the death of the king. p. 509. Biſhop *Warburton*'s opinion, who had the greateſt hand in it.

THE SUPPLEMENT.

Page 521. Republication of biſhop *Taylor*'s defence of the baptiſts. p. 527. A letter of Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*. p. 529. Some account of the church in Deadman's-place; and of its miniſters, Mr. *Hubbard* and Mr. *Stephen Moore*.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

From the Battle of Edge-Hill *to the Calling the* Aſſembly of Divines *at* Weſtminſter.

THE king having recruited his army at Oxford, after the battle of Edge-Hill, by the aſſiſtance of the univerſity, who now gave his majeſty all their money, as they had before done their plate, reſolved to purſue his march to London, in order to break up the parliament, and ſurprize the city; while the earl of *Eſſex*, imagining the campaign was ended, lay quiet about Warwick, till being informed of the king's deſigns, he poſted to London, and ordered his forces to follow with all expedition. The earl arrived Nov. 7, 1642, and was honourably received by both houſes of parliament, who preſented him with a gratuity of five thouſand pounds, and to ſtrengthen his army paſſed an ordinance, that ſuch apprentices as would liſt in their ſervice ſhould be entitled to a freedom of the city at the expiration of their apprenticeſhip, equally with thoſe who continued with their maſters. In the beginning of November, the king took poſſeſſion of Reading without the leaſt reſiſtance, the parliament garriſon having abandoned it, which alarmed both

houſes, and made them ſend an expreſs to deſire a ſafe conduct for a committee of lords and commons, to attend his majeſty with a petition for peace;* the committee waited on his majeſty at Colnbrook, fifteen miles from London, and having received a favourable anſwer,§ reported it to the two houſes, who immediately gave orders to forbear all acts of hoſtility, and ſent a meſſenger to the king, to deſire the like forbearance on his part; but the committee had no ſooner left Colnbrook, than his majeſty, taking the advantage of a thick miſt, advanced to Brentford about ſeven miles from London,† which he attacked with his whole army, Nov. 13, and after a fierce and bloody rencounter with the parliament garriſon, wherein conſiderable numbers were driven into the Thames and ſlain, he got poſſeſſion of the town, and took a great many priſoners. The conſternation of the citizens

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 58.

§ "He ſeemed to receive the petition with great willingneſs; and called "God to witneſs, in many proteſtations, that he was tenderly compaſ-"ſionate of his bleeding people, and more deſirous of nothing than a ſpeedy "peace." May's Parliamentary Hiſtory, b. iii. p. 33.—The immediate ſubſequent conduct of the king was, certainly, not conſiſtent with ſuch profeſſions: yet Dr. *Grey* is diſpleaſed with Mr. *Neal*, for inſinuating that it was a breach of promiſe, and accuſes him of not giving the faireſt account of this action, which he ſays, the king ſufficiently juſtified. But, when the doctor paſſed this cenſure, it ſeems that he had not looked forward to the next paragraph, where the motives of the king's behaviour are ſtated. The committee, deputed by the parliament to Colnbrook, conſiſted of the earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Pierpont*, ſir *John Ipſley*, and ſir *John Evelyn:* when the king refuſed to admit the laſt gentleman, becauſe he had named him a traitor the day before, the parliament, though extremely diſpleaſed with the exception, ſo as to vote it a breach of privilege, yet, from their ardent deſire of accommodation, permitted the petition to be preſented without ſir *John Evelyn*. May, b. iii. p. 32.—This yielding conduct leaves the king more inexcuſeable, as it ſerves to ſhew the ſincerity of the parliament in *their* overtures; and lord *Clarendon* ſays, that it was believed by many, that had the king retired to Reading, and waited there for the anſwer of the parliament, they would have immediately withdrawn their garriſon from Windſor, and delivered that caſtle to his majeſty for his accommodation to have carried on the treaty he had propoſed. Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 73.—The motives, on which the king acted, in the action at Brentford, which Mr. *Neal* has compreſſed into one paragraph, Dr. *Grey*, by large quotations on different authorities, has extended thro' four pages, which affords a parade of confuting Mr. *Neal*. Ed.

† Whitlocke, p. 62.

on

on this occaſion was inexpreſſible, imagining the king would be the next morning at their gates; upon which the lord-mayor ordered the trained bands immediately to join the earl of *Eſſex*'s forces, which were juſt arrived at Turnham-Green, under the command of major-general *Skippon*; and there being no further thoughts of peace, every one ſpirited up his neighbour, and all reſolved as one man to live and die together. Major *Skippon* went from regiment to regiment, and encouraged his troops with ſuch ſhort ſoldier-like ſpeeches as theſe; *Come, my boys! my brave boys! I will run the ſame hazards with you; remember the cauſe is for God and the defence of yourſelves, your wives and children. Come, my honeſt brave boys! let us pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bleſs us.* When they were drawn up, they made a body of about twenty-four thouſand men eager for battle; but their orders were only to be on the defenſive, and prevent the king's breaking through to the city. The two armies having faced each other all day, his majeſty retreated in the night to Kingſton, and from thence to Reading, where having left a garriſon, he returned to Oxford about the beginning of December with his Brentford priſoners, the chief of whom were condemned to die,‖ and had been executed for high treaſon, if the two houſes had not threatened to make repriſals.‡ The parliament, to prevent

‖ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 93.

‖ The perſons named by *Ruſhworth*, whom Mr. *Neal* quotes, were *Cliſton Cateſby*, *John Lilburne*, and *Robert Vivers*. Dr. *Grey* ſays, that "it does not appear that theſe three were taken priſoners at Brentford." He ſhould have added from *this* place in *Ruſhworth*, to which the reference is here made. For, in p. 83, *Ruſhworth* informs his readers with reſpect to *Lilburne* in particular, that *he* owned that *he* was at Brentford: and by the others being included in the ſame ſentence, it is probable, that they were involved in the ſame charge of acting againſt the king at Brentford.

‡ On the authority of lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Eachard*, Dr. *Grey* charges the chaplains of the parliament army, Dr. *Downing* and Mr. *Marſhall*, with publickly avowing, "that the ſoldiers lately taken at Brentford, and diſcharged by the king upon their oaths that *they would never again bear arms againſt him*, were not obliged by that oath," and with abſolving them from it. The doctor is alſo diſpleaſed with Mr. *Oldmixon* for treating this account as a falſhood. But he ſuppreſſes the grounds of Mr. *Oldmixon*'s cenſure of it, which are theſe; in the firſt place, that there was no occaſion to uſe theſe arts, when the priſoners amounted to but 150 men, which could

vent a like ſurprize of the city for the future, impowered the lord-mayor to cauſe lines of circumvallation to be drawn around it, and all the avenues fortified.

It was not without reaſon that the two houſes complained of the king's extraordinary conduct on this occaſion, which was owing to the violent counſels of prince *Rupert* and lord *Digby*, animated by ſome of his majeſty's friends in the city, who imagined, that if the royal army appeared in the neighbourhood of London, the parliament would accept of his majeſty's pardon and break up; or elſe the confuſions would be ſo great, that he might enter and carry all before him; but the project having failed, his majeſty endeavoured to excuſe it in the beſt manner he could: he alledged, that there being no ceſſation of arms agreed upon, he might juſtly take all advantages againſt his enemies. He inſiſted further upon his fears of being hemmed in by the parliament's forces about Colnbrook, to prevent which, it ſeems, he marched ſeven miles nearer the city. Lord *Clarendon* ſays,§ prince *Rupert* having advanced to Hounſlow without order, his majeſty at the deſire of the prince marched forward, to diſengage him from the danger of the forces quartered in that neighbourhood; which is ſo very improbable, that in the opinion of Mr. *Rapin*, it is needleſs to refute it.‖ Upon the whole, it is extremely probable, the king came from Oxford with a deſign of ſurpriſing the city of London before the earl of *Eſſex*'s army could arrive; but having miſſed his aim, he framed the beſt pretences to perſuade the people, that his marching to Brentford was only in his own defence.

Though his majeſty took all occaſions to make offers of peace to his parliament, in hopes the nation would compel them to an agreement, by leaving him in poſſeſſion of all his prerogatives, it is ſufficiently evident he had no intentions to yield any thing to obtain it,* for in his letter to duke *Hamilton*,

not be wanted when the city of London was pouring out recruits:—and then prieſtly abſolution was not the practice, nor the power of it the claim, of puritan divines. Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 59. Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 214. ED.

§ Hiſtory, p. 74. ‖ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 465, folio.

* Without controverting Mr. *Neal*'s authority, Dr. *Grey* calls this a bold aſſertion, and appeals to various meſſages for an accommodation, which the king

Hamilton, dated December 2, 1642, he ſays, "He had ſet "up his reſt upon the *juſtice of his cauſe*, being reſolved that "no extremity or misfortune ſhould make him yield, for "(ſays his majeſty) I will be either a glorious king or a "patient martyr; and as yet not being the firſt, nor at this "preſent apprehending the other, I think it no unfit time to "expreſs this my reſolution to you."* The juſtice of the cauſe upon which his majeſty had ſet up his reſt, was *his declaration and promiſe to govern for the future according to the laws of the land;* but the point was, to know whether this might be relied upon. The two houſes admitted the laws of the land to be the rule of government,† and that the executive power in time of peace was with the king;‡ but his majeſty had ſo often diſpenſed with the laws by the advice of a corrupt miniſtry, after repeated aſſurances to the contrary thereof, that they durſt not confide in his royal word, and inſiſted upon ſome additional ſecurity for themſelves, and for the conſtitution.‖ On the other hand, his majeſty

king ſent to the parliament. But of what avail, to prove a yielding and accommodating temper, are ſpeeches without actions; or ſoftening overtures, unleſs they be followed up by mild and pacific meaſures, adopted with ſincerity, and adhered to with firmneſs? Did Charles I. act with this conſiſtency? Let them who are acquainted with the hiſtory of his reign anſwer the queſtion. Even lord *Clarendon* owns his belief, that in matters of great moment, an opinion that the violence and force uſed in procuring bills rendered them abſolutely void, influenced the king to confirm them. Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 430.—What confidence could be placed in the profeſſions and ſincerity of a man who could be diſpleaſed with the earl of *Northumberland*, becauſe he would not perjure himſelf for lord lieutenant *Strafford?* "*Sydney*'s State Papers" quoted by Dr. *Harris*, "Life of Charles I." p. 79. who has fully ſtated the evidence of *Charles*'s diſſimulation and want of faith. See alſo "An "Eſſay towards a true idea of the character and reign of *Charles* I." p. 93, &c. ED.

* Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, b. iv. p. 203. † Rapin, vol. ii. p. 466.

‡ "Our laws have no where (that I know of) diſtinguiſhed," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "between times of peace or war, with regard to the king's *executive power.*" This is true; but it was the infelicity of the times, of which Mr. *Neal* writes, that there aroſe new queſtions out of the preſent emergency for which the ſtanding laws had made no proviſion; and difficulties to which they did not apply. ED.

‖ "Mr. *Neal*," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "has not produced one ſingle proof in "ſupport of this aſſertion, and I challenge him to inſtance in particulars." This may appear a bold challenge from a writer, who profeſſed to be con-

majeſty averred the conſtitution was in no danger from him, but from themſelves, who were acting every day in defiance of it. To which it was anſwered, that it was impoſſible the laws ſhould have their due courſe in time of war as in the height of peace, becauſe this muſt effectually tie up their hands. Neither party by *law* could raiſe money upon the ſubject, without each other's conſent; the king could not do it without conſent of parliament, nor the parliament without the royal aſſent, and yet both had practiſed it ſince the opening of the war. To have recourſe, therefore, to the laws of a well-ſettled government in times of general confuſion, was weak and impracticable. Beſides, his majeſty refuſed to give up any of his late miniſters to the juſtice of parliament; for in his letter to duke *Hamilton*, he ſays, that *his abandoning the earl of* Strafford *had gone ſo near him, that he was reſolved no conſideration ſhould make him do the like again.* Upon theſe reſolutions, he declined the mediation of the Scots commiſſioners, which gave the ſeveral parties engaged againſt him, a fair opportunity of uniting their intereſts with that nation.

This was a nice and curious affair; the friends of the parliament, who were agreed in the cauſe of civil liberty, were far from being of one mind in points of church diſcipline; the major part were for epiſcopacy, and deſired no more than to ſecure the conſtitution, and reform a few exorbitances of the biſhops; ſome were *Eraſtians*, and would be content with any form of government the magiſtrate ſhould appoint; the *real preſbyterians*, who were for an entire change of the hierarchy upon the foot of *divine right*, were as yet but few, and could carry nothing in the houſe; it was neceſſary therefore in treating with the Scots, who contended earneſtly for their kirk government, to deliver themſelves in ſuch general expreſſions, that each party might interpret them as they were inclined, or as ſhould be expedient. This contented the Scots for the preſent, and left

verſant in the hiſtory of thoſe times. But as the Doctor has thrown it out, we will produce an inſtance of the king's violation of his word. He gave his aſſent to the *Petition of Right*, a kind of ſecond MAGNA CHARTA: which he immediately violated, and continued to do for twelve years together. "Eſſay towards a True Idea" &c. p. 94. ED.

the

the parliament at full liberty, till they ſaw what terms they could make with the king. Nor could the *church-men* be diſſatisfied, becauſe they knew if they could put a period to the war without the Scots, the two houſes would not call in their aſſiſtance, much leſs ſubmit to a kirk diſcipline they had no manner of acquaintance with; and therefore lord *Clarendon* was of opinion,§ that even at the treaty of Uxbridge, if the parliament could have obtained an act of oblivion for what was paſt, and good ſecurity for the king's governing by law, the *affair of religion* might eaſily have been compromiſed; but it required all the prudence and ſagacity the two houſes were maſters of, to keep ſo many different intereſts in points of religion, united in one common cauſe of liberty and the conſtitution, at a time when great numbers of the king's friends in the very city of London, were forming conſpiracies to reſtore him without any terms at all.

The king's affairs had a promiſing aſpect this winter; his forces in the north under the earl of *Newcaſtle* were ſuperior to thoſe of lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*. In the weſtern and midland counties there were ſeveral ſieges and rencounters with various ſucceſs, but nothing deciſive. Divers counties entered into aſſociations for their mutual defence on both ſides.† The four northern counties, of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Durham, aſſociated for the king;* after which the two houſes encouraged the like in thoſe that owned their authority, and appointed generals to command their troops; the chief of which was the eaſtern aſſociation of Eſſex, Cambridgeſhire, the iſle of Ely, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of Norwich, whoſe militia were trained, and ready to march where neceſſity ſhould require within their ſeveral limits. In ſome parts

§ Dr. *Grey* aſks, "where does lord *Clarendon* diſcover this opinion? "As he" i. e. Mr. *Neal*, "is faulty even when he quotes his authorities, I "am unwilling to take his word, when he makes no reference at all." What will the reader think of the candour of this inſinuation, when he is told, that the paſſages to which Mr. *Neal* refers are to be found in p. 581 and 594 of the ſecond volume of lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory; and that they are expreſly quoted, and the references are pointed out, in Mr. *Neal*'s account of the treaty at Uxbridge? Ed.

† Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 66. * Ibid. p. 94.

of

of England the inhabitants reſolve to ſtand neuter, and not be concerned on either ſide; but the parliament condemned and diſannulled all ſuch agreements.

As the two houſes depended upon the aſſiſtance of the Scots, his majeſty had expectations of foreign aids from the queen, who had endeavoured, by the influence of her ſon-in-law the prince of *Orange*, to engage the ſtates of Holland in the king's intereſt, but they wiſely declared for a neutrality; however, they connived at her private negociations, and gave her a general paſſport, by virtue whereof ſhe tranſported a very large quantity of arms and ammunition to Burlington-Bay, and conveyed them to the king at York. His majeſty alſo, in order to bring over the Iriſh forces under the command of the duke of *Ormond*, conſented to a truce with the Iriſh rebels, [ſigned Sept. 15, 1643,] in which he allowed the *catholicks* to remain in poſſeſſion of what they had conquered ſince the rebellion, to the great grief of the proteſtants, who by this means were legally diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates: A moſt unpopular action, in favour of a people who, by their late maſſacre, were become the very reproach and infamy of human nature!* Thus the whole kingdom was marſhalled into parties, with their drawn ſwords eager to plunge them into each other's breaſts.§

The parliament's cauſe having a dark and threatening aſpect, the lords and commons were not forgetful to implore

* To wipe off the reflections which this tranſaction brings on the character of Charles I. Dr. *Grey* is large in producing authorities to ſhew, that the ſituation of the proteſtants and of the army, in Ireland, through the length of the war, and the failure of ſupplies from England, required a ceſſation of arms. But, if the reader would ſee a full inveſtigation of this buſineſs, he ſhould conſult Mrs. *Macaulay*'s Hiſtory, vol. iv. 8vo. p. 63—90. Two circumſtances will afford a clue into the policy and deſign of this truce. To prevent oppoſition to it in the Iriſh council, the members who were ſuſpected of an attachment to the parliament of England, were committed cloſe priſoners to the Caſtle. And the king derived from it, as the price of granting it, 38,000l. to aſſiſt him to carry on the war againſt his proteſtant ſubjects in England. I will only add, that the main point aimed at by the rebels, and which the king encouraged them to expect, was a new parliament; which, as the kingdom was circumſtanced, would have put the whole power of government into their hands.

Mrs. Macaulay, p. 845. Ed.

§ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 537, 538, 539, 548.

the

the divine bleſſing upon their counſels and arms; for which purpoſe they publiſhed an ordinance, Feb. 15, 1642-3, exhorting to the duty of *repentance*, as the only remedy to prevent publick calamities. It was drawn up by ſome of the puritan divines; and becauſe biſhop *Kennet* has branded it with the reproachful characters of *cant*, *broad hypocriſy*, and *a libel againſt the church*, I will tranſcribe the ſubſtance of it in their own words.

" That flouriſhing kingdoms have been ruined, by im-
" penitent going on in a courſe of ſin, the ſacred ſtory plainly
" tells us; and how near to ruin our ſinful nation now is,
" the preſent lamentable face of it does too plainly ſhew.
" And though we ſhould feel the heavy ſtrokes of God's
" judgments yet ſeven times more, it is our duty to accept
" the puniſhment of our iniquities, and to ſay, *Righteous art*
" *thou, O Lord, and juſt are thy judgments.* Yet, becauſe
" the Lord, who is juſt, is alſo merciful, and in his infinite
" mercy has left the excellent and ſucceſsful remedy of *re-*
" *pentance* to nations brought near to the gates of deſtruc-
" tion and deſpair, O! let not England be negligent in the
" application of it. Humble addreſſes of a penitent peo-
" ple to a merciful God have prevailed with him: They
" have prevailed for Nineveh when ſentence ſeemed to be
" gone out againſt her; and may alſo prevail for England.*

" It is therefore thought neceſſary, by the lords and
" commons in parliament aſſembled, that all his majeſty's
" ſubjects be ſtirred up to lay hold of this only and unfail-
" ing remedy of *repentance*, freely acknowledging, and
" heartily bewailing with deepeſt humiliation, both their
" own perſonal ſins, and thoſe of the nation; a confeſſion
" of national ſins being moſt agreeable to the national judg-
" ments under which the land groans, and moſt likely to be
" effectual for the removing of them.

" Among the national ſins are to be reckoned, *the con-*
" *tempt of God's ordinances, and of holineſs itſelf; groſs ig-*
" *norance, and unfruitfulneſs under the means of grace; mul-*
" *titudes of oaths, blaſphemies, profanation of the ſabbath by*
" *ſports and games; luxury, pride, prodigality in apparel, op-*
" *preſſion, fraud, violence, &c. a connivance, and almoſt a*

" *toleration*

" *toleration of the idolatry of popery, the maſſacre of Ireland,* " *and the bloodſhed of the martyrs in queen* Mary's *time,* " which, having been a national ſin, ſtill calls for a national " confeſſion.

" Now, that all the ſin and miſery of this polluted and " afflicted nation may be bitterly ſorrowed for, with ſuch " grief of heart, and preparedneſs for a thorough refor- " mation, as God may be pleaſed graciouſly to accept, it is " ordained that all preachers of God's word do earneſtly " inculcate theſe duties on their hearers, that at length we " may obtain a firm and happy peace, both with God and " man; that glory may dwell in our land; and the proſpe- " rity of the goſpel, with all the privileges accompanying " it, may crown this nation unto all ſucceeding ages."*

The reverend prelate abovementioned makes the follow- ing remark upon this ordinance. " When once the two " houſes could deſcend to have ſuch fulſome penitential " forms put upon them, to adopt, and to obtrude in their " name upon the nation, it was a ſure ſign, that all that " was ſound and decent in faith and worſhip was now to " be commanded into enthuſiaſm and endleſs ſchiſms." I leave the reader to examine, whether he can find any ground for ſo ſevere a cenſure.

Though the king had rejected the Scots mediation, and *ſet up his reſt upon the juſtice of his cauſe*, he was pleaſed before the beginning of the campaign to admit of a treaty with his two houſes, for which purpoſe he ſent a ſafe con- duct to ſix lords, and as many commoners, with their at- tendants, to repair to him at Oxford, who, being admitted to an audience in one of the colleges, produced the fol- lowing *propoſals*, which were read by the earl of *Northum- berland*:—

1. " That the armies may be diſbanded on both ſides, " and the king return to his parliament.

2. " That delinquents may ſubmit to a legal trial, and " judgment of parliament.

3. " That all papiſts be diſbanded and diſarmed.

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 141.

4. " That

4. "That his majeſty will pleaſe to give his conſent to "the five bills hereafter mentioned.

5. "That an oath may be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, "wherein the papiſts ſhall abjure and renounce the pope's "ſupremacy, tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, worſhipping the "conſecrated hoſt, crucifixes and images; and the refuſing "ſuch oath lawfully tendered ſhall be a ſufficient conviction "of recuſancy.——That your majeſty will graciouſly pleaſe "to conſent to a bill for the education of the children of "papiſts in the proteſtant religion.—And to another bill for "the better putting the laws in execution againſt them.

6. "That the earl of *Briſtol*, and lord *Herbert*, may be "removed from your majeſty's counſels, and from the court.

7. "That the militia may be ſettled in ſuch manner as "ſhall be agreed upon by both houſes.

8. "That the chief juſtices and judges of the ſeveral "courts of law may hold their places *quam diu ſe bene* "*geſſerint*.

9. "That ſuch perſons as have been put out of the com-"miſſions of the peace ſince April 1, 1642, may be re-"ſtored, and that thoſe whom the parliament ſhall except "againſt be removed.

10. "That your majeſty will pleaſe to paſs the bill now "preſented, to ſecure the privileges of parliament from the "ill conſequences of the late proceedings againſt the lord "*Kimbolton* and the five members.

11. "That an act may be paſſed for ſatisfying ſuch pub-"lick debts as the parliament has engaged the publick "faith for.

12. "That your majeſty will pleaſe to enter into alliances "with foreign proteſtant powers, for the defence of the "proteſtant religion, and recovering the *Palatinate*.

13. "That in the general pardon, all offences committed "before the 10th of Jan. 1641, which have been, or ſhall "be queſtioned in the houſe of commons before the 10th "of Jan. 1643, be excepted.——That all perſons concerned "in the Iriſh *rebellion* be excepted; as likewiſe *William* earl "of *Newcaſtle*, and *George* lord *Digby*.

14. "That ſuch members of parliament as have been "turned out of their places ſince the beginning of this par-

"liament

"liament may be reſtored, and may have ſome reparation, "upon the petition of both houſes."*

Theſe things being granted and performed, we ſhall be enabled (ſay they) to make it our hopeful endeavour, that your majeſty and your people may enjoy the bleſſings of peace, truth, and juſtice.——

The bills mentioned in the fourth propoſition were theſe:

The firſt is entitled, *an act for the ſuppreſſion of divers innovations in churches and chapels in and about the worſhip of God; and for the due obſervation of the Lord's day, and the better advancement of preaching God's holy word in all parts of this kingdom.*

It enacts, "That all altars and rails be taken away out of "churches and chapels before April 18, 1643, and that the "communion table be fixed in ſome convenient place in the "body of the church. That all tapers, candleſticks, ba- "ſons, crucifixes, croſſes, images, pictures of ſaints, and ſu- "perſtitious inſcriptions in churches, or church-yards, be "taken away or defaced.

"That all damages done to the churches, or windows of "churches, by the removal of any of the aforeſaid inno- "vations, be repaired by the proper officers of the pariſh "or chapel.

"This act is not to extend to any image, picture, or mo- "nument for the dead.

It enacts further, "That all bowing towards the altar, "or at the name of *Jeſus*, ſhall be forborne; and for the "better obſervation of the ſabbath, that all dancing, gam- "ing, ſports and paſtimes, ſhall be laid aſide. That every "miniſter that has cure of ſouls ſhall preach, or expound "the ſcriptures, or procure ſome other able divine to preach "to his congregation every Lord's day in the forenoon; and "it ſhall be lawful for the pariſhioners to provide for a "ſermon in the afternoon, and a lecture on the week-day, "where there is no other lecture, or preaching at the ſame "time; and if any perſon oppoſe or hinder them, he ſhall "forfeit forty ſhillings to the poor.†"

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 165, 166.

† Huſband's Collections, fol. 119.

The

The ſecond, entitled *an act for the utter aboliſhing, and taking away of all archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors, and commiſſaries*, &c. has been already inſerted in the former part of this hiſtory.†

The third is entitled, *an act for puniſhing ſcandalous clergymen, and others.*

It ordains, "That the lord-chancellor, or lord-keeper, for "the time being, ſhall award commiſſions under the great "ſeal, to perſons of worth and credit in every county of "England and Wales; which commiſſions, or any three "or more of them, ſhall have power to enquire by the oaths "of twelve lawful men of the ſaid county of the following "offences in the clergy, viz. not preaching ſix times at "leaſt in a year, by any eccleſiaſtical perſon having cure of "ſouls under the age of ſixty, and not hindered by ſickneſs "or impriſonment; of blaſphemy, perjury, or ſubornation "of perjury, fornication, adultery, common ale-houſe or "tavern hunting, drunkenneſs, profane ſwearing or curſing, "done or committed within three years paſt, by any parſon "or vicar, or other perſon having cure of ſouls, or by any "lecturer, curate, ſtipendiary, ſchoolmaſter, or uſher of any "ſchool. The commiſſioners ſhall take information by ar-"ticles in writing; the party complaining to be bound in a "recognizance of ten pounds to proſecute at a time ap-"pointed: the articles of complaint being firſt delivered to "the party complained of, twenty days before the trial, "that he may prepare for his defence. Upon conviction, "by the verdict of twelve men, the party complained of "ſhall be deprived of his ſpiritual promotions, and be ad-"judged a diſabled perſon in law, to have and enjoy the "ſame incumbency or eccleſiaſtical promotion. This act to "continue till Nov. 1, 1645, and no longer."*

The fourth is entitled, *an act againſt the enjoying pluralities of benefices by ſpiritual perſons, and non-reſidence.*

It enacts, "That all perſons that have two or more be-"nefices with cure of ſouls, of what yearly value ſoever "they be, ſhall reſign them all but one, before April 1, "1643, any licence, toleration, faculty, or diſpenſation to "the contrary notwithſtanding.

† Vol. ii. p. 545, 6. * Huſband's Collections, fol. 140.

"That

"That if any ſpiritual perſon, having cure of ſouls, ſhall "be abſent from his cure above ten Sundays, or eighty "days in a year, except in caſe of ſickneſs, impriſonment, "or except he be a reader in either univerſity, or be ſum- "moned to convocation; and be thereof lawfully convicted "in any court of juſtice, that his *living* ſhall be deemed "void, and the patron have power to nominate another "perſon, as if the former incumbent was dead."

The fifth, *for calling an aſſembly of learned and godly divines to be conſulted with by the parliament, for the ſettling of the government and liturgy of the church, and for the vindication and clearing of the doctrine of the church of England from falſe aſperſions and interpretations*, will be inſerted at large, when we come to the ſitting of the aſſembly.

To the forementioned propoſitions and bills, his majeſty, after a ſharp reply* to the preamble, returned the following anſwer: That though many of them were deſtructive of his juſt power and prerogative, yet becauſe they might be mollified and explained upon debates, he is pleaſed to agree that a time and place be appointed for the meeting of commiſſioners on both ſides to diſcuſs them, and to conſider the following propoſals of his own:

1. "That his majeſty's revenues, magazines, towns, forts, "and ſhips, may be forthwith reſtored.

2. "That whatſoever has been done or publiſhed, con- "trary to the known laws of the land, and his majeſty's "legal rights, may be renounced and recalled.

3. "That whatever illegal power over his majeſty's ſub- "jects has been exerciſed by either, or both houſes, or "any committee, may be diſclaimed, and all perſons that "have been impriſoned by virtue thereof be forthwith diſ- "charged.

4. "That a good bill may be framed, for the better pre- "ſerving the book of *common prayer* from the ſcorn and "violence of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other ſectaries,

* Dr. *Grey* diſputes the propriety of this epithet, applied to the king's reply. The reader may judge of it by referring to Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 123, &c. Ed.

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 169.

"with

"with ſuch clauſes for the eaſe of tender conſciences as "his majeſty has formerly offered.‖

5. "That all perſons to be excepted out of the general "pardon ſhall be tried *per pares*, according to common "courſe of law, and that it be left to that, to acquit or "condemn them.

6. "That in the mean time there be a ceſſation of arms, "and free trade for all his majeſty's ſubjects for twenty "days."

His majeſty deſired the laſt article might be firſt ſettled, by which he propoſed not only to gain time, but to provide himſelf with ſeveral neceſſaries from London, and to convoy ſafely to Oxford the ammunition and other ſtores the queen had lately landed at Burlington-Bay;† but the parliament were too ſenſible of his deſigns to conſent to it. They therefore empowered their commiſſioners to begin with the firſt propoſition, concerning *reſtoring the revenues of the crown, and the delivery of his majeſty's magazines, towns, forts, and ſhips*, &c. All which they were authorized to agree to, on condition the perſons with whom he would intruſt them were ſuch as they could confide in. To which the king replied, that the oaths of the officers were a ſufficient ſecurity, and if they abuſed their truſt he would leave them to the law. The commiſſioners then went upon the other articles, and ſpun out the treaty till the 12th of April, without concluding one ſingle point. The king would be reſtored to the condition he was in before the war, upon a bare promiſe, that he would govern for the future according to law; but the parliament were reſolved not to truſt themſelves nor the conſtitution in his hands, without the redreſs of ſome grievances, and a better ſecurity. Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, that the commiſſioners (of which he was one) having been with the king one evening till midnight, gave his majeſty ſuch reaſons to conſent to a very material point, which would have much conduced to an happy iſſue, and ſucceſs of the treaty, that *he* told them, *he was fully ſatisfied*,

‖ The king had never made any offer of this kind but in general terms. Mrs. Macaulay. Ed.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 476, folio.

and

*and promiſed to let them have his anſwer in writing, according to their deſire next morning.** But when the commiſſioners were withdrawn, ſome of the king's bed-chamber, and they went higher, fearing the king's conceſſions would tend to peace, never left perſuading him, till he had altered his reſolution, and gave orders for the following anſwer to be drawn up, directly contrary to what he had promiſed the commiſſioners.†

"As ſoon as his Majeſty is ſatisfied concerning his own "revenue, magazines, ſhips, and forts, in which he deſires "nothing, but that the juſt known legal rights of his Ma- "jeſty, devolved to him from his progenitors, and of the "perſons truſted by him, which have violently been taken "from both, be reſtored to him and them——

"As ſoon as all the members of both houſes ſhall be "reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and voting in parlia- "ment as they had on the 1ſt of Jan. 1641, the ſame right "belonging unto them by their birthrights, and the free "elections of thoſe that ſent them; and having been voted "from them for adhering to his Majeſty in theſe diſtractions; "his Majeſty not intending that this ſhould extend either to "the biſhops, whoſe votes have been taken away by bill; "or to ſuch in whoſe places, upon new writs, new elections "have been made.

"As ſoon as his Majeſty and both houſes may be ſecured "from ſuch tumultuous aſſemblies, as to the great breach "of the privileges, and the high diſhonour of parliaments,

* Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 65.

† Dr. *Grey* cenſures Mr. *Neal*, for not giving his reader Mr. *Whitlock*'s account of the king's great civility to the parliament commiſſioners. We will ſupply the omiſſion. "The commiſſioners were allowed by his ma- "jeſty, a very free debate with him, and had acceſs to him at all times. He "uſed them with great favour and civility: and his General *Ruthen* and "divers of his lords and officers came frequently to their table. The king "himſelf did them the honour ſometimes to accept of part of their wine "and proviſions, which the earl (viz. of *Northumberland*) ſent to him when "they had any thing extraordinary." *Whitlock* adds: "In this treaty "the king manifeſted his great parts and abilities, ſtrength of reaſon, and "quickneſs of apprehenſion, with much patience in hearing what was ob- "jected againſt him: wherein he allowed all freedom." Memorials, p. 65. ED.

"have

" have formerly aſſembled about both houſes, and awed the " members of the ſame; and occaſioned two ſeveral com- " plaints from the houſe of lords, and two ſeveral deſires " of that houſe to the houſe of commons, to join in a de- " claration againſt them, the complying with which deſire " might have prevented all the miſerable diſtractions which " have enſued; which ſecurity his majeſty conceives can be " only ſettled by adjourning the parliament to ſome other " place, at the leaſt twenty miles from London, the choice " of which his majeſty leaves to both huſes.

" His majeſty will then moſt chearfully and readily con- " ſent, that both armies be immediately diſbanded, and give " a preſent meeting to both his houſes of parliament, at the " ſame time and place, at and to which the parliament ſhall " agree to be adjourned.

" His majeſty, being confident that the law will then re- " cover its due credit and eſtimation, and that upon a free " debate, in a full and peaceable convention of parliament, " ſuch proviſions will be made againſt ſeditious preaching " and printing againſt his majeſty, and the eſtabliſhed laws, " which hath been one of the chief cauſes of the preſent " diſtractions; and ſuch care will be taken concerning the " legal and known rights of his majeſty, and the property " and liberty of his ſubjects, that whatſoever hath been " publiſhed or done in, or by colour of any illegal decla- " rations, ordinances, or order of one or both houſes, or " any committee of either of them, and particularly the " power to raiſe arms without his majeſty's conſent, will " be in ſuch manner recalled, diſclaimed, and provided " againſt, that no ſeed will remain for the like to ſpring out " of for the future, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, " and to endanger the very being of it."§

This reſolute anſwer broke off the treaty, and left the quarrel to be decided by the ſword; upon which biſhop *Kennet* makes the following remark: " It is to be lamented, " that ſome of the king's moſt intimate friends were againſt " his concluding a peace, and others were againſt his ob- " taining an abſolute victory. They were afraid he ſhould " comply, leſt his prerogative might not be great enough

§ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 259, 260.

" to protect him; and yet afraid he ſhould conquer, leſt he " might be tempted to aſſume an arbitrary power."* It is plain from hence, that by *peace* the king meant nothing but being reſtored to all the prerogatives of his crown as before the war, without any additional ſecurity; and that there was no room for a treaty till the previous queſtion was determined, *Whether there was juſt reaſon to confide in the king, and reſtore him to his rights upon his bare promiſe of governing by law for the future?* For all the propoſitions neceſſarily led to this point, and till this was decided it was in vain to loſe time upon the others.

Thus ended the year 1642, in which died the famous *Tobias Criſp*, D. D. third ſon of *Ellis Criſp*, of London, eſq; he was born in Bread-ſtreet, London, 1600, educated at Eton ſchool, and having taken the degree of bachelor of arts at Cambridge retired to Oxford, and was incorporated into Baliol college in the beginning of Feb. 1626. In the year 1627, he became rector of Brinkworth in Wiltſhire, and a few years after proceeded D. D. At Brinkworth he was much followed for his edifying manner of preaching, and for his great hoſpitality. Upon the breaking out of the war he was obliged to fly to London, to avoid the inſolencies of the king's ſoldiers; where his peculiar ſentiments about the doctrines of *grace* being diſcovered, he met with a vigorous oppoſition from the city divines. The doctor in his younger years had been a favourer of *arminianiſm*, but changing his opinions, he ran into the contrary extreme of *antinomianiſm*. He was certainly a learned and religious perſon, modeſt and humble in his behaviour, fervent and laborious in his miniſterial work, and exact in his morals. Mr. Lancaſter, the publiſher of his works, ſays, " That his life was ſo inno- " cent and harmleſs from all evil, ſo zealous and fervent " in all good, that it ſeemed to be deſigned as a practical " confutation of the ſlander of thoſe who would inſinuate, " that his doctrine tended to licentiouſneſs." The doctor was poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate, with which he did a great deal of good; but being engaged in a grand diſpute againſt ſeveral opponents (if we may believe Mr. *Wood*) he overheated himſelf, and fell ſick of the ſmall-pox, of

* Compl. Hiſt. p. 135.

which

which he died Feb. 27, 1642, and was buried in the family vault in Bread-ſtreet, London.* In his laſt ſickneſs he was in a moſt comfortable and reſigned frame of mind, and declared to them that ſtood by his firm adherence to the doctrines he had preached; that as he had lived in the belief of the free grace of God through Chriſt, ſo he did now with confidence and great joy, even as much as his preſent condition was capable of, reſign his life and ſoul into the hands of his heavenly father. He publiſhed nothing in his lifetime, but after his death his ſermons were publiſhed in three volumes from his own notes, which, with ſome additions, were reprinted by his ſon, in one volume quarto, about the year 1689, and gave occaſion to ſome intemperate heats among the non-conformiſt miniſters of thoſe times.

Towards the end of this year died *Robert* lord *Brooke*, a virtuous and religious gentleman, a good ſcholar, and an eminent patriot, but a determined enemy of the hierarchy. In the beginning of the war he took part with the parliament, and being made lord lieutenant of the counties of Warwick and Stafford, put himſelf at the head of twelve hundred men, and marched againſt the earl of *Cheſterfield* at Litchfield, whom he diſlodged from the town, March 1, but next day, as he was looking out of a window with his beaver up, and giving direction to his ſoldiers to aſſault St. Chad's church, adjoining to the cloſe where the earl of *Cheſterfield*'s forces lay, a muſket-ball ſtruck him near the left eye, of which he inſtantly died. The Parliamentary Chronicle§ calls him "the moſt noble, and ever-to-be ho-"noured, and renowned, pious lord *Brooke*, whoſe moſt illuſ-"trious name and memory, both for his piety, prudence, "incomparable magnanimity, and heroick martial ſpirit, for "his loyalty to the king, and fidelity to his country, deſerves "to remain deeply engraven in letters of gold on high-"erected pillars of marble."† On the other hand archbiſhop *Laud*, in his Diary,‖ has ſome very remarkable obſervations upon his death, which ſhew the ſuperſtition of that prelate. "*Firſt*, (ſays his grace) I obſerve, that this great

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 12, 13. § P. 272.

† Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 272. ‖ P. 211.

" and known enemy to cathedral churches died thus fear-
" fully, in the aſſault of a *cathedral*; a fearful manner
" of death in ſuch a quarrel! *Secondly*, That this hap-
" pened upon St. Chad's day, of which ſaint the cathedral
" bears the name. *Thirdly*, That this *lord* coming from
" dinner about two years ſince from the lord *Herbert*'s
" houſe in Lambeth, upon ſome diſcourſe of St. *Paul*'s
" church then in their eye upon the water, ſaid to ſome
" young lords that were with him, that he hoped to live
" to ſee that one ſtone of that building ſhould not be left
" upon another; but that church ſtands yet, and that eye
" is put out, that hoped to ſee the ruins of it."†

While the treaty of Oxford was depending, his majeſty's friends in the city were contriving to bring him to London, and deliver the parliament into his hands.‡ Mr. *Tomkins*, *Chaloner*, and *Waller* a member of the Houſe of Commons, in conjunction with ſome others, were to carry off the king's children, to ſecure the moſt active members of the houſe of commons, as Mr. *Pym*, *Hampden*, *Strode*, &c. to ſeize the Tower and the gates of the city, with the magazines, and to let in a party of the royal forces, who were to be at hand; for all which they had the king's commiſſion, dated March 16, 1643. The day of riſing was to be the laſt Wedneſday in May: but the plot being diſcovered by a ſervant of *Tomkins*'s before it was ripe for execution, the conſpirators were apprehended and tried; *Tomkins* and *Chaloner* confeſſed the facts, and were executed; but *Waller* purchaſed his life for ten thouſand pounds, and was baniſhed.‖

Upon this diſcovery both houſes reſolved to ſtrengthen themſelves by a new *covenant* or *vow*, which was tendered

† " It was the opinion of ſome of the royaliſts, and eſpecially of the " Roman Catholicks, that the bullet was directed by St. *Chad*. It is ob- " ſervable, that the ſame man who was by one party looked upon as a " monument of divine vengeance, (ſee *South*'s Sermons, i. 270) was by the " other reverenced as a ſaint. Baxter has placed him in heaven (*Saint*'s " Everlaſting Reſt, p. 82, 83, edit. 1649) together with *White*, *Pym*, " and *Hampden*." Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 144, 8vo. See alſo Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory, v. iii. p. 417, 18, note, 8vo. ED.

‡ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 322. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 487, folio.

‖ Ruſhworth, p. 326, 27.

firſt

firſt to their own members, then to the army, and ſuch of the people as were willing to take it.§ In it they declare "their abhorrence of the late plot, and engage not to lay "down their arms as long as the papiſts were protected "from juſtice, but to aſſiſt the parliament according to their "abilities in the juſt defence of the proteſtant religion, and "the liberties of the ſubject, againſt the forces raiſed by "the king without their conſent." Nevertheleſs the king's friends were not diſheartened from entering into ſeveral other combinations againſt the parliament; one was diſcovered in Auguſt, and another towards the latter end of the year: even the lower ſort of women, to the number of two or three thouſand, with white ſilk ribbons in their hats, went in a body to Weſtminſter with a petition for peace upon the king's terms, and could not be diſperſed without the military arm:† all which was occaſioned by the correſpondence the king held in London, notwithſtanding the ordinance the parliament had publiſhed in April laſt, to prevent ſpies and intelligences from Oxford or the royal army, coming to any part of the parliament's quarters.

The king, having failed in his deſigns of ſurprizing the city, reſolved at laſt to ſtarve the citizens into their duty, for which purpoſe he iſſued a proclamation, July 17, prohibiting all intercourſe of trade and commerce with them, and expreſly forbidding all perſons to travel to London, or to carry any goods, merchandize or proviſions thither, without ſpecial licence from himſelf.‡ By another proclamation, [Oct. 17,] his majeſty forbids his ſubjects of Scotland, and all foreign kingdoms and ſtates in amity with him, to bring any ammunition, proviſion, goods, or merchandize, of any ſort to London, or any other town or city in rebellion againſt him. The prohibiting foreign merchandizes had very little influence upon the trade of the city, becauſe the parliament were maſters of the ſeas; but the town of Newcaſtle being garriſoned by the king, the Londoners were diſtreſſed the following winter for coals, which obliged them to have recourſe to the digging turf, and cutting down all *fell wood* on the eſtates of *delinquents* within ſixty miles of London. By

§ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 325. † Ibid. p. 357.

‡ Huſband's Collections, folio, 237, 366.

another

another proclamation his majeſty forbad all his ſubjects, upon pain of high treaſon, to obey the orders of parliament; and all tenants to pay their rents to ſuch landlords as adhered to the rebellion, but to reſerve them for his majeſty's uſe.

After this account of things, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that very extraordinary burdens muſt be laid upon the people on both ſides to ſupport the expences of the war. The parliament at Weſtminſter exciſed every thing, even the neceſſaries of life: all *butchers meat* paid one ſhilling in twenty; every *rabbit* an halfpenny; and *pigeons* one penny in the dozen. The king's parliament at Oxford did the like in his majeſty's quarters; and by an ordinance of March 26th following, all perſons within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and the bills of mortality, were to pay the weekly value of *one meal* a week, on every Tueſday, for the publick ſervice, which they were ſuppoſed to abate in their families.* Such were the hardſhips of the times!

The king's affairs this ſummer were very proſperous, and threatened the ruin of his enemies; for beſides his army, which had been recruiting in the winter, the queen furniſhed him with foreign money, and with two thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, a hundred waggons laden with ammunition of all ſorts, ſix pieces of cannon, and two mortars.† Upon which the houſe of commons impeached her of *high treaſon*, for levying forces without conſent of parliament. In the month of April the earl of *Eſſex* beſieged and took the town of Reading, from whence he marched within ten miles of Oxford, where prince *Rupert* with a party of horſe beat up his quarters, and killed the famous Mr. *Hampden* in Chalgrave Field, after which *Eſſex* retired, and put his ſickly forces into quarters of refreſhment. In the north the king's armies had a train of ſucceſſes. Lord *Fairfax* was defeated by the earl of *Newcaſtle* at Atherſton Moor, June 30, and ſir *William Waller* at the battles of Lanſdown and Round-away-down, July 5th and 13th, which was followed with the loſs of Weymouth, Dorcheſter, Portland Caſtle, Exeter,

* For a more minute detail of the ways by which the parliament raiſed money, ſee Dr. *Grey*, vol. ii. p. 42, &c. and "Hiſtorical Account of all "Taxes," p. 296, 7.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 477, folio.

and

and almoſt all the weſt. About the latter end of July prince *Rupert* beſieged and took the city of Briſtol, and the king himſelf ſat down before Glouceſter, [Aug 10th] which ſo alarmed the two houſes, that the ſhops in London were ordered to be ſhut till the ſiege was raiſed, and a ſtrong body of the trained bands diſpatched to join the earl of *Eſſex*'s broken troops, who, by this means, was in a condition in fifteen days to march to the relief of that important city; upon the earl's approach the king raiſed the ſiege, and *Eſſex* entered the town, when reduced to the laſt extremity; and having ſupplied it with neceſſaries, after three days returned towards London. The king being joined by prince *Rupert* with five thouſand horſe, got before him to Newbury, where both armies engaged with pretty equal ſucceſs, till night parted them, when his majeſty retired to Oxford, and left the way open for the earl to purſue his march.* In this battle the city trained bands, by their undaunted bravery, are ſaid to have gained immortal honour. But it is the opinion of moſt hiſtorians, that if, inſtead of ſitting down before Glouceſter, the king had marched his victorious army directly to London after the taking of Briſtol, he might have put an end to the war, the parliament being in no readineſs to oppoſe him; however, it is certain, that about this time the royal cauſe was in the height of its proſperity, and the parliament's at ſo low an ebb, that they were obliged to throw themſelves into the hands of the Scots. It is no part of my deſign to give a particular deſcription of ſieges and battles, or a recital of the military exploits of the heroes of theſe times, any further than to inform the reader of the true ſituation of affairs, and to enable him to form a juſt idea of the grounds and reaſons of thoſe extraordinary meaſures that each party took for the ſupport of their cauſe. Let us now, therefore, attend the affairs of the church.

The clergy on both ſides had a deep ſhare in the calamities of the times, being plundered, harraſſed, impriſoned, and their livings ſequeſtered, as they fell into the hands of the enemy. The king's party were greatly incenſed againſt the *puritan clergy*, as the chief incendiaries of the people and

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 293, 94.

trumpeters

trumpeters of rebellion. Such as refuſed to read the king's proclamations and orders againſt the parliament were apprehended, and ſhut up in the common gaols of York, and other places within his majeſty's quarters. When any parties of the royal army got poſſeſſion of a town that adhered to the parliament, they enquired preſently for the *miniſter's houſe*, which was rifled and plundered of every thing that was valuable, and himſelf impriſoned, if he could be found; but the *incumbents* uſually took care to avoid the danger, by flying to the next parliament garriſon. Above thirty puritan miniſters took ſhelter in the city of Coventry after the fight of Edge-Hill. Great numbers came to London with their families in a naked and ſtarving condition, leaving their books, and every thing they could not bring away, to the mercy of the king's ſoldiers. The priſoners underwent uncommon hardſhips, and would have been executed as *rebels*, if the parliament had not threatened repriſals.

On the other hand, the *epiſcopal clergy* were no leſs harraſſed by the parliament ſoldiers; theſe being in poſſeſſion of the beſt livings in the church, were liable to ſuffer the greateſt damage; multitudes of them left their cures, and took ſanctuary in the king's armies or garriſons, having diſpoſed of their goods and chattles in the beſt manner they could. Others, who had rendered themſelves obnoxious by their ſermons, or declarations for the king, were put under confinement in Lambeth, Wincheſter, Ely, and moſt of the biſhops houſes about London; and for want of room about twenty (according to Dr. *Walker*) were impriſoned on board of ſhips in the river Thames, and ſhut down under decks, no friend being ſuffered to come to them.* The ſame writer obſerves, that about one hundred and ten of the London cleagy were turned out of their livings in the years 1642, and 1643, and that as many more fled to prevent impriſonment; yet it ought to be remembered, that none were turned out or impriſoned, for their adhering to the doctrine or diſcipline of the church of England, till after the impoſing of the Scots covenant, but for immorality, falſe doctrine, non-reſidence, or for taking part with the king againſt the parliament. However, it is to be lamented

* Walker's Suffering Clergy, part ii. p. 180.

that

that ſeveral pious and worthy biſhops, and other clergymen, who withdrew from the world, and were deſirous to live peaceably without joining either ſide, ſuffered afterwards in common with the reſt of their brethren; their eſtates and livings being ſequeſtered, their houſes and goods plundered by ungovernable ſoldiers, and themſelves reduced to live upon the *fifths*, or a ſmall penſion from the parliament, either becauſe they could not take the *covenant*, or comply with the new directory for publick worſhip. Among theſe we may reckon the moſt reverend archbiſhop *Uſher*, biſhop *Morton*, *Hall*, and many others. When the biſhops lands were ſeized for the ſervice of the war, which was called *Bellum Epiſcopale*, or the *Biſhops War*, it was not poſſible to ſhew favour to any under that character; and though the two houſes voted very conſiderable penſions to ſome of the biſhops, in lieu of their lands that were ſequeſtered, due care was not taken of the payment; nor would ſeveral of their lordſhips ſo far countenance the votes of the houſes as to apply for it.

In order to account for theſe things, it will be neceſſary to ſet before the reader the proceedings of the ſeveral committees of religion from the beginning of the preſent parliament. It has been remembered, that a grand committee, conſiſting of the whole houſe of commons, was appointed November 6th, 1640, to enquire into the *ſcandalous immoralities of the clergy*,* of which the famous Mr. *White*, member of parliament for Southwark, a good lawyer, and, according to Mr. *Whitlock*, an honeſt, learned, and faithful ſervant of the publick, was chairman. Great numbers of petitions, with articles of miſbehaviour, were brought before them, relating to ſuperſtition, hereſy, or the immorality of their miniſters, inſomuch that the houſe was forced to branch the committee into ſeveral ſub-diviſions, for the quicker diſpatch of buſineſs. November 19, 1640, a *ſub-committee* was appointed "to conſider how there may be *preaching* "*miniſters* ſet up where there are none; how they may be "maintained where there is no maintenance, and all other "things of that nature; alſo to enquire into the true grounds "and cauſes of the great ſcarcity of preaching miniſters

* Walker's Attempt, p. 63.

"throughout

"throughout the kingdom, and to conſider of ſome way of "removing ſcandalous miniſters, and putting others in their "places." For which purpoſes the knights of ſhires and burgeſſes of the ſeveral corporations were ordered to bring informations within ſix weeks, of the ſtate of religion in their reſpective counties. The ſub-committee conſiſted of ſixty-one members, together with the knights and burgeſſes of Northumberland, Wales, Lancaſhire, Cumberland, and the burgeſſes of Canterbury. Mr. *White* was chairman of this, as well as of the grand committee; they had their regular meetings in the *Court of Wards*, and from the *powers* abovementioned, were ſometimes called the committee for *preaching miniſters*, but more uſually for *ſcandalous miniſters*. They had the inſpection of all hoſpitals and free-ſchools, and were authoriſed to conſider of the expediency of ſending commiſſions into the ſeveral counties, to examine ſuch clergymen as were accuſed, and could not with convenience be brought up to London.

But preſentments againſt the clergy came in ſo faſt, that for the diſpatch of buſineſs they were obliged to divide again into ſeveral ſmaller committees, which, from the names of the gentlemen in the reſpective chairs, were called Mr. *White*'s, *Corbet*'s, Sir *Robert Harlow*'s, and Sir *Edward Deering*'s committees, &c.* Within a ſhort ſpace above two thouſand petitions were brought before them, of which Mr. *Corbet*'s committee had no leſs than nine hundred. Great complaints have been made of their ſeverity, by thoſe who will not believe the clergy were ſo corrupt as really they were; nor remember the political principles for which moſt of them ſuffered. The forms of proceeding in the committee were certainly unexceptionable, for they were obliged to give proper notice to the party accuſed to make his appearance; the witneſſes were uſually examined upon oath in his preſence; a copy of the articles was given him if deſired, and a reaſonable time aſſigned to prepare for his defence.† The articles of enquiry on which they proceeded were, 1. Scandalous immoralities of life, as drunkenneſs, ſwearing, incontinency, and ſometimes blaſphemy and ſodomy. 2. Falſe or ſcandalous doctrine, *i. e.* popiſh and ar-

* Walker's Attempt, p. 65. † Ibid. p. 81.

minian,

minian, theſe being underſtood to be inconſiſtent with the articles of the church of England. 3. Profanation of the ſabbath, by reading and countenancing the book of ſports. 4. Practiſing and preſſing the late innovations, after they had been cenſured by the parliament as illegal. 5. Neglect of their cures, by not preaching according to their duty. 6. Malignancy and diſaffection to the parliament, diſcovered by their aſſiſting his majeſty with money, and perſuading others to do ſo; by reading the king's declarations, and refuſing to read the parliament's; by not obſerving the parliament's faſts, but calling them *rebels*, *traitors*, and *wiſhing the curſe of God upon them and their cauſe*. Theſe were apprehended reaſonable matters of enquiry, and juſt grounds of exception, as matters ſtood between the king and the two houſes. And after all, the final determination was not with the committee; their opinion, with the evidence, was firſt laid before the grand committee, then it was reported to the whole houſe, and finally referred to the houſe of lords before it was deciſive. One would think, here ſhould be little room for complaint, and yet there was too much paſſion and prejudice on both ſides, which was owing to the confuſion of the times, and the violent reſentments of each party. The commiſſioners were too forward in expoſing the faiſings of the clergy, and encouraging witneſſes of ſlender credit; on the other hand, the clergy were inſufferably rude to the committee, defaming their witneſſes, and threatening revenge, for being obliged to plead their cauſe before laymen. However, few clergymen were ſequeſtered by the committee for ſcandalous miniſters before it was joined with that for *plundered miniſters*; an account of which I ſhall lay before the reader, after I have given two or three examples of the proceedings of the preſent committee, from the relations of thoſe clergymen who have left behind them an account of their ſufferings.

The firſt is Mr. *Symmonds*, of Rayne in Eſſex, who acknowledges, that he was ſequeſtered for preaching and publiſhing, that "the king being the ſupreme magiſtrate hath "immediate dependance on God, to whom alone he is ac-"countable —— That authority is a ſacred thing, and "eſſential to the king's perſon —— That reſiſtance is "againſt

"against the way of God, deſtructive to the whole law of "God, inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the goſpel, the per-"petual practice of Chriſtianity, the calling of miniſters, "common prudence, the rule of humanity, nature itſelf, "reaſon, the oath of allegiance, and even the late proteſta-"tion."* Beſides, he had notoriouſly defamed the parliament, and preſſed his auditors to believe the king's declarations, *becauſe a divine ſentence was in his mouth, and he cannot err.* And that if *David*'s heart ſmote him for cutting off *Saul*'s garment, what would it have done if he had kept him from his caſtles, towns, and ſhips? For which reaſons the lords and commons in parliament aſſembled, ordered [March 3, 1642,] his living to be ſequeſtered into the hands of *Robert Atkins*, M. A. who was appointed to preach every Lord's day till further order. Mr. *Symmonds* endeavoured to diſcredit the evidence, but was ſo far from diſowning the charge, that he afterwards vindicated it in a pamphlet entitled, *The loyal Subject's Belief.*

A ſecond gentleman, who has left an account of his ſufferings, is the reverend Mr. *Squire* of Shoreditch; he was articled againſt for "practiſing and preſſing the late inno-"vations, for ſaying the papiſts were the king's beſt ſubjects, "becauſe of their loyalty and liberality; for declaring that "none ſhould come to the ſacrament, unleſs they were as "well affected to the king as the papiſts; for comparing his "majeſty to the man that fell among thieves, being wounded "in his honour, and robbed of his caſtles, and of the hearts "of his people; that the prieſt paſſing by, was the proteſ-"tant; the forward profeſſor the levite, but the papiſt was "the good *Samaritan*; and for affirming, that the king's "ſubjects, and all that they had were at his command."† Mr. *Squire* denied ſome of theſe articles, and extenuated others; he procured a certificate from ſeveral of his pariſhioners of his diligence in preaching, in catechiſing, and in beating down popery, for thirty years paſt, all which might be true; but Dr. *Walker* admits,‖ that from the beginning of the war he was a moſt ſtrenuous champion for *allegiance*; that is, for paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, and moſt earneſtly exhorted his people to the practice of it, which, as

* Walker's Suffering Clergy, p. 67. † Ibid. ‖ Ibid. p. 176.

the

the times then were, might be a ſufficient reaſon for the parliament to ſilence him.

The other clergyman is Mr. *Finch* of Chriſt-Church, who was articled againſt for *extortion, ſuperſtition, non-reſidence, and neglect of his cure, and for being a common ſwearer, tavern-hunter, and drunkard*, which was proved by very ſubſtantial evidence. Dr. *Walker*'s defence of this gentleman is very remarkable: "Common charity (ſays he) will oblige "every one to give more credit to the bare word of a cler-"gyman, though in his own vindication, than to that of his "known and profeſſed enemies."* And yet, in the next page,† he owns he was not ſatisfied in Mr. *Finch*'s character, nor in ſome parts of his defence, in which he thinks he does by no means acquit himſelf from having been a man of an ill life. His caſe was reported by the grand committee to the houſe of commons, and by them to the *lords*, who all agreed he was unfit to hold any eccleſiaſtical living.

It muſt be left with the impartial world to judge, whether the parliament had reaſon to ſequeſter theſe clergymen, in their own defence? The laſt was a man of an immoral life, and the two former, allowing them to be otherwiſe good men, were certainly incendiaries againſt the two houſes, and preached up thoſe doctrines which were inconſiſtent with the conſtitution and freedom of this country, as moſt of the parochial clergy at that time did.

The committee for PLUNDERED MINISTERS took its riſe from thoſe puritan clergymen, who, being driven from their cures in the country by the king's ſoldiers, fled to London with their families, leaving their ſubſtance and houſhold furniture to the mercy of the enemy: theſe being reduced to very great exigencies, applied to the parliament for relief; the commons firſt ordered a charitable collection for them at their monthly faſt, and four days after, viz. December 31, 1642, appointed a committee to conſider of the fitteſt way *for the relief of ſuch godly and well-affected miniſters as have been plundered; and what malignant clergymen have benefices in and about the town, whoſe benefices being ſequeſtered may be ſupplied by others who may receive their profits.* The committee conſiſted of Mr. *Solicitor General*, Mr. *Martyn*,

* Walker's Attempt, p. 71. † Ibid. p. 72.

Sir

Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William Armyn*, Mr. *Prideaux*, Mr. *Holland*, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Knightly*, Sir *William Hayman*, Mr. *Wentworth*, Mr. *Ruthen*, Mr. *Wheeler*, and Mr. *Spurſtow*, to whom were afterwards added ſome others; among whom Dr. *Walker* ſuppoſes was the famous Mr. *White*, who ſat in the chair of this committee, March 2, 1642-3. The commiſſioners were upon their oath; any four had a power to act; they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *committee for plundered miniſters*; but the royaliſts, by way of reproach, calling them the *committee for plundering miniſters*. They began their meetings in the court of Exchequer, Jan. 2, in the afternoon; two days after, they were ordered to examine the complaints againſt Dr. *Soam*, miniſter of Twittenham and Stains, to ſend for parties and witneſſes, to conſider of proper perſons to ſupply the cures, to apply the revenues to their uſe if they found it neceſſary, and to report the proceedings to the houſe. July 27, 1643, they were impowered to conſider of informations againſt *ſcandalous miniſters*, though there were no *malignancy* proved againſt them, and to put out ſuch whoſe ſcandal was ſufficiently proved; from which time the committee for *ſcandalous and plundered miniſters* were in a ſort united, and ſo continued to the end of the long parliament.

In order to ſilence the clamours of the royaliſts, and juſtify the ſevere proceedings of theſe committees, it was reſolved to print the caſes of thoſe whom they ejected, and ſubmit their conduct to the publick cenſure; accordingly, towards the latter end of the year Mr. WHITE the chairman publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled, *The firſt Century of ſcandalous malignant Prieſts, made and admitted into benefices by the prelate, in whoſe hands the ordination of miniſters and government of the church hath been; or, a narration of the cauſes for which the parliament has ordered the ſequeſtration of the benefices of ſeveral miniſters complained of before them, for vitiouſneſs of life, errors in doctrine, contrary to the articles of our religion, and for practiſing and preſſing ſuperſtitious innovations againſt law, and for malignancy againſt the parliament.* The author in his preface ſays, the reaſon of his appear-

* Walker's Attempt, p. 73.

ing

ing in print was, *that the parliament might appear juſt in their doings, that the mouth of iniquity might be ſtopt; that all the world might ſee, that the tongues of them that ſpeak evil of the parliament are ſet on fire of hell; that they hide themſelves under falſhood, and make lies their refuge.* And then adds, *that the groſſeſt faults which were charged on the clergy were proved by many witneſſes, ſeldom leſs than ſix.* The whole century were convicted of malignity, or diſaffection to the parliament; and about eighty of them of ſcandalous immoralities in their lives. Dr. *Walker* has endeavoured to recover the reputation of ſeven or eight, and would inſinuate that the reſt were convicted upon too ſlender evidence, the witneſſes not being always upon oath, nor in his opinion of ſufficient credit to impeach a *clergyman*; that ſome of the crimes were capital, and therefore if they had been proved, muſt have touched not only the livings but the lives of the criminals; and that the parliament who ſet up for preciſe morals, accepted the mere verbal evidence of the moſt infamous people. However, the doctor himſelf has admitted and confirmed the *centuriſt*'s account of many of theſe ſcandalous miniſters, by the enquiries he has made into their characters in the places from whence they were ejected. Mr. *Fuller* confeſſes, "that ſeveral of the offences of the clergy "were ſo foul, that it is a ſhame to report them, crying to "juſtice for puniſhment." But then adds, in favour of others, "that witneſſes againſt them were ſeldom examined "on oath. That many of the complainers were factious "people. That ſome of the clergy were convicted for de-"livering doctrines that were diſputable, and others only "for their loyalty."† Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, that ſeveral of them were vicious to a ſcandal. And Mr. archdeacon *Echard* is of the ſame mind. But Mr. *Baxter*'s teſtimony is more particular and deciſive, who ſays, "that in all the "countries where he was acquainted, *ſix to one at leaſt*, if "not many more, that were ſequeſtered by the committees, "were by the oaths of witneſſes proved inſufficient or ſcan-"dalous, or eſpecially guilty of drunkenneſs and ſwearing. "*This I know* (ſays the reverend author) *will diſpleaſe the* "*party, but I am ſure that this is true.*"*

† Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 207. * Baxter's Life, p. 74.

It

It is impoſſible to account for the particular proceedings of all the committees, of which great outcries have been made by the friends of the ſufferers. "If the meaneſt and "moſt vicious pariſhioners could be brought to prefer a "petition againſt their *parſon* to the houſe of commons, how "falſely ſoever, (ſays lord *Clarendon*) he was ſure to be "proſecuted for a ſcandalous miniſter."* His lordſhip adds, "that the committees accepted of the evidence not only of "mean people, but of them who were profeſſed enemies "of the diſcipline of the church; that they baited the clergy "with rude and uncivil language; that they obliged them "to a long and tedious attendance, and were very partial "in voting them out of their livings, right or wrong." In another place he ſays, "that theſe complaints were fre-"quently exhibited by a few of the meaneſt of the people "againſt the judgment of the pariſh." The like repreſentation is made by moſt of the royaliſts; but the writers on the ſide of the parliament deny the charge, and complain as loudly of the contemptuous behaviour of the king's clergy to the commiſſioners, treating them as a combination of illiterate laymen, who had nothing to do with the church; nay, as rebels and traitors. Some refuſed to obey their ſummons, and others who appeared took up their time in examining the ſpelling of words, the propriety of grammar, and other little evaſions, foreign to the purpoſe. They declared roundly, they did not own the tribunal before which they ſtood; they inſulted the witneſſes, and threatened repriſals out of court, when things ſhould revert to their former channel; and upon the whole behaved as if they had engroſſed all the law, learning, and good ſenſe of the nation to themſelves. The commiſſioners, provoked with this uſage, were obliged to behave with ſome ſharpneſs, in order to ſupport their own authority; they would not indulge them the peculiar privilege they claimed as clergymen, nor allow them as ſcholars to debate the truth of thoſe doctrines of which they were accuſed, but confined them to matters of fact. When they excepted againſt the witneſſes as ignorant mechanicks, factious, ſchiſmatical, enemies to the church,

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 67.

&c.

&c. they over-ruled their exceptions, as long as there were no legal objections to their competency or credibility.

With regard to the *country committees*, the commiſſioners were choſen out of the deputy lieutenants, and the beſt country gentlemen in the parliament intereſt. Moſt of the crimes for which the clergy were ſequeſtered were confeſſed by themſelves; ſuperſtition and falſe doctrine were hardly ever objected, far the greateſt part being caſt out for *malignity;* and yet the proceedings of the ſequeſtrators were not always juſtifiable; for whereas a court of judicature ſhould rather be counſel for the priſoner than the proſecutor, the commiſſioners conſidered the king's clergy as their moſt dangerous enemies, and were ready to lay hold of all opportunities to diſcharge them their pulpits.

But whatever might be the exceſſes, or partiality of particular committees, no reaſonable blame can be laid upon the two houſes, whoſe inſtructions were, in my opinion, unexceptionable; the words of the ordinance are theſe:—"And "to the end that thoſe who will appear before the com- "mittee may have the witneſſes examined in their preſence, "it is further ordained, that ſummonſes, with ſufficient "warning of the time and place when and where the charge "againſt them ſhall be proved, be either given to their per- "ſons, or left at their houſes; and if they deſire it, they "ſhall have a copy of the articles againſt them, with a con- "venient time to give in their anſwer under their hands, "which together with their charge, and the proofs upon "every particular of it, the ſaid deputy lieutenants, and "committees of parliament, ſhall ſend up to the committee "of this houſe, appointed to provide for plundered miniſ- "ters; which committee ſhall from time to time tranſmit "them to this houſe."* And further to prevent all abuſes, it is ordained, in the ordinance for ſequeſtration, "that if "any perſon or perſons find themſelves aggrieved with any "acts done by the ſequeſtrators, their agents or deputies, "and ſhall not therein be relieved by the ſequeſtrators, upon "complaint made to them, or any two or more of them; "then upon information given to both houſes of parliament, "or to the committee of lords and commons aforementioned,

* Huſband's Collections, p. 311.

"ſuch further order ſhall be taken therein as ſhall be agree-
"able to juſtice."§ Here was an appeal from a lower to a higher court; and to prevent a ſcrutiny into the lives and manners of the clergy, when their witneſſes might be dead, they were limited to ſuch crimes as had been committed within three years before the beginning of the preſent parliament; ſo that if the committees obſerved their orders there could be little cauſe of complaint; yet as no one will undertake to vindicate all their proceedings, we muſt not, on the other hand, give ear to the petulant and angry complaints of every diſcontented clergyman.† I ſhall only obſerve further, that theſe country committees hardly began to ſit till the latter end of the year 1643, or the beginning of 1644; that they exerciſed their power very ſparingly while the war was in ſuſpence, but when the royal forces had been beat out of the field, and victory declared on their ſide, they proceeded with more freedom, eſpecially againſt thoſe who had made themſelves parties in the war.

Very different accounts are given of the numbers and quality of the ejected clergy by their ſeveral friends. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that all the learned and orthodox divines of England were deemed ſcandalous. And Dr. *Walker* has taken a great deal of pains to increaſe their numbers, and vindicate their characters. By this account one would think moſt of them were of the firſt rank and character; but Mr. *Baxter*,‡ who was much better acquainted with them, ſays, "that when the parliament purged the miniſtry, they caſt "out the groſſer ſort of inſufficient and ſcandalous ones, "and alſo ſome few civil men who had aſſiſted in the wars "againſt the parliament, or ſet up bowing to altars, and "ſuch innovations; but they left in near one half of the mi-"niſters that were not good enough to do much ſervice, "nor bad enough to be utterly intolerable. Theſe were a "company of poor weak preachers, who had no great ſkill "in divinity, nor zeal for godlineſs, but preached weekly "that that was true, and were free from notorious ſins." This ſeems a pretty fair relation of the matter; however we ſhall have occaſion to conſider it more fully hereafter.

§ Huſband's Collections, p. 15. † Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 84.
‡ Life, p. 95.

Beſides

Beſides the ſequeſtration of *benefices*, the parliament conſidered the king's clergy as *parties in the war*, and ſeized their eſtates both real and perſonal under that character, towards defraying the expences of it; for this purpoſe they paſſed the following ordinance, April 1, 1643, the preamble to which ſets forth,* "that it is moſt agreeable to common "juſtice, that the eſtates of ſuch notorious delinquents as "have been the cauſers or inſtruments of the publick cala-"mities, which have hitherto been employed to the fo-"menting and nouriſhing of this miſerable diſtraction, "ſhould be converted and applied towards the ſupport of "the commonwealth.

"Be it therefore enacted, that the eſtates, as well real as "perſonal, of *all ſuch biſhops, deans, deans and chapters, pre-"bends, archdeacons, and of all other perſons eccleſiaſtical or tem-"poral, who have, or ſhall raiſe arms againſt the parliament; "or have been, or ſhall be in actual war againſt the ſame; "or who have, or ſhall voluntarily contribute money, horſe, "plate, arms, ammunition, or other aid or aſſiſtance, towards "the maintenance of any force raiſed againſt the parliament, "or for the plundering the king's ſubjects, who have willingly "contributed, or yielded obedience to the commands of both "houſes of parliament, and of all ſuch who have joined, or "ſhall join in any oath or aſſociation againſt the parliament,* "&c. ſhall be ſeized into the hands of ſequeſtrators, to be "named by both houſes of parliament, which ſequeſtrators, "or their deputies, are to ſeize into their hands, as well all "the money, goods, chattels, debts, and perſonal eſtates, "and all the manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, rents, "revenues, and profits, of all the ſaid delinquents before "ſpecified; and alſo two parts of all the perſonal and real "eſtates of every papiſt, and to let, ſet, and demiſe the "ſame from year to year, as the reſpective landlords or "owners thereof might have done. And the authority of "both houſes is engaged to ſave them harmleſs from "paying any rents to their landlords being delinquents: "and all the monies, rents, and revenues, that ſhall ariſe "from this ordinance, ſhall be applied to the maintenance "of the army and forces raiſed by the parliament, and ſuch

* Huſband's Collections, fol. 13.

" other uſes as ſhall be directed by both houſes of parlia-
" ment for the benefit of the commonwealth.

Auguſt 19th, 1643, this ordinance was further explained, as including in the number of delinquents, *ſuch as abſented from their uſual places of abode, or betook themſelves to the king's forces, ſuch as ſhould embezzle or conceal any of their effects, to avoid payment of taxes, and aſſeſſments to the parliament; or who kept out of the way ſo that no tax could be levied upon them; or who concealed or harboured the goods or perſons of delinquents; or who ſhould ſeize or moleſt any perſon for obeying or executing any of the parliament's orders.*‖ A clauſe was then added to the ordinance, empowering the commiſſioners to allow to the wives and children of ſuch delinquents, for their maintenance, any portion of their goods, provided it did not exceed *one fifth part.* This clauſe was conſtrued to extend to the wives and children of all clergymen who were ejected their livings, on any account whatſoever. The commiſſioners were alſo to ſeize two thirds of the eſtates of *papiſts*, both real and perſonal, and for the diſcovering of them, were to tender to ſuch whom they ſuſpected, the following oath:—

" I *A. B.* do abjure and renounce the pope's ſupremacy, and authority over the catholick church in general, " and over myſelf in particular. And I do believe that there " is not any tranſubſtantiation in the ſacrament of the Lord's " ſupper, or in the elements of bread and wine after conſecration thereof by any perſon whatſoever. And I do alſo " believe that there is not any purgatory, or that the conſecrated hoſt, crucifixes, or images, ought to be worſhipped; or that any worſhip is due to any of them. And I " alſo believe, that ſalvation cannot be merited by works; " and all doctrines in affirmation of the ſaid points, I do " abjure, and renounce, without any equivocation, mental " reſervation, or ſecret evaſion whatſoever, taking the words " by me ſpoken according to the common meaning of them.

" *So help me GOD.*"

Divers clergymen of conſiderable learning, and blameleſs lives, found proteſtant, and good preachers, loſt their

‖ Scobel's Collections, p. 49.

eſtates

eſtates and livelihoods, by falling within the compaſs of this ordinance. How far ſuch ſeverities are juſtifiable by the law of arms, in a time of civil war and confuſion, I ſhall not determine. It had been well, if thoſe who would have given ſecurity for their peaceable behaviour, could have been diſtinguiſhed. But what could the parliament do in their circumſtances with men who were always dealing in politics, privately ſending the king money, preaching publickly that he was above law, and ſtirring up the people to ſedition and diſaffection to thoſe powers by whom they were protected? If *others* ſuffered in this manner it was a very *hard meaſure;* their eſtates might have been double taxed, as thoſe of papiſts and nonjurors have ſince been; but to take away their whole property, and reduce them to a *fifth*, and this at the mercy of ſequeſtrators, was extremely rigorous and ſevere.

However, his majeſty purſued the ſame meaſures, and gave directions to ſeize the lands and goods of the parliamentarians, as appears by his proclamation of April 7, and May 8, wherein he forbids all his ſubjects to ſubmit to their orders; and by another dated May 15, 1643, complains, "that divers of his clergy, eminent for piety and learning, "becauſe they publiſh his royal and juſt commands and de- "clarations, and will not (againſt the known laws of the "land, and their own conſciences) ſubmit to contributions, "nor publickly pray againſt us and our aſſiſtants, but con- "form to the book of common prayer eſtabliſhed by law, "and preach God's word according to the purity of it, "and in their ſermons will not teach ſedition, nor publiſh "illegal commands and orders for fomenting the unnatural "war levied againſt us, are ſome of them driven from their "cures and habitations, others ſilenced and diſcharged from "their cures, and perſecuted, and their curates, if *orthodox*, "diſplaced, in whoſe places factious and ſeditious perſons "are introduced.——His majeſty therefore forbids all his "ſubjects to hinder any of his clergy from exerciſing their "functions, or to diſplace them; and if any tranſgreſs this "command his majeſty declares them aſſiſtants of the rebel- "lion, and will proceed againſt them according to law, as "ſoon as he can apprehend them, *and in the mean time will*

"*give*

" *give direction for taking their lands and goods into ſafe cuſ-*
" *tody.*"* Such were the extremities on both ſides!

The ſilencing ſo many clergymen at once made it very difficult to find perſons qualified to fill the vacant pulpits. This was an inconvenience that attended the reformation of queen *Elizabeth*, and was the caſe of the eſtabliſhed church again in the year 1662, when near two thouſand miniſters were ejected on account of their non-conformity. Lord *Clarendon*, with his uſual candour, ſays, *that from the beginning of this parliament he is confident not one learned or orthodox man was recommended by them to any church in England;* and yet ſome of the greateſt ornaments of the church for learning and good ſenſe, in the reign of king *Charles* II. were of their promotion, as biſhop *Reynolds*, biſhop *Wilkins*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Dr. *Cudworth*, Dr. *Wallis*, and others. Mr. *Baxter*, who was a more competent judge in this reſpect, ſays,† " That though now and then an unworthy perſon, by " ſiniſter means, crept into the places of the ejected mini- " ſters, yet commonly thoſe whom they put in were ſuch as " ſet themſelves laboriouſly to ſeek the ſaving of ſouls. In- " deed the one half of them were very young, but that " could not be helped, becauſe there were no others to be " had; the parliament could not make men learned or god- " ly, but only put in the learneſt and ableſt they could " have; and though it had been to be wiſhed, that they " might have had leiſure to ripen in the univerſities, yet " many of them did (as *Ambroſe*) teach and learn at once " ſo ſucceſsfully, as that they much increaſed in learning " themſelves whilſt they profited others, and proportionably " more than many in the univerſities do." Thoſe clergymen who had been ſilenced and impriſoned by archbiſhop *Laud* were ſet at liberty and promoted; ſome who had fled to Holland and New-England on the account of non-conformity returned home, and were preferred to conſiderable lectures in the city, or to livings that had been ſequeſtered. The parliament entertained and promoted ſeveral Scots divines, and yet, after all, wanted a ſupply for ſeveral vacant benefices, which obliged them to admit of ſome unlearned perſons, and pluraliſts, not of choice, but through neceſ-

* Huſband's Collections, p. 177. † Hiſt. of Life and Times, p. 74.

ſity;

ſity; for when things were more ſettled, the aſſembly of divines declared againſt both; and it deſerves to be remembered, that the parliament, inſtead of giving their divines an abſolute and full poſſeſſion of the ſequeſtered livings, reſerved to themſelves a right in their warrants to diſplace them if they ſaw occaſion, which ſhews their great prudence and caution; for by this means it was in their power, upon the concluſion of a peace, to reſtore thoſe who had been ejected merely for their attachment to the king, without any injuſtice to the preſent poſſeſſor. To put ſome ſtop to the clamours of the royaliſts at Oxford, who gave out, that the parliament admitted *butchers*, *coblers*, *bricklayers*, and thoſe who had no call from God or man, they ordained, July 27, 1643, "That the committees ſhould not nominate any per-"ſon to vacant benefices, but ſuch as ſhould be examined "and approved by the aſſembly of divines then ſitting at "Weſtminſter." Upon the whole it is evident, that the two houſes did the beſt they could in their preſent circumſtances, and perhaps better than the royaliſts did at the reſtoration 1660, when, according to Dr. *Walker*, all the ſequeſtered clergy who ſurvived were reſtored to their livings, even thoſe who had been convicted of the moſt ſcandalous immoralities, without any marks of repentance or amendment.

The parliament's affairs being low, and their counſels divided, they not only applied to heaven by extraordinary faſtings and prayers, but went on vigorouſly with their intended reformation. They began with the ſabbath, and on March 22, 1642-3, ſent to the lord-mayor of the city of London, to deſire him to put in execution the ſtatutes for the due obſervation of the Lord's day; his lordſhip accordingly iſſued his precept the very next day to the aldermen,* requiring them to give ſtrict charge to the churchwardens and conſtables within their ſeveral wards, that from henceforth "they do not permit or ſuffer any perſon or perſons, "in time of divine ſervice, or at any time on the Lord's "day, to be tipling in any tavern, inn, tobacco-ſhop, ale-"houſe, or other victualling-houſe whatſoever; nor ſuffer "any fruiterers or herb-women to ſtand with fruit, herbs, "or other victuals or wares in any ſtreets, lanes, or allies,

* Huſband's Collections, p. 7.

"or

" or any other ways to put things to ſale, at any time of " that day, or in the evening of it; or any milk-woman to " cry milk; nor to ſuffer any perſons to unlade any veſſels " of fruit, or other goods, and carry them on ſhore; or to " uſe any unlawful exerciſes or paſtimes; and to give ex- " preſs charge to all inn-keepers, taverns, cook-ſhops, ale- " houſes, &c. within their wards, not to entertain any gueſts " to tipple, eat, drink, or take tobacco in their houſes on " the Lord's day, except inn-keepers, who may receive " their ordinary gueſts or travellers, who come for the " diſpatch of their neceſſary buſineſs; and if any perſons " offend in the premiſes, they are to be brought before the " lord-mayor, or one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, " to be puniſhed as the law directs." This order had a very conſiderable influence upon the city, which began to wear a different face of religion to what it had formerly done.§ May 5, the book tolerating ſports upon the Lord's day was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in Cheapſide, and other uſual places; and all perſons having any copies in their hands were required to deliver them to one of the ſheriffs of London to be burnt.

Next to the *Lord's day* they had a particular regard to their monthly faſt: April 24, all conſtables, or their deputies, were ordered to repair to every houſe within their reſpective liberties, the day before every publick faſt, and charge all perſons ſtrictly to obſerve it according to the ſaid ordinances. And upon the day of the publick faſt, they were enjoined to walk through their ſaid liberties, to ſearch for perſons who either by following the work of their calling, or ſitting in *taverns*, *victualling*, or *ale-houſes*, or any otherways ſhould not duly obſerve the ſame; and to return their names to the committee for examination, that they might be proceeded againſt for contempt. The faſt was obſerved the laſt *Wedneſday* in every month, the publick devotions continued with little or no intermiſſion from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon,‖ and (as has been already obſerved) with uncommon ſtrictneſs and rigour.

§ Huſband's Collections, p. 159.

‖ Theſe ſervices were protracted, undoubtedly, to a tireſome and unreaſonable length; and became the ſubject and ridicule to the royal party.

Of

Beſides the *ſtated* faſts, it was uſual upon extraordinary emergencies to appoint *occaſional* ones; as when the army was going upon any hazardous enterprize, or were within ſight of the enemy, or under very diſadvantageous circumſtances. When the earl of *Eſſex* was ſhut up in Cornwall, the two houſes appointed a day of faſting and prayer in ſix churches within the lines of communication, and in ſuch other churches where it ſhould be deſired; and the crowds of ſerious and attentive hearers on ſuch occaſions is almoſt incredible.

The king apprehending the parliament's monthly faſt was perverted from its original deſign, and turned into a nurſery of rebellion, was pleaſed to diſſolve it, and appoint another, for the reaſons contained in the following proclamation from Oxford, dated October 5, 1643. "When a general faſt was "firſt propounded to us in contemplation of the miſeries of "our kingdom of Ireland, we readily conſented to it.—But "when we obſerve what ill uſe has been made of theſe pub-"lick meetings, in pulpits, in prayers, and in the ſermons "of many ſeditious lecturers, to ſtir up and continue the "rebellion raiſed againſt us within this kingdom;——We "thought fit to command that ſuch an hypocritical faſt, to "the diſhonour of God, and ſlander of true religion, be "no longer continued and countenanced by our authority. "—And yet we being deſirous to expreſs our own humili-"ation and the humiliation of our people, for our own ſins, "and the ſins of the nation, are reſolved to continue a "monthly faſt, but not on the day formerly appointed.—We "do therefore hereby command, that from henceforth no faſt "be held on the laſt *Wedneſday* in the month, as for many "months it has been; nor on any other day than is hereby "appointed by us.—But we do expreſly charge and command, "that in all churches and chapels, &c. there be a ſolemn faſt

Of which this propoſal in a pamphlet entitled, "New Orders New" is a proof: viz. "That every year there ſhall be the *round-heads* feaſt cele-"brated, a well-lunged, long-breathed cobler ſhall preach a ſermon ſix "hours, and his prayers two hours long, and at every meſſe in this feaſt "ſhall be preſented a godly diſh of *turnips*, becauſe it is very agreeable to "our natures; for a turnip hath a *round-head*, and the anagram of a *pu-"ritan* is a TURNIP." Dr. Grey, p. 76. Note. ED.

"religiouſly

"religiouſly obſerved on the ſecond *Friday* in every month, "with publick prayers and preaching where it may be had, "that as one man we may pour out our prayers to God, "for the continuance of his gracious preſence and bleſſing "upon us, and for eſtabliſhing a happy peace; for which "purpoſe we have cauſed devout forms of prayer to be "compoſed and printed, and intend to diſperſe them, that "they may be uſed in all parts of our kingdom."* Agreeably to this proclamation, the king's friends in the counties of Cornwall and Devonſhire took an oath, and entered into an aſſociation upon ſundry articles, of which this was one, That if any miniſter ſhall refuſe, or wilfully neglect to obſerve the faſt appointed by his majeſty, or ſhall not read the ſervice and prayers appointed for that faſt, and being carried before a juſtice of peace, ſhall not promiſe and proteſt for their future conformity, he ſhall be forthwith ſecured, and *his eſtates ſequeſtered;* the like courſe to be taken with ſuch miniſters as abſent themſelves that day, unleſs upon ſickneſs, or other cauſe allowed by two juſtices of peace; and with thoſe that will not read ſuch books as ſhall be appointed to be read by his majeſty; and the conſtables are to certify their defaults to the next juſtice of peace. This was a new hardſhip upon clergy and people, for the parliament having enjoined the continuance of the faſt on *Wedneſday*, the royaliſts were obliged to an open ſeparation, by changing it to *Friday*. Thus the devotions of the kingdom were divided, and Almighty God called into the quarrel on both ſides.

The next thing the parliament undertook, was the removal of thoſe monuments of ſuperſtition out of churches, &c. which had been voted down the laſt year, but without any conſiderable effect, becauſe of the diſſent of the houſe of lords. In the beginning of May, ſir *Robert Harlow*, by order of the two houſes, took down the croſſes in Cheapſide, Charing-Croſs, and St. Paul's Croſs,§ which was a pulpit

* Huſband's Collections, p. 353. || Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 381, 82.

§ The zeal ſhewed for pulling down the croſſes gave occaſion for the publication of an humourous piece, entitled, "A Dialogue betwixt the "*Croſs* in *Cheap* and *Charing-Croſs*, comforting each other, as fearing "their

pulpit of wood covered with lead, in form of a croſs, and mounted on ſeveral ſteps of ſtone about the middle of St. Paul's church-yard, where the firſt reformers uſed to preach frequently to the people; and upon a further repreſentation of the aſſembly of divines, they paſſed the following ordinance "that before the firſt of November all altars and "tables of ſtone ſhall be utterly taken away and demoliſhed; "and all communion-tables removed from the eaſt end of "every church, chapel, or place of publick worſhip, and "be ſet in ſome other fit and convenient place or places of "the body of the church or chapel; and all rails whatſo-"ever which have been erected near to, or before, or about "any altar or communion-table, in any of the ſaid churches "or chapels, ſhall before the ſaid day be taken away, and "the chancel ground of every ſuch church, or chapel, or "other place of publick prayer, which has been within "theſe twenty years raiſed for any altar or communion-"table to ſtand upon, ſhall before the ſaid day be laid down "and levelled as it was before; and all tapers, candleſticks, "and baſins, ſhall before the ſaid day be removed and taken "away from the communion-table in every church, chapel, "or place of publick prayer, and not be uſed again after-"wards. And all crucifixes, croſſes, images, and pictures, "of any one or more perſons of the Trinity, or of the "Virgin *Mary;* and all other images, and pictures of ſaints, "or ſuperſtitious inſcriptions in, or upon any of the ſaid "churches, church-yards, or other places belonging to the

"their fall in theſe uncertain times." It was alſo bantered in a pamphlet, with this title, "New Orders New, agreed upon by the parliament of "Round-Heads, confirmed by the brethren of the new ſeparation, aſſembled "at Round-Heads' Hall without Cripplegate, with the great diſcretion of "maſter LONG-BREATH, an upright, new inſpired cobler, ſpeaker of the "houſe. Avowed by ANANIAS DULMAN, alias PRICK EARS." Of the ſtrain of this piece the following paſſage is a ſpecimen: "That we have "no *Croſſes,* for they are meer popery, and tend to the confuſion and op-"poſition of ſcripture: eſpecially let the ſight of *Cheapſide-Croſs* be a "deteſtation unto you all, and let theſe ſtreets that are called *Croſſes,* as "*Red-Croſs-ſtreet,* and *White-Croſs-ſtreet,* &c. be turned otherwiſe and "called after the name of ſome of our own family, as *Green, Spencer,* &c. "and call it rather *Green-ſtreet,* than *Red-Croſs-ſtreet,* &c. That thus all "profaneneſs being rooted and extirpated from our conventions, nothing but "holineſs may remain amongſt us." Dr. Grey, vol. ii. p. 80, 81, note. ED.

"ſaid

"ſaid churches or church-yards, or in any other open place, "ſhall, before the ſaid firſt of November, be taken away "and defaced by the proper officers that have the care of "ſuch churches. And it is further ordained, that the "walls, windows, grounds, and other places that ſhall be "broken, impaired, or altered by any the means aforeſaid, "ſhall be made up and repaired in good and ſufficient man-"ner, in all and every the ſaid pariſh churches, chapels, "or places of publick prayer belonging to the pariſh, by "the churchwardens for the time being, and in any cathe-"dral or collegiate church or chapel by the deans or ſub-"deans; and in the inns of court, by the benchers and "readers of the ſame, at the coſt and charge of all and "every ſuch perſon or perſons, bodies politick, or corpo-"rations, to whom the charge of repair does uſually be-"long, upon penalty of forty ſhillings to the uſe of the "poor, for the ſpace of twenty days after ſuch default; "and if default be made after December 1, the juſtice of "peace of the county or city ſhall have power to perform "it. Provided that this ordinance ſhall not extend to any "image, picture, or coat of arms in glaſs, ſtone, or other-"wiſe, in any church, chapel, or church-yard, ſet up by, "or engraven for a monument of any king, prince, noble-"man, or other dead perſon, which has not been commonly "reputed or taken for a ſaint."*

This ordinance is of the ſame tenor with the bill againſt innovations, preſented to the king at the treaty of Oxford, and does not much differ from queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions at the reformation; there were ſome diſorders and tumults in putting it in execution, and great neglect of repairs; but if the reader will look back to the ſuperſtitious decorations and ornaments of the cathedrals, mentioned in the former volume of this work, he will ſee there was ſome need of a reformation. Dec. 14, the commiſſioners cleared the cathedral of Canterbury of all the images, and paintings in the windows. *Heylin* ſays, the rabble violated the monuments of the dead, ſpoiled the organs, took down the rails, &c. and affronted the ſtatue of our bleſſed Saviour.§ Dec. 30, they removed the pictures, images and crucifixes in *Henry* the ſeventh's

* Huſband's Collections, fol. 307. § Hiſt. Preſbytery, p. 450.

chapel;

chapel; and about *Lady-day* the paintings about the walls and windows were defaced, and the organs taken down in the preſence of the committee of the houſe. The cathedral of St. *Paul*'s was ſtripped about the ſame time, the candleſticks, crucifixes, and plate, being ſold for the ſervice of the war; and within a few months moſt of the cathedrals throughout England underwent the ſame fate.* If the parliament, inſtead of leaving this work to the officers of every pariſh, had put it into the hands of ſome diſcreet perſons, to give directions what might remain, and what was fit to be removed, all the miſchiefs that have been complained of might have been prevented; the monuments of the dead might have remained entire, and a great many fine paintings been preſerved. Dr. *Heylin* charges the officers with ſacrilege, and fixes the divine vengeance upon them as a terror to others, one of them being killed in pulling down the croſs in Cheapſide, and another hanged ſoon after he had pulled down the rich croſs in Abingdon. But without remarking on the doctor's prognoſtications, it might be very proper to remove theſe images and croſſes, becauſe of the ſuperſtitious reſort of great numbers of people to them; though it ought to have been done in a peaceable manner, without any damage to the truly venerable remains of antiquity.

The paper combat between the two parties at Oxford and London, was carried on with no leſs fury than the war itſelf; numberleſs pamphlets were ſcattered up and down the kingdom, big with diſaffection and ſcandal againſt the two houſes; to put a ſtop to which, the commons, by an order of March 6, 1642-3, had impowered the committee of examinations to ſearch for printing preſſes, in ſuch places where they had cauſe to ſuſpect they were employed againſt the parliament, and to break them in pieces, and deſtroy the materials. They were alſo to ſeize the pamphlets, and to commit the printer and vender to priſon. But this order not being effectual, another was publiſhed June 14, 1643, the preamble to which ſets forth, "that the former orders "of parliament to prevent the printing and diſperſing ſcan-

* Dr. *Grey* gives various examples of the rude violence and indiſcriminate deſtruction with which this was done. His authorities are biſhop *Hall*, *Heylin*, *Dugdale*, and a work entitled, Mercurius Ruſticus. ED.

"dalous

"dalous pamphlets having been ineffectual, it is ordained, "that no perſon or perſons ſhall print any book or pam-"phlet without licence under the hands of ſuch perſons as "ſhall be appointed by parliament, nor ſhall any book be re-"printed without the licence and conſent of the owner, and the "printer to put his name to it; the company of *ſtationers*, "and the committee of examinations, are required to make "ſtrict enquiry after private preſſes, and to ſearch all ſuſ-"pected ſhops and warehouſes for unlicenſed books and "pamphlets, and to commit the offenders againſt this order "to priſon, to be puniſhed as the parliament ſhall direct."‖ The names of the licenſers appointed by this ordinance were theſe:—

For books of divinity.

The Rev. Mr. Tho. Gataker
The Rev. Mr. J. Downham
The Rev. Mr. Callicut Downing
The Rev. Dr. Tho. Temple
The Rev. Mr. Joſ. Caryl
The Rev. Mr. Edmund Calamy
The Rev. Mr. Carter, *of Yorkſhire*
The Rev. Mr. Ch. Herle
The Rev. Mr. Ja. Cranford
The Rev. Mr. Obad. Sedgwick
The Rev. Mr. Batchelor
The Rev. Mr. John Ellis, *jun.*

For law books.

Sir John Brampſton
Mr. Serj. Rolls
Mr. Serj. Phefant
Mr. Serj. Jermyn.

For phyſick and ſurgery.

The preſident and four cenſors of the college of phyſicians, for the time being.

For civil and canon law.

Sir Nath. Brent, or any three doctors of the civil law.

For heraldry, titles of honour, and arms.

One of the three kings at arms.

For philoſophy, hiſtory, poetry, morality, and arts.

Sir Nath. Brent, Mr. Langley, *and* Mr. Farnaby, *ſchool-maſters of St.* Paul's.

For ſmall pamphlets, pictures, &c.

The clerk of the company of *ſtationers*, for the time being; and

For mathematicks, almanacks, and prognoſtications.

The reader of Greſham college for the time being.

But neither this, nor any other regulation of the preſs, could reſtrain the Oxonians from diſperſing their *mercuries and diurnals* over the whole kingdom, as long as the univerſity was in the king's hands.

‖ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 335.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Calling the Aſſembly of Divines *at* Weſtminſter *to the* Oxford *Parliament.*

IT has been obſerved, that at the ſetting down of this parliament, the reſolution of the leading members was to remove the grievances of the church as well as ſtate, and for this purpoſe to addreſs the king to call an aſſembly of divines to reform the liturgy and diſcipline. To forward this deſign the London miniſters, in their petitions in the year 1641, prayed the houſes to be mediators to his majeſty for a free ſynod, and the commons accordingly mentioned it in their grand remonſtrance of December 1, 1641, "*We deſire* (ſay they) *that there may be a general ſynod of the* "*moſt grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this* "*iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from foreign parts profeſſing the* "*ſame religion with us, who may conſider of all things neceſ-* "*ſary for the peace and good government of the church, and* "*to repreſent the reſult of their conſultations to be allowed and* "*confirmed, and to receive the ſtamp of authority.*" In the treaty of Oxford a bill was preſented to the ſame purpoſe and rejected: ſome time after Dr. *Burges*, at the head of the puritan clergy, applied again to parliament, but the houſes were unwilling to take this ſtep without the king's concurrence, till they were reduced to the neceſſity of calling in the Scots, who inſiſted, that *there ſhould be an uniformity of doctrine and diſcipline between the two nations.* To make way for which the houſes turned their bill into an ordinance, and convened the aſſembly by their own authority.*

* It is a juſt remark of Mr. *Palmer*, that the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, was not a convocation according to the dioceſan way of government, nor was it called by the votes of the miniſters according to the preſbyterian way; but the parliament choſe all the members themſelves, merely with a view to have their opinion and advice for ſettling the government, liturgy, and doctrine of the church of England. And they were confined in their debates to ſuch things as the parliament propoſed. Nonconformiſts Memorial, vol. i. introduction, p. 7. Ed.

The

The ordinance bears date June 12, 1643, and is the very ſame with the Oxford bill, except in the point of lay-aſſeſſors, and of reſtraining the aſſembly from exerciſing any juriſdiction or authority eccleſiaſtical whatſoever. It is entitled,

*An ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament, for the calling of an aſſembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be conſulted with by the parliament, for ſettling the government and liturgy of the church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the ſaid church, from falſe aſperſions and interpretations.**

The preamble ſets forth,

"That whereas amongſt the infinite bleſſings of Almighty "God upon this nation, none is, or can be more dear to us, "than the purity of our religion; and foraſmuch as many "things as yet remain in the diſcipline, liturgy, and govern-"ment of the church, which neceſſarily require a more "perfect reformation. And whereas it has been declared "and reſolved, by the lords and commons aſſembled in "parliament, that the preſent church government by arch-"biſhops, biſhops, their chancellors, commiſſaries, deans, "deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other eccleſiaſtical "officers depending on the hierarchy, is evil, and juſtly "offenſive and burdenſome to the kingdom, and a great "impediment to reformation, and growth of religion, and "very prejudicial to the ſtate and government of this king-"dom, that therefore they are reſolved, the ſame ſhall be "taken away, and that ſuch a government ſhall be ſettled "in the church as may be agreeable to God's holy word, "and moſt apt to procure and preſerve the peace of the "church at home, and nearer agreement with the church "of Scotland, and other reformed churches abroad. And "for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and "clearing of the doctrine of the church of England from all "falſe calumnies and aſperſions, it is thought fit to call an "aſſembly of learned, godly, and judicious divines, to con-"ſult and adviſe of ſuch matters and things touching the

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. part iii. or vol. v. p. 337.

"premiſes,

" premiſes, as ſhall be propoſed to them by both, or either " houſes of parliament; and to give their advice and counſel " therein to both, or either of the ſaid houſes, when and as " often as they ſhall be thereunto required."

" BE it therefore ordained by the lords and commons " in this preſent parliament aſſembled, that all and every the " perſons hereafter in this ordinance named [the ordinance " here names the perſons] and ſuch other perſons as ſhall " be nominated by both houſes of parliament, or ſo many " of them as ſhall not be letted by ſickneſs, or other neceſ- " ſary impediment, ſhall meet and aſſemble, and are hereby " required and enjoined upon ſummons ſigned by the clerks " of both houſes of parliament left at their ſeveral reſpective " dwellings, to meet and aſſemble at Weſtminſter, in the " chapel called king *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel, on the firſt " of July 1643, and after the firſt meeting, being at leaſt of " the number of forty, ſhall from time to time ſit, and be re- " moved from place to place; and alſo, that the ſaid aſſem- " bly ſhall be diſſolved in ſuch manner as by both houſes of " parliament ſhall be directed. *And the ſaid* ASSEMBLY " *ſhall have power and authority, and are hereby enjoined* " *from time to time, during this preſent parliament, or till* " *further order be taken by both the ſaid houſes, to confer and* " *treat among themſelves of ſuch matters and things concerning* " *the liturgy, diſcipline, and government of the church of Eng-* " *land, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the* " *ſame from all falſe aſperſions and miſconſtructions, as ſhall be* " *propoſed by either or both houſes of parliament, and no other*; " and to deliver their advices and opinions touching the mat- " ters aforeſaid, as ſhall be moſt agreeable to the word of " God, to both or either houſes from time to time, in ſuch " manner as ſhall be required, and not to divulge the ſame " by printing, writing, or otherwiſe, without conſent of " parliament."

If any difference of opinion aroſe, they were to repreſent it to parliament with their reaſons, that the houſes might give further direction. Four ſhillings per day was allowed for each one during his attendance. Dr. *William Twiſſe* of Newbury was appointed prolocutor, and in caſe of his ſick-

neſs or death the parliament reſerved to themſelves the choice of another. The ordinance concludes with the following proviſo: "*Provided alway, that this ordinance ſhall not give* "*them, nor ſhall they in this aſſembly aſſume or exerciſe any* "*juriſdiction, power, or authority eccleſiaſtical whatſoever, or* "*any other power than is herein particularly expreſſed.*"

Then follow the names of thirty *lay aſſeſſors*, (viz.) ten lords, and twenty commoners, and one hundred twenty-one divines.

N. B. The LAY-ASSESSORS had an equal liberty of debating and voting with the divines, and were theſe;

Peers.

Algernon *E. of* Northumberland
William *E. of* Bedford
William *E. of* Pembroke *and* Montgomery
William *E. of* Saliſbury
Henry *E. of* Holland
Edward *E. of* Mancheſter
William *Lord Viſc.* Say *and* Seal
Edward *Lord Viſc.* Conway
Philip *Lord* Wharton
Edward *Lord* Howard *of* Eſcrick

Commoners.

John Selden, *eſq;*
Francis Rouſe, *eſq;*
Edmund Prideaux, *eſq;*
Sir Henry Vane, *knt. ſen.*
Sir Henry Vane, *knt. jun.*
John Glynne, *eſq; Recorder of* London
John White, *eſq;*
Bulſtrode Whitlocke, *eſq;*
Humphry Salway, *eſq;*
Oliver St. John, *eſq;*
Sir Benjamin Rudyard, *knt.*
John Pym, *eſq;*
Sir John Clotworthy, *knt.*
Sir Thomas Barrington, *knt.*
William Wheeler, *eſq;*
William Pierpoint, *eſq;*
Sir John Evelyn, *knt.*
John Maynard, *eſq;*
Mr. Serjeant Wild
Mr. Young
Sir Matth. Hale, *afterwards Lord chief Juſtice of the* King's-Bench [*appeared, ſays* Anthony Wood, *among the* lay-aſſeſſors.]

Lay-Aſſeſſors from *Scotland.*

Lord Maitland, *afterwards Duke* Lauderdale
E. Lothian
A. Johnſton, *called Lord* Warriſton.

The divines were choſen out of ſuch liſts as the knights and burgeſſes brought in, of perſons beſt qualified in their ſeveral counties, out of which the parliament agreed upon two; though according to Dr. *Calamy* ſome counties had only one.

A LIST

A List *of the* Aſſembly *of* Divines *at* Weſtminſter, *in Alphabetical Order.*

Thoſe with ** *gave conſtant attendance; thoſe with one* * *ſat in the aſſembly and took the* Proteſtation, *but withdrew, or ſeldom appeared; thoſe with no ſtar did not appear at all.*

To ſupply the vacancies that happened by death, ſeceſſion, or otherwiſe, the parliament named others from time to time, who were called Super-added Divines.

** *The Rev.* Dr. William Twisse, *of* Newbury, *was appointed by parliament,* Prolocutor.

** *The Rev.* { Dr. Cornelius Burges, *of* Watford, / Mr. John White, *of* Dorcheſter, A. M. } Aſſeſſors.

* *The Rev.* { Mr. Henry Roborough, / Mr. Adoniram Byfield, A. M. } Scribes, *but had no Votes.*

** *The Rev.* John Arrowſmith, *of* Lynne, *afterwards* D. D. *and Maſter of* Peter-Houſe, Cambridge

** Mr. Simeon Aſh, *of St.* Brides, *or* Baſingſhaw

** Mr. Theodore Backhurſt, *of* Overton Waterville

** Mr. Tho. Bayly, B. D. *of* Manningford-Bruce

** Mr. John Bond, *a ſuperadded Divine*

* Mr. Boulton, *ſuperadded*

** Mr. Oliver Bowler, B. D. *of* Sutton

** Mr. William Bridge, A. M. *of* Yarmouth

The Right Rev. Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, *biſhop of* Exon

Mr. Richard Buckley

** Mr. Antony Burges, A. M. *of* Sutton-Coldfield

** Mr. Jer. Burroughs, A. M. *of* Stepney

** Mr. Richard Byfield, A. M. *ſuperadded*

** Edmund Calamy, B. D. Aldermanbury

** Mr. Tho. Caſe, Milk-ſtreet

Mr. Richard Capel, *of* Pitchcombe, A. M.

** Mr. Joſeph Caryl, A. M. Lincoln's-Inn

** Mr. William Carter, *of* London

** Mr. Thomas Carter, *of* Oxon.

** Mr. William Carter, *of* Dynton, Bucks

** Mr. John Cawdrey, A. M. St. Mart. Fields, *ſuperadded*

** Humph. Chambers, D. D. *of* Claverton

** Francis Cheynel, D. D. *of* Petworth

** Mr. Peter Clarke, A. M. *of* Carnaby

** Mr. Richard Clayton, *of* Showel

** Mr. Francis Coke, *of* Yoxhall

** Mr Thomas Coleman, A. M. *of* Bliton
** John Conant, *of* Lymington, D. D. *afterwards Archdeacon of* Norwich, *and Preb. of* Worceſter
** Mr. Edw. Corbet, A. M. Merton *Coll.* Oxon.
* Rob. Croſſe, D. D. *aft. Vicar of* Chew, Somerſet
** Mr. Philip Delmé, *ſuperadded*
Mr. Tho. Dillingham, *of* Dean
* Calibute Downing, D. D. *of* Hackney
Mr. William Dunning, *of* Godalſton
** *The Rev.* Mr. John Drury, *ſuperadded*
Mr. Edward Ellis, B. D. Gilfield
Mr. John Erle, *of* Biſhopſtone
* Dan. Featley, D. D. *of* Lambeth
** Mr. Tho. Ford, A. M. *ſuperadded*
** Mr. John Foxcroft, *of* Gotham
Mr. Hannibal Gammon, A. M. *of* Cornwall
** Tho. Gataker, B. D. Rotherhithe
** Mr. Samuel Gibſon, *of* Burleigh
** Mr. John Gibbon, *of* Waltham
** Mr. George Gippes, *of* Aylſton
** Tho. Goodwin, D. D. *of* London, *aft. Preſi.* Mag. *C.* Oxon.
** Mr. William Goad, *ſuperadded*
** Mr. Stanley Gower, *of* Brampton-Bryan
** William Gouge, D. D. *of* Black-Friars
** Mr. William Greenhill, *of* Stepney
** Mr. Green, *of* Pentecomb
John Hacket, D. D. *of St.* Andrew's, Holborn, *afterwards biſhop of* Lichfield
Henry Hammond, D. D. *of* Penſhurſt, Kent
** Mr. Henry Hall, B. D. Norwich
** Mr. Humphry Hardwicke, *ſuperadded*
* John Harris, D. D. *Preb. of* Winchester, *Warden of* Wickham
** Rob. Harris, D. D. *of* Hanwell, *Preſi. of* Trinity *College*, Oxon
** Mr. CHARLES HERLE, A. M. Winwick, *afterwards* Proloc.
** Mr. Richard Heyrick, A. M. *of* Manchester
** Thomas Hill, D. D. *of* Tichmarſh, *afterwards Maſter of* Trinity *College*, Cambridge
* Samuel Hilderſham, B. D. *of* Felton
** Mr. Jaſper Hickes, A. M. *of* Lawrick
** Mr. Tho. Hodges, B. D. *of* Kenſington
Richard Holdſworth, D. D. *M.* Eman. *College*, Cambridge
** Joſhua Hoyle, D. D. *of* Dublin, Ireland
Mr. Henry Hutton
** Mr. John Jackſon, A. M. *of* Queen's *College*, Cambridge
* Mr. Johnſon
Mr. Lance, Harrow, Middleſex

** Mr

** Mr. John Langley, *of* Weſt Tuderley, *Preb.* Glouceſter
** Mr. John Ley, A. M. Great Budworth
** *The Rev.* John Lightfoot, D. D. *of* Aſhby, *M.* Cath. *H.*
* Rich. Love, D. D. *of* Ekinton
* Mr. Chriſtopher Love, A. M. *ſuperadded*
Mr. William Lyford, A. M. Sherbourne
* Mr. John de la March, *Miniſter of the* French *Church*
** Mr. Stephen Marſhal, B. D. *of* Finchingfield
* Mr. William Maſſam, *ſuperadded*
Mr. John Maynard, A. M. *ſuperadded*
** Mr. Milliam Mew, B. D. *of* Eſſington
** Mr. Tho. Micklethwait, Cheriburton
George Morley, D. D. *afterwards biſhop of* Wincheſter
Mr. William Moreton, Newcaſtle
* Mr. Moore
** Mr. Matth. Newcomen, Dedham
* Mr. William Newſcore, *ſuperadded*
William Nicholſon, D. D. *afterwards Bp. of* Glouceſter
Mr. Henry Nye, *of* Clapham
** Mr. Philip Nye, *of* Kimbolton
Mr. HERBERT PALMER, B. D. Aſhwel, *aſt.* Aſſeſſor
Mr. Henry Painter, *of* Exeter
Mr. Chriſtopher Parkly, *of* Hawarden
** Mr. Edw. Peal, *of* Compton
** Mr. Andrew Pern, *of* Wilby, Northampton
** Mr. John Philips, Wrentham
** Mr. Benj. Pickering, Eaſt-Hoatly
* Mr. Samuel de la Place, *Min. of* French *Church*
** Mr. William Price, *of St.* Paul's, Covent-Garden
John Prideaux, D. D. *biſhop of* Worceſter
** Mr. Nicholas Proffet, *of* Marlborough
Mr. John Pyne, *of* Bereferrars
** Mr. William Rathband, *of* Highgate
** Mr. William Reyner, B. D. Egham
** Edw. Reynolds, *of* Brampton, D. D. *aft. Bp.* Norwich
** Mr. Arthur Salway, Severn-Stoke
Rob. Saunderſon, D. D. *afterwards biſhop of* Lincoln
** Mr. Henry Scudder, *of* Colingbourne
** Lazarus Seaman, B. D. *of* Lond. *M.* Peter.-*h.* Cambridge
** Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, B. D. Coggeſhall
Mr. Joſias Shute, B. D. Lombard-ſtreet
** *The Rev.* Mr. Sydrach Sympſon, London
** Peter Smith, D. D. *of* Barkway
** William Spurſtow, D. D. *of* Hampden
** Edmund Staunton, D. D. *of* Kingſton
** Mr. Peter Sterry, London

Mr.

** Mr. John Strickland, B. D. New Sarum, *ſuperadded*
** Matth. Styles, D. D. Eaſtcheap
* Mr. Strong, Weſtminſter, *ſuperadded*
** Mr. Francis Taylor, A. M. Yalding
** Tho. Temple, D. D. *of* Batterſey
** Mr. Tho. Thoroughgood, Maſſingham
** Mr. Chriſtopher Tiſdale, Uphurſt-Bourne
* Mr. Henry Tozer, B. D. Oxon
** Anthony Tuckney, D. D. *of* Boſton, *afterwards Maſter of Saint* John's *Coll.* Oxon, *and* Regius *Profeſſor*
** Mr. Tho. Valentine, B. D. Chalfort *Saint* Giles's
** Mr. Rich. Vines, A. M. *of* Calcot, *M.* Pemb.-*h.* Camb.
The moſt Rev. Dr. James Uſher, *Archbp. of* Armagh
** Mr. George Walker, B. D. St. John Evan.
Samuel Ward, D. D. *Maſter of* Sidney *Coll.* Camb.
** Mr. John WALLIS, *afterwards* D. D. *and* Scribe
** Mr. John Ward, *ſuperadded*
Mr. James Welby, Sylatten
* Thomas Weſtfield, D. D. *biſhop of* Briſtol
** Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, A. M. Stretton
Mr. Francis Whiddon, Moreton
** Henry Wilkinſon, *ſen.* D. D. Waddeſdon, *afterwards* Margaret *Profeſſor*, Oxon
** Mr. Henry Wilkinſon, *jun.* B. D. St. Dunſtans
** Mr. Thomas Wilſon, Otham
* Tho. Wincop, D. D. Eleſworth
** John Wincop, D. D. *St.* Martin's *in the Fields*
** Mr. Francis Woodcock, *Proctor of the Univerſity of* Cambridge
** Mr. Thomas Young, Stow-Market

Miniſters from Scotland.

** Mr. Alexander Henderſon
** Mr. George Gilleſpie
** Mr. Samuel Rutherford
** Mr. Robert Bayly.

Before the aſſembly ſat, the king, by his royal proclamation of June 22, forbad their meeting for the purpoſes therein mentioned; and declared, that no acts done by them ought to be received by his ſubjects; he alſo threatened to proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity of the law;* nevertheleſs, ſixty-nine aſſembled in king *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel the firſt day, according to ſummons, not in their

* Dr. *Grey* refers to the 25th of *Henry* VIII. c. 19, or the act of ſubmiſſion of the clergy, to prove this aſſembly illegal. ED.

canonical

canonical habits, but chiefly in black coats and bands in imitation of the foreign proteſtants. Few of the epiſcopal divines appeared, and thoſe who did, after ſome time, withdrew for the following reaſons.

Obj. 1. "Becauſe the aſſembly was prohibited by the "royal proclamation; which Dr. *Twiſſe*, in his ſermon at "the opening the aſſembly, lamented, but hoped in due time "his majeſty's conſent might be obtained.

Anſw. To which it was replied, "That the conſtitution "at preſent was diſſolved; that there were two ſovereign "contending powers in the nation; and if the war in which "the parliament was engaged was juſt and neceſſary, they "might aſſume this branch of the prerogative, till the na-"tion was ſettled, as well as any other.

Obj. 2. "Becauſe the members of the aſſembly were not "choſen by the clergy, and therefore could not appear as "their repreſentatives.

Anſw. To which it was anſwered, "That the aſſembly "was not deſigned for a *national ſynod*, or *repreſentative* "*body of the clergy*, but only as a committee, or council to "the parliament, to give their opinion touching ſuch church "matters as the houſes ſhould lay before them; they had "no power of themſelves to make laws or canons, or de-"termine controverſies in matters of faith. They were to "enter upon no buſineſs but what the parliament appointed, "and when they had done they were to offer it to the two "houſes only as their *humble advice*; and ſurely the parlia-"ment might chooſe their own council, without being ob-"liged to depend upon the nomination of the clergy.

Obj. 3. "But as great an exception as any, was their "diſlike of the company, and of the buſineſs they were to "tranſact; there was a mixture of *laity* with the *clergy*; the "*divines* were for the moſt part of a puritanical ſtamp, and "enemies to the hierarchy; and their buſineſs (they appre-"hended) was to pull down that which they would uphold.

Anſw. "This being not deſigned for a legal convocation, "but for a *council* to the parliament in the reformation of "the church, they apprehended they had a power to join "ſome of their own members with ſuch a *committee* or "*council*, without intrenching upon the rights of convo-"cation.

"cation. —— The *divines*, except the *Scots* and *French*, "were in epiſcopal orders, educated in our own univerſities, "and moſt of them graduates; their buſineſs was only to "adviſe about ſuch points of doctrine and church diſcipline "as ſhould be laid before them, in which the epiſcopal "divines might have been of ſervice, if they had con-"tinued with the aſſembly, to which they were moſt ear-"neſtly invited."

I believe no ſet of clergy ſince the beginning of chriſtianity have ſuffered ſo much in their characters and reputations,* as theſe, for their *advices* to the two houſes of parliament. In his majeſty's proclamation of June 22, the far greateſt part of them are ſaid to be *men of no learning or reputation.* Lord *Clarendon* admits,† "about twenty of them were reve-"rend and worthy perſons, and epiſcopal in their judgments; "but as to the remainder, they were but pretenders to divi-"nity; ſome were infamous in their lives and converſations, "and moſt of them of very mean parts and learning, if not "of ſcandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than "of malice to the church of England." His lordſhip would inſinuate, that they underſtood not the original text, becauſe the learned Mr. *Selden* ſometimes corrected the Engliſh tranſlation of their little pocket bibles, and put them into confuſion, by his uncommon acquaintance with *Jewiſh* antiquities; as if that great man would have treated a convocation with more decency or reſpect.‖ But archbiſhop *Laud's*

* "And no ſet of clergy," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "ever deſerved it more:" and to ſhew this, he quotes a virulent invective againſt them by *Greg. Williams*, biſhop of Oſſory. ED.

† Clarendon, vol. i. p. 530.

‖ Biſhop *Warburton* has no doubt but Mr. *Selden* would have treated a convocation with more decency and reſpect. For his lordſhip adds, "he "had infinitely more eſteem for the learning of the *epiſcopal* clergy, though, "perhaps, no more love for their perſons." In what eſtimation Mr. *Selden* held the learning of the epiſcopal clergy, has been ſhewn vol. ii. p. 139, the note. With what reſpect he was likely to ſpeak of a convocation, the reader will judge from the following paſſage, in his Table-Talk, p. 37, in the edition of 1777, under the word CLERGY. "The clergy and laity "together are," ſays he, "never like to do well; it is as if a man were to "make an excellent feaſt, and ſhould have his apothecary and his phyſician "come into the kitchen: the cooks, if they were let alone, would make "excellent

Laud's account is ſtill more extravagant; for though it is notorious the aſſembly would not allow a toleration to thoſe whom they called ſectaries, yet his *grace* ſays, "the greateſt "part of them were *Browniſts* or *independants*, or New-"England miniſters, if not worſe, or at beſt enemies to the "doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England;" whereas in truth there was not above ſix *independants* in the aſſembly, and not one New-England miniſter that I know of. If the reader will carefully peruſe the liſt, he will find in it ſome of the moſt conſiderable lawyers and ableſt divines of the laſt age; and though they might have miſtaken notions of church diſcipline, and were no better acquainted with the rights of conſcience and private judgment, than their predeceſſors the biſhops, yet with all their faults, impartial poſterity muſt acknowledge the far greater number were men of exemplary piety and devotion, who had a real zeal for the glory of God, and the purity of the chriſtian faith and practice. Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes, that lord *Clarendon* had perhaps with too much ſeverity ſaid, that ſome of theſe divines were infamous in their lives and characters; but Mr. *Baxter*, who was better acquainted with them than his lordſhip, or any of his followers, affirms, "that they were men "of eminent learning, godlineſs, miniſterial abilities, and "fidelity."

The aſſembly was opened on Saturday July 1, 1643, with a ſermon preached by Dr. *Twiſſe* in king *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel, both houſes of parliament being preſent. The ordinance for their convention was then read, and the names of the members called over, after which they adjourned to Monday, and agreed on the following rules:

(1.) "That every ſeſſion begin and end with a prayer.

"excellent meat, but then comes the apothecary, and he puts rhubarb into "one ſauce, and agaric into another ſauce. *Chain up the clergy on both* "*ſides.*" That he had no high opinion of the power and authority of a convocation, may be concluded from his comparing it to "a court-leet, "where they have a power to make bye-laws as they call them; as that a "man ſhall put ſo many cows or ſheep in the common; but they can make "nothing that is contrary to the laws of the kingdom." Under the word CONVOCATION, p. 45. ED.

(2.) "That

(2.) "That after the firſt prayer, the names of the aſ-
"ſembly be called over, and thoſe that are abſent marked;
"but if any member comes in afterwards, he ſhall have li-
"berty to give in his name to the *ſcribes*.

(3.) "That every member before his admiſſion to ſit and
"vote, do take the following vow or proteſtation:

"I *A. B.* do ſeriouſly and ſolemnly, in the preſence of
"Almighty God, declare that in this aſſembly whereof I
"am a member, I will not maintain any thing in matter of
"doctrine but what I believe in my conſcience to be moſt
"agreeable to the word of God; or in point of diſcipline,
"but what I ſhall conceive to conduce moſt to the glory of
"God, and the good and peace of his church."

And to refreſh their memories this *proteſtation* was read in the aſſembly every *Monday* morning.

4. "That the appointed hour of meeting be ten in the
"morning; the afternoon to be reſerved for committees.

(5.) "That three of the members of the aſſembly be
"appointed weekly as chaplains, one to the houſe of lords,
"another to the houſe of commons, and a third to the com-
"mittee of both kingdoms." The uſual method was to take it by turns, and every *Friday* the chaplains were appointed for the following week.

(6.) "That all the members of the aſſembly have liberty
"to be covered, except the ſcribes;" who ſometime after had alſo this liberty indulged them.

Beſides theſe, the parliament on *Thurſday* following ſent them ſome further regulations. As,

(1.) "That *two aſſeſſors* be joined with the prolocutor,
"to ſupply his place in caſe of abſence or ſickneſs, viz. Dr.
"*Cornelius Burges*, and the reverend Mr. *John White* of
"Dorcheſter.

(2.) "That *ſcribes* be appointed, who are not to vote
"in the aſſembly, viz. the reverend Mr. *Roborough* and Mr.
"*Byfield*.

(3.) "That every member at his firſt entrance into the
"aſſembly take the forementioned *proteſtation*.

(4.) "That

(4.) "That no reſolution be given upon any queſtion "the ſame day wherein it was firſt propoſed.

(5.) "What any man undertakes to prove as a neceſſary "truth in religion he ſhall make good from the holy ſcriptures.

(6.) "No man ſhall proceed in any diſpute, after the "prolocutor has enjoined him ſilence, unleſs the aſſembly "deſire he may go on.

(7.) "No man ſhall be denied the liberty of entering his "diſſent from the aſſembly, with his reaſons for it, after "the point has been debated; from whence it ſhall be tranſ- "mitted to parliament, when either houſe ſhall require it.

(8.) "All things agreed upon, and prepared for the par- "liament, ſhall be openly read, and allowed in the aſſembly, "and then offered as their judgment, if the majority aſſent; "provided, that the opinions of the perſons diſſenting, with "their reaſons, be annexed, if they deſire it, and the ſolu- "tion of thoſe reaſons by the aſſembly."

The proceedings being thus ſettled, the parliament ſent the aſſembly an order to review the XXXIX articles of the church; but before they entered upon buſineſs, viz. July 7th, they petitioned the two houſes for a faſt, on a day when the reverend Mr. *Bowles* and *Matth. Newcomen* preached before them. Upon which petition biſhop *Kennet* paſſes the following ſevere cenſure, *Impartially ſpeaking, it is ſtuft with ſchiſm, ſedition, and cruelty:* I will therefore ſet the ſubſtance of the petition before the reader in their own language, that he may form his own judgment upon it, and upon the ſtate of the nation.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons aſſembled in parliament.

The humble petition of divers miniſters of Chriſt, in the name of themſelves, and ſundry others,

Humbly ſheweth,

"THAT your petitioners upon ſerious conſideration, "and deep ſenſe of God's heavy wrath lying upon us, and "hanging over our heads, and the whole nation, manifeſted "particularly by the two late ſad and unexpected defeats of "our forces in the north and in the weſt, do apprehend it

"to

" to be our duty, as watchmen for the good of the church " and kingdom, to preſent to your religious and prudent " conſideration theſe enſuing requeſts, in the name of JESUS " CHRIST, your Lord and ours.

Firſt, " That you will be pleaſed to command a publick " and extraordinary day of humiliation this week, through- " out the cities of London, Weſtminſter, the ſuburbs of " both, and places adjacent within the weekly bills of mor- " tality, that every one may bitterly bewail his own ſins, " and cry mightily to God, for Chriſt's ſake, to remove his " wrath, and to heal the land; with profeſſedly new reſolu- " tion of more full performance of the late covenant, for " the amendment of our ways.

Secondly, " That you would vouchſafe inſtantly to take " into your moſt ſerious conſideration, how you may more " ſpeedily ſet up CHRIST more gloriouſly in all his ordi- " nances within this kingdom, and reform all things amiſs " throughout the land, wherein God is more ſpecially, and " more immediately diſhonoured, among which we humbly " lay before you theſe particulars:

1. " That the brutiſh ignorance, and palpable darkneſs " poſſeſſing the greateſt part of the people, in all places of " the kingdom, may be remedied, by a ſpeedy and ſtrict " charge to all miniſters, conſtantly to catechize all the " youth and ignorant people within their pariſhes.

2. " That the grievous and heinous pollution of the " Lord's ſupper, by thoſe who are groſly ignorant, and no- " toriouſly profane, may be henceforth, with all chriſtian " care and due circumſpection, prevented.

3. " That the bold venting of corrupt doctrines, directly " contrary to the ſacred law of God, may be ſpeedily ſup- " preſſed.

4. " That the profanation of any part of the Lord's " day, and the days of ſolemn faſting, by buying, ſelling, " working, ſporting, travelling, or neglecting of God's or- " dinances, may be remedied, by appointing ſpecial officers " in every place for the due execution of all good laws and " ordinances againſt the ſame.

5. " That there may be a thorough and ſpeedy proceed- " ing againſt blind guides, and ſcandalous miniſters; and

" that

" that your wiſdom would find out ſome way to admit into " the miniſtry ſuch godly and hopeful men as have prepared " themſelves, and are willing thereunto, without which " there will ſuddenly be ſuch a ſcarcity of able and faithful " miniſters, that it will be to little purpoſe to caſt out ſuch " as are unable, idle, or ſcandalous.

6. " That the laws may be quickened againſt ſwearing " and drunkenneſs, with which the land is filled and defiled, " and under which it mourns.

7. " That ſome ſevere courſe be taken againſt fornica- " tion, adultery, and inceſt, which do greatly abound.

8. That all monuments of idolatry and ſuperſtition, but " more eſpecially the whole body and practice of popery, " may be totally aboliſhed.

9. " That juſtice may be executed on all delinquents, ac- " cording to your religious *vow* and *proteſtation* to that " purpoſe.

10. " That all poſſible means may be uſed for the ſpeedy " relief and releaſe of our miſerable, and extremely diſ- " treſſed brethren, who are priſoners in Oxford, York, and " elſewhere, whoſe heavy ſufferings cry aloud in the ears " of our God; and it would lie very heavy on the king- " dom ſhould they miſcarry, ſuffering as they do for the " cauſe of God.

" That ſo God, who is now by the ſword avenging the " quarrel of his covenant, beholding your integrity and " zeal, may turn from the fierceneſs of his wrath, hear " our prayers, go forth with our armies, perfect the work " of reformation, forgive our ſins, and ſettle truth and " peace throughout the kingdom.

" *And your petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.*"†

Purſuant to this petition, Friday July 21,* was appointed for a faſt, when the reverend Mr. *Hill*, Mr. *Spurſtow*, and Mr. *Vines*, preached before both houſes of parliament and the aſſembly together; and the faſt was obſerved with great

† Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 344.

* " July 7th," Dr. *Grey* ſays, " was the day on which Mr. *Bowles* and " *Newcomen* preached. Ed.

ſolemnity

ſolemnity in all the churches within the limits above-mentioned.

Next day a committee of divines was appointed to conſider what amendments were proper to be made in the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and report them to the aſſembly, who were ten weeks in debating upon the firſt *fifteen*, before the arrival of the Scots commiſſioners; the deſign was to render their ſenſe more expreſs and determinate in favour of *calviniſm*. It is not neceſſary to trouble the reader with the theological debates; but the articles, as they were new modelled, being rarely to be met with, I have placed them in the appendix, with the original articles of the church, in oppoſite columns, that the reader, by comparing them, may judge whether the alterations are real improvements.*

As the aſſembly were for ſtrengthening the doctrines of the church againſt *arminianiſm*, they were equally ſolicitous to guard againſt the oppoſite extreme of *antinomianiſm*, for which purpoſe they appointed a committee to peruſe the writings of Dr. *Criſp*, *Eaton*, *Saltmarſh*, and others; who having drawn out ſome of their moſt dangerous poſitions, reported them to the aſſembly, where they were not only condemned, but confuted in their publick ſermons and writings.

At this time the intereſt of the parliament was ſo reduced, they were obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of the Scots. The conſervators of the peace of that kingdom had appointed a convention of the ſtates, June 22, under pretence of ſecuring their country againſt the power of the royal army in the north;§ and a general aſſembly, Aug. 2, to conſider the ſtate of religion. His majeſty would have prevented their meeting, but that being impracticable, he gave orders to limit their conſultations to the concerns of their own country; but the parliament of England ſent the earl of *Rutland*, ſir *William Armyn*, ſir *H. Vane*, Mr. *Hatcher*, Mr. *Darley*, and

* Appendix, No. VII.

§ Yet theſe conſervators iſſued out, in the *king's name*, a proclamation for all perſons, from 16 to 60 years old, to appear in arms. "At which," ſays *Ruſhworth*, "the king was much incenſed." Dr. *Grey*. Who will not own, that he had great reaſon to reſent his name being uſed againſt himſelf? ED.

two

two divines from Weſtminſter, viz. Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Ney*, with letters to each of theſe aſſemblies, deſiring their aſſiſtance in the war, and the aſſiſtance of ſome of their divines with thoſe at Weſtminſter, to ſettle an uniformity of religion and church government between the two nations. To enforce theſe requeſts they delivered a letter from the aſſembly, "ſetting forth the deplorable condition of the "kingdom of England, which was upon the edge of a moſt "deſperate precipice, ready to be ſwallowed up by Satan "and his inſtruments; they repreſent the cruelty of their "enemies againſt ſuch as fall into their hands, being armed "againſt them, not only as men, but as chriſtians, as pro-"teſtants, and as reformers, and that if they ſhould be given "up to their rage, they fear it will endanger the ſafety of "all the proteſtant churches. In a deeper ſenſe of this "danger (ſay they) than we can expreſs, we addreſs you in "the bowels of Chriſt, for your moſt fervent prayers and "advice, what further to do for the making our own and "the kingdom's peace with God, and for the uniting the "proteſtant party more firmly, that we may all ſerve God "with one conſent, and ſtand up againſt antichriſt as one "man."*

The commiſſioners arrived at Edinburgh Auguſt 9, and were favourably received by the aſſembly, who propoſed as a preliminary, that the two nations ſhould enter into a perpetual *covenant* for themſelves and their poſterity, that all things might be done in God's houſe according to his will; and having appointed ſome of their number to conſult with the Engliſh commiſſioners about a proper form, they choſe delegates for the Weſtminſter aſſembly, and unanimouſly adviſed the *convention of ſtates* to aſſiſt the parliament in the war, for the following reaſons:

1. "Becauſe they apprehend the war was for religion. "2. Becauſe the proteſtant faith was in danger. 3. Gra-"titude for former aſſiſtances at the time of the Scots re-"formation, required a ſuitable return. 4. Becauſe the "churches of Scotland and England being imbarked in one "bottom, if one be ruined the other cannot ſubſiſt. 5. The "proſpect of uniformity between the two kingdoms in diſ-

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 463, 466, 469.

"cipline

"cipline and worſhip, will ſtrengthen the proteſtant intereſt "at home and abroad. 6. The preſent parliament had been "friendly to the Scots, and might be ſo again. 7. Though "the king had ſo lately eſtabliſhed their religion according "to their deſires, yet they could not confide in his royal de-"clarations, having ſo often found *facta verbis contraria.*"*

The inſtructions of the commiſſioners ſent to the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, were to promote the extirpation of popery, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm, ſcepticiſm and idolatry, and to endeavour an union between the two kingdoms in one confeſſion of faith, one form of church government, and one directory of worſhip.

The committee for drawing up the ſolemn league and covenant delivered it into the aſſembly, Aug. 17, where it was read and highly applauded, by the miniſters and *lay-elders*, none oppoſing it except the king's commiſſioners; ſo that it paſſed both the aſſembly and convention in one day,§ and was diſpatched next morning to Weſtminſter, with a letter to the two houſes, wiſhing that it might be confirmed, and ſolemnly ſworn and ſubſcribed in both *kingdoms*, as the ſureſt and ſtricteſt obligation to make them ſtand and fall together in the cauſe of religion and liberty.

Mr. *Marſhal* and *Nye* in the letter to the aſſembly of Aug. 18, aſſure their brethren, the Scots clergy were entirely on the ſide of the parliament in this quarrel, againſt the popiſh and epiſcopal faction; that there were between twenty and thirty of the prime nobility preſent, when the *covenant* paſſed the *convention;* and that even the king's commiſſioners confeſſed, that in their private capacity they were for it, though as his majeſty's commiſſioners they were bound to oppoſe it. So that if the Engliſh parliament (ſay they) comply with the form of this *covenant*, we are per-

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 472, &c.

§ "Wiſe obſervers," biſhop *Burnet* adds, "wondered to ſee a matter "of that importance, carried through upon ſo little deliberation, or debate. "It was thought ſtrange to ſee all their conſciences of ſuch a ſize, ſo ex-"actly to agree as the ſeveral wheels of a clock; which made all appre-"hend, there was ſome firſt mover that directed all thoſe other motions: "this by the one party was imputed to God's extraordinary providence, "but by others to the power and policy of the leaders, and the ſimplicity "and fear of the reſt." Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton, p. 239. Ed.

ſuaded

ſuaded the whole body of the Scots kingdom will live and die with them, and ſpeedily come to their aſſiſtance.

When their commiſſioners arrived at London, they preſented the *covenant* to the two houſes, who referred it to the aſſembly of divines, where it met with ſome little oppoſition; Dr. *Featly* declared, he durſt not abjure prelacy *abſolutely*, becauſe he had ſworn to obey his biſhop in all things lawful and honeſt, and therefore propoſed to qualify the ſecond article thus, *I will endeavour the extirpation of popery, and all antichriſtian, tyrannical, or independent prelacy*; but it was carried againſt him. Dr. *Burges* objected to ſeveral articles, and was not without ſome difficulty perſuaded to ſubſcribe, after he had been ſuſpended. The *prolocutor* Mr. *Gataker*, and many others, declared for primitive epiſcopacy, or for *one ſtated preſident with his preſbyters to govern every church;* and refuſed to ſubſcribe till a parentheſis was inſerted, declaring what ſort of prelacy was to be abjured, viz. [*church government by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other eccleſiaſtical officers depending upon them.*]† The Scots, who had been introduced into the aſſembly Sept. 15, were for abjuring epiſcopacy as ſimply unlawful, but the Engliſh divines were generally againſt it.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, our commiſſioners preſſed chiefly for a *civil league*, but the Scots would have a *religious one*, to which the Engliſh were obliged to yield, taking care, at the ſame time, to leave a door open for a latitude of interpretation.* Sir *Henry Vane* put the word LEAGUE into the title, as thinking that might be broken ſooner than a *covenant*; and in the firſt article he inſerted that general phraſe, of reforming ACCORDING TO THE WORD OF GOD; by which the Engliſh thought themſelves ſecure from the inroads of preſbytery; but the Scots relied upon the next words, AND ACCORDING TO THE PRACTICE OF THE BEST REFORMED CHURCHES; in which they were confident their diſcipline muſt be included. When Mr. *Colman* read the *covenant* before the houſe of lords, in order to their ſubſcribing it, he declared, that by *prelacy* all ſorts of epiſcopacy were not intended, but only the form therein deſcribed. Thus the wiſe

† Calamy's Abridg. p. 81.

* Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 237, 240.

men on both ſides endeavoured to outwit each other in wording the articles; and with theſe ſlight amendments the covenant paſſed the aſſembly and both houſes of parliament; and by an order dated September 21, was printed and publiſhed as follows:

A ſolemn League and Covenant for reformation, and defence of religion, the honour and happineſs of the king, and the peace and ſafety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

" WE noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, " burgeſſes, miniſters of the goſpel, and commons of all " ſorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, " by the providence of God, living under one king, and " being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes " the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom " of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the honour and " happineſs of the king's majeſty, and his poſterity, and " the true publick liberty, ſafety and peace of the kingdoms, " wherein every one's private condition is included; and " calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conſpi- " racies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, " againſt the true religion, and profeſſors thereof in all places, " eſpecially in theſe three kingdoms, ever ſince the reforma- " tion of religion; and how much their rage, power, and " preſumption, are of late and at this time increaſed and " exerciſed, whereof the deplorable eſtate of the church " and kingdom of Ireland, the diſtreſſed eſtate of the church " and kingdom of England, and the dangerous eſtate of the " church and kingdom of Scotland, are preſent and pub- " lick teſtimonies; we have (now at laſt) after other means " of ſupplication, remonſtrance, proteſtations, and ſufferings, " for the preſervation of our lives, and our religion, from " utter ruin and deſtruction, according to the commendable " practice of theſe kingdoms in former times, and the ex- " ample of God's people in other nations, after mature de- " liberation, reſolved and determined to enter into a mutual " and ſolemn league and covenant, wherein we all ſubſcribe,

" and

" and each one of us for himſelf, with our hands lifted up " to the moſt high God, do ſwear,

I.

" That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through " the grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral places and " callings, the preſervation of the reformed religion in the " church of Scotland, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and " government, againſt our common enemies; the reforma- " tion of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, " in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government, according " to the word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed " churches; and we ſhall endeavour to bring the church of " God in the three kingdoms to the neareſt conjunction, " and uniformity in religion, confeſſing of faith, form of " church government, directory for worſhip, and catechiſing, " that we, and our poſterity after us, may, as brethren, live " in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in " the midſt of us.

II.

" That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of per- " ſons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that " is, church government by archbiſhops, biſhops, their chan- " cellors and commiſſaries, deans, deans and chapters, arch- " deacons, and all other eccleſiaſtical officers depending on " that hierarchy) ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, profaneneſs, " and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound " doctrine, and the power of godlineſs, leſt we partake in " other men's ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of " their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his " name one, in the three kingdoms.

III.

" We ſhall, with the ſame reality, ſincerity and conſtancy, " in our ſeveral vocations, endeavour with our eſtates and " lives, mutually to preſerve the rights and privileges of " the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and " to preſerve and defend the king's majeſty's perſon and " authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true re- " ligion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may " bear witneſs with our conſciences, of our loyalty, and

" that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his " majeſty's juſt power and greatneſs.

IV.

" We ſhall alſo, with all faithfulneſs, endeavour the diſ- " covery of all ſuch as have been or ſhall be incendiaries, " malignants, or evil inſtruments, by hindering the reforma- " tion of religion, dividing the king from his people, or " one of the kingdoms from another, or making any fac- " tions or parties among the people, contrary to the league " and covenant, that they may be brought to publick trial, " and receive condign puniſhment, as the degree of their " offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupreme judica- " tories of both kingdoms reſpectively, or others having " power from them for that effect, ſhall judge convenient.

V.

" And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed peace between " theſe kingdoms, denied in former times to our progeni- " tors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, " and has been lately concluded and ſettled by both parlia- " ments, we ſhall, each one of us according to our places " and intereſts, endeavour that we may remain conjoined in " a firm peace and union to all poſterity, and that juſtice " may be done on all the wilful oppoſers thereof, in manner " expreſſed in the precedent articles.

VI.

" We ſhall alſo, according to our places and callings, in " this common cauſe of religion, liberty, and peace of the " kingdom, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this " league and covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing " thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer ourſelves, directly or indi- " rectly, by whatſoever combination, perſuaſion, or terror, " to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed union and " conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary " part, or give ourſelves to a deteſtable indifferency or neu- " trality in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the glory " of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the " king; but ſhall, all the days of our lives, zealouſly, and " conſtantly continue therein againſt all oppoſition, and

" promote

" promote the ſame according to our power, againſt all lets " and impediments whatſoever; and what we are not able " ourſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and " make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed.

" And becauſe theſe kingdoms are guilty of many ſins " and provocations againſt God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, " as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, " the fruits thereof, we profeſs and declare, before God and " the world, our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our own " ſins, and for the ſins of theſe kingdoms; eſpecially that " we have not, as we ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit " of the goſpel; that we have not laboured for the purity " and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured " to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him " in our lives, which are the cauſe of other ſins and tranſ- " greſſions ſo much abounding amongſt us; and our true " and unfeigned purpoſe, deſire, and endeavour, for our- " ſelves and all others under our charge, both in publick " and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to " amend our lives, and each one to go before another in " the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may " turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and eſtabliſh " theſe churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And " this covenant we make in the preſence of Almighty God, " the ſearcher of all hearts, with a true intention to per- " form the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that great day when " the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; moſt humbly " beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen us by his holy ſpirit " for this end, and to bleſs our deſires and proceedings with " ſuch ſucceſs as may be a deliverance and ſafety to his " people, and encouragement to the chriſtian churches, " groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of antichriſtian " tyranny, to join with the ſame, or like atteſtation and co- " venant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the " kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace and tranquillity " of chriſtian kingdoms and commonwealths."*

Monday Sept. 25, 1643, was appointed for ſubſcribing this covenant, when both houſes, with the Scots commiſſioners, and aſſembly of divines, being met in the church of

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 478. St.

St. *Margaret*'s Weſtminſter, the reverend Mr. *White*, of Dorcheſter, opened the ſolemnity with prayer; after him Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Nye* ſpoke in juſtification of taking the covenant from ſcripture precedents, and diſplayed the advantage the church had received from ſuch ſacred combinations. Mr. *Henderſon* ſpoke next, and declared that the ſtates of Scotland had reſolved to aſſiſt the parliament of England, in carrying on the ends and deſigns of this *covenant*; then Mr. *Nye* read it from the pulpit with an audible voice article by article, each perſon ſtanding uncovered, with his right hand lifted up bare to heaven, worſhipping the great name of God, and ſwearing to the performance of it.* Dr. *Gouge* concluded the ſolemnity with prayer, after which the houſe of commons went up into the chancel, and ſubſcribed their names in one roll of parchment, and the aſſembly in another, in both which the *covenant* was fairly tranſcribed. *Lord's day* following it was tendered to all perſons within the bills of mortality, being read in the ſeveral churches to their congregations as above. October 15, it was taken by the houſe of lords, after a ſermon preached by Dr. *Temple*, from *Nehemiah* x. 29, and an exhortation by Mr. *Coleman*. Oct. 29, it was ordered by the committee of ſtates in Scotland to be ſworn to, and ſubſcribed all over that kingdom, on penalty of the confiſcation of goods and rents, and ſuch other puniſhment as his majeſty and the parliament ſhould inflict on the refuſers.§ All the lords of the council were ſummoned to ſign the covenant Nov. 2, and thoſe who did not, to appear again the 14th of the ſame month, under the ſevereſt penalties, when ſome of the king's party not attending were declared enemies to religion, and to their king and country; Nov. 17, their *goods* were ordered to be ſeized, and their perſons apprehended; upon which they fled into England. Such was the unbounded zeal of that nation! February 2 following, the covenant was ordered to be taken throughout the kingdom of England, by all perſons above the age of eighteen years; and the aſſembly were commanded to draw up an exhortation to diſpoſe people to it, which being approved by both houſes, was publiſhed under the title of

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 475. § Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 240.

An

An Exhortation to the taking of the ſolemn League and Covenant, *for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happineſs of the king, and the peace and ſafety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and for ſatisfying ſuch ſcruples as may ariſe in the taking of it; aſſented to by the houſe, and ordered to be printed.*

Die Veneris, Feb. 9, 1643.

" IF the power of religion, or ſolid reaſon; if loyalty " to the king, and piety to their native country, or love to " themſelves, and natural affection to their poſterity; if the " example of men touched with a deep ſenſe of all theſe; " or extraordinary ſucceſs from God thereupon, can awaken " an embroiled bleeding remnant to embrace the ſovereign " and only means of their recovery, there can be no doubt " but this ſolemn league and covenant will find, whereſoever " it ſhall be tendered, a people ready to entertain it with all " cheerfulneſs and duty.

" And were it not commended to the kingdom by the " concurrent encouragement of the honourable houſes of " parliament, the aſſembly of divines, the renowned city " of London, multitudes of other perſons of eminent rank " and quality of this nation, and the whole body of " Scotland, who have all willingly ſworn and ſubſcribed it " with rejoicing at the oath, ſo graciouſly ſeconded from " heaven already, by blaſting the counſels, and breaking the " power of the enemy more than ever, yet it goeth forth " in its own ſtrength with ſuch convincing evidence of equi- " ty, truth, and righteouſneſs, as may raiſe in all (not wil- " fully ignorant, or miſerably ſeduced) inflamed affections " to join with their brethren in this happy bond, for putting " an end to the preſent miſeries, and for ſaving both king " and kingdom from utter ruin, now ſo ſtrongly and openly " laboured by the popiſh faction, and ſuch as have been " bewitched and beſotted by that viperous and bloody ge- " neration.§——

It then proceeds to anſwer objections againſt taking the covenant; as,

§ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 475. Huſband's Collections, p. 424.

Obj.

Obj. 1. That *it obliges to the extirpation of prelacy, which ſtands as yet by the known laws of the land.*

Anſw. The life and ſoul of the hierarchy is already taken away; nothing of juriſdiction remaining; and ſince it is but a human conſtitution, if it be found a grievance, we may certainly endeavour its extirpation in a lawful way.

Obj. 2. It is ſaid *to be inconſiſtent with the oath of canonical obedience.*

Anſw. If men have ſworn obedience to the laws of the land, may they not endeavour by lawful means the repealing thoſe laws, if they are found inconvenient? or if any miniſters have taken oaths not warranted by the laws of God and the land, ought they not to repent of them?

Obj. 3. But *the covenant croſſes the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance.*

Anſw. This is falſe, for it binds to the preſervation of the king's perſon and authority, in the defence of the religion and liberties of the kingdom.

Obj. 4. But *it is done without the king's conſent.*

Anſw. So was the *proteſtation* of May 5, which went through the whole kingdom, his majeſty not excepting againſt it, though he was then at Whitehall. The ſame has been done by the united Netherlands under king *Philip*; and more lately in Scotland, his majeſty himſelf declaring by act of parliament, that they had done nothing but what became loyal and obedient ſubjects.

Dr. *Barwick* ſays,† that ſome perſons in the univerſity of Cambridge publiſhed an anſwer to this exhortation, which I have not ſeen; but if the reader will look forward to the year 1647, he will find the reaſons of the univerſity of Oxford againſt it, confirmed in convocation, the validity of which he will judge of for himſelf. It is certain moſt of the religious§ part of the nation, who apprehended the

† Life of Barwick, p. 35.

§ "That is," ſays biſhop *Warburton*, "the puritan: for puritaniſm and religion are convertible terms with this hiſtorian." This evidently appears to be remarked with a ſneer, and to impeach the impartiality of Mr. *Neal*. But in anſwer to the remark it may be obſerved, that it is not candid to interpret Mr. *Neal*'s words, as if he limited all ſerioufneſs of character to the puritans;—and then the queſtion is, whether the *fact* was not as Mr. *Neal* ſtates it? if it were, his language is irreprehenſible. ED.

proteſtant

proteſtant religion in danger, and were deſirous of reducing the hierarchy of the church, were zealous for the *covenant*. Others took it only in obedience to the parliament, being ſenſible of the diſtreſſed circumſtances of their affairs, and that the aſſiſtance of the Scots was to be obtained on no other terms.† But as it was a teſt of a mixed nature, and contained ſome obligations upon conſcience, which wiſe and honeſt men might reaſonably ſcruple, who were otherwiſe well affected to the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country, the impoſing it as a teſt can never be juſtified, though it appears, moſt of the epiſcopal divines who made the greateſt figure in the church after the reſtoration, did not refuſe it.

Together with the *exhortation of the aſſembly*, the following orders* and inſtructions were diſperſed over the kingdom.

Ordered, "That copies of the covenant be ſent to all "commanders in chief, and governors of towns, forts, gar- "riſons, and ſoldiers, that it may be taken by all ſoldiers "under their command.

"That copies be ſent to the committees of parliament, in "the ſeveral counties that are under the power of the par- "liament, and that the committees within ſix days diſperſe "the ſaid copies, and cauſe them to be delivered to the "miniſters, churchwardens, or conſtables of the ſeveral "pariſhes.

"That the ſeveral miniſters be required to read the co- "venant to the people, the next Lord's day after they have "prepared the people to take it.

"That the committees of parliament take it themſelves "within ſeven days after they have received the copies; "and then diſperſe themſelves throughout their counties, ſo "as three or four of them may be together at the ſeveral "places appointed for the people to take it. That they "ſummon all the miniſters, churchwardens, conſtables, and "other officers, to that place, and after a ſermon preached "by a miniſter whom they ſhall appoint, they ſhall cauſe the "ſaid miniſter to tender the covenant to all ſuch miniſters, "and other officers, to be taken and ſubſcribed in the pre- "ſence of the committee.

† Rapin, vol. xii. p. 133. * Huſband's Collection, p. 420.

"The

"The ſaid miniſters are then to be required to tender the "covenant to all the reſt of their pariſhioners next Lord's "day, and if any miniſter refuſe, or neglect to appear at the "ſaid ſummons, or refuſe to take the ſaid covenant, the com-"mittee ſhall appoint another miniſter to do it in his place.

"If any miniſter refuſe to take, or tender the covenant; "or if any other perſon refuſe to take it after a ſecond "tender, upon two Lord's days, their names ſhall be re-"turned to the committee, and by them to the houſe of "commons; and all perſons that abſent themſelves after "notice given, ſhall be returned as refuſers."

The Engliſh in foreign parts were not exempted from this teſt; directions were ſent to Mr. *Strickland*, the parliament's agent at the Hague, to tender it to all the Engliſh in thoſe countries, and to certify the names of ſuch as refuſed.* Here the elector *Palatine* took it, and after ſome time came into England, and condeſcended to ſit in the aſſembly of divines. December 20, 1643, it was ordered by the lords and commons, that no perſon ſhould be capable of being elected a common-council-man of the city of London, or ſo much as have a voice in ſuch elections, who has not taken the covenant.‡ On the 29th of Jan. 1644, it was ordered by the commons, that the ſolemn league and covenant be, upon every day of faſting and publick humiliation, publickly read in every church and congregation within the kingdom; and every congregation is enjoined to have *one* fairly printed in a large letter, in a table fitted to be hung up in a publick place of the church or congregation, to be read by the people. All young miniſters were required to take the covenant at their ordination; none of the laity were continued in any office of truſt, either civil or military, who refuſed it. When the war was ended, all the noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and officers who had oppoſed the parliament, were obliged to ſubmit to it, before they were admitted to compoſition. Notwithſtanding all this ſeverity, Dr. *Calamy* ſays, Mr. *Baxter* kept his people from taking the covenant, as fearing it might be a ſnare to their conſciences; nay, he prevented its being much taken in the

* Whitlocke, p. 79. Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 172.

‡ Huſband's Collections, p. 404.

county

county he lived in, by keeping the miniſters from offering it their people, except the city of Worceſter, where he had no great intereſt.†

The king could not be unacquainted with theſe proceedings, for the *covenant* lay before the parliament and aſſembly almoſt a month, during which time his majeſty took no publick notice of it; but a fortnight after it had been ſubſcribed by both houſes, and by all the clergy and laity within the bills of mortality, he iſſued out the following proclamation, dated from Oxford, October 9, in the nineteenth year of his reign.

By the King.

"WHEREAS there is a printed paper, entitled *a "ſolemn league and covenant, for reformation and defence of "religion*, &c. pretended to be printed by order of the "houſe of commons, September 21, which covenant, tho' "it ſeems to make ſpecious expreſſions of piety and religion, "is in truth nothing elſe but a traiterous and ſeditious com- "bination againſt us and the eſtabliſhed religion and laws "of this kingdom, in purſuance of a traiterous deſign and "endeavour to bring in foreign force to invade this king- "dom: We do therefore ſtraitly charge and command all "our loving ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, "upon their allegiance, that they preſume not to take the "ſaid ſeditious and traiterous covenant. And we do like- "wiſe hereby further inhibit and forbid all our ſubjects to "impoſe, adminiſter, or tender the ſaid covenant, as they, "and every one of them, will anſwer the contrary at their "utmoſt and extremeſt perils."*

His majeſty ſent the like declaration into Scotland, to which the ſtates of that kingdom paid no further regard, than to ſend him the reaſons of their conduct, with their advice to his majeſty to take the *covenant* himſelf.

Great complaints have been made, and not without reaſon, of the execution this teſt did upon the king's clergy throughout the kingdom. It was a new weapon put into the hands of the committees, which enabled them with more eaſe and certainty to detect *malignant or diſaffected miniſters;*

† Abridg. p. 104. * Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 482.

for

for inſtead of producing a number of witneſſes, as had been the method hitherto, they now tendered the *covenant*, which the others refuſing, gave occaſion to the general report, that the clergy were turned out of their livings *only for refuſing the covenant*, whereas their ſequeſtration was grounded upon other cauſes: or at leaſt the articles of immorality or diſaffection to the parliament were almoſt always joined with it. When the *covenant* paſſed through the parliament quarters, in ſome towns it was neglected, in others the incumbent avoided it, by withdrawing for a few weeks, and getting another to officiate. Some who refuſed were diſplaced, and the names of thoſe who abſented were returned to the parliament, but little or nothing came of it. The writer of the life of biſhop *Saunderſon* ſays, that in the aſſociated counties of Cambridgeſhire, &c. all were ejected who refuſed the *covenant*, that is, all to whom it was tendered; for though it was preſſed pretty cloſely in ſome places notorious for diſaffection, in others, that had been quiet, it was little regarded. The earl of *Mancheſter* had particular inſtructions to tender the *covenant* to the Cambridge ſcholars, and yet the commiſſioners impoſed it only upon ſuch who had adhered to the king, or of whoſe diſaffection they had ſufficient evidence, ſeveral who behaved peaceably being permitted to keep their places, who would certainly have refuſed it. It has been obſerved already, that Mr. *Baxter* prevented its being much taken in Worceſterſhire; and no doubt, there were men of moderation and influence who did the ſame in other counties. Thoſe clergymen who had declared for the king were uſually put to the trial; but reputed *calviniſts*, of ſober lives, who had ſtood neuter, were frequently overlooked; ſo that the beneficed clergy ſuffered by the *covenant*, rather as *parties in the war*, than as friends of the hierarchy. However, it being a *religious teſt*, the impoſing it was, in my opinion, unwarrantable, and a very great hardſhip, eſpecially as it was for ſome time a door of entrance into eccleſiaſtical preferments, for ſuch young divines as had no concern in the war. A teſt of a civil nature would have anſwered all the ends of civil government, without ſhackling the conſciences of men, which ought always to be left free, and open to conviction. But

if

if the puritan powers bore hard upon the loyaliſts, in *impoſing* the *covenant*, the king's clergy were even with them at the reſtoration, when they obliged them publickly to *abjure* it, or quit their preferments.

The neceſſity of the king's affairs having obliged him to arm the papiſts, and commiſſion the duke of *Ormond* to agree to a ceſſation of arms with the Iriſh *catholicks*, in order to drawn off his forces from thence, his majeſty fell under the ſuſpicion of favouring that religion, eſpecially when it appeared that not only the proteſtant ſoldiers, but the Iriſh rebels, were tranſported with them. Mr. *Whitlocke** ſays, ſeveral of their officers and ſoldiers came over with the king's army; that a month or two after, eight hundred native Iriſh rebels landed at Weymouth, under the lord *Inchequin*, and another party at Beaumaris, which committed great ſpoils, deſtroying with fire what they could not carry off. Another party landed near Cheſter, under the earl of *Cork*, and fifteen hundred were caſt away at ſea: theſe wretches brought hither the ſame ſavage diſpoſition, which they had diſcovered in their own country; they plundered and killed people in cold blood, obſerving neither the rules of honour, nor the law of arms.§ The Scotch forces, in the north of Ireland, entered into a confederacy to ſtand by each other againſt the ceſſation; the parliament of England proteſted againſt it, and publiſhed a declaration informing the world, that his majeſty had broke through his royal promiſe, of leaving the Iriſh war to them; they forbad all maſters of

* P. 75, 76, 78, 79. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 486, folio. Carendon, vol. ii. part i. p. 439.

§ Dr. *Grey* contraſts this charge againſt the Iriſh rebels with inſtances of the conduct of the Engliſh, adherents to the parliament. He brings forward with this view the murder of Dr. *Walter Raleigh*, dean of Windſor, by the man to whoſe cuſtody he was committed; and of Col. *Bulkley*, by Major *Cheadle*: the perpetrators, in each caſe, were acquitted. The doctor alſo refers to the petition of the Iriſh catholicks to the king in 1642, complaining of the violences and cruelties of which they were the objects. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the cruelty of one party does not exculpate the other. On which ever ſide acts of injuſtice and cruelty are committed, humanity will lament it, and equity will reprobate it. Such is the nature of war, ſuch is the envenomed ſpirit that irritates civil conteſts, each party is, generally, very guilty; and it may not be often eaſy to aſcertain the proportion of guilt. Ed.

ſhips

ſhips to bring over any officers or ſoldiers, on penalty of the forfeiture of their veſſels, and gave letters of marque to merchants and others, who would fit out ſhips at their own expence, impowering them to take to their own profit all ſuch ſhips and goods as they ſhould meet coming over with ſoldiers or warlike ſtores for the king. Next year an ordinance was publiſhed, that no quarter ſhould be given to any Iriſh papiſt taken in arms againſt the parliament; all officers were to except them out of their capitulations, and upon making them priſoners, were immediately to put them to death.

This unhappy management of the king alienated the affections of great numbers of his friends who had the proteſtant religion at heart; many who wiſhed well to his perſon deſerted him upon this occaſion, and made their peace with the parliament, as the earls of *Holland*, *Bedford*, *Clare*, *Carliſle*, ſir *Edward Deering*, and others; this laſt gentleman publiſhed the reaſons of his conduct to the world, the principal of which were, the Iriſh ceſſation; his majeſty preferring popiſh officers to chief places of truſt and honour; and the language of the Oxford clergy and others, that *the king ſhould come no other way to his palace but by conqueſt.** There was certainly a very malignant ſpirit among thoſe gentlemen at this time, as appears by their form of thankſgiving, or rather imprecation, for the taking of Briſtol, and the ſucceſs of the earl of *Newcaſtle*'s army in the north: "O Lord (ſay they) though our ſins cry aloud, hear them "not, but look to the righteouſneſs of our cauſe; ſee the "ſeamleſs coat of thy ſon torn; the throne of thine anointed "trampled upon; thy church invaded by ſacrilege, and thy "people miſerably deceived by lyes; ſee it, O God, as ſee "it thou doſt, and vindicate what thou ſeeſt on the heads "of thoſe who lead theſe wretches." Many of the earl of *Newcaſtle*'s ſoldiers in the north, upon news of the Iriſh *ceſſation* threw down their arms, and offered a compoſition; and if we may believe the Parliamentary Chronicle,† this ſingle action loſt the king all the northern counties. To put a ſtop to the clamours of the people, and prevent any farther deſertions, his majeſty reſolved to ſupport his own

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 383. † Part iii. p. 86.

character

character as a *proteſtant*, and accordingly made the following proteſtation in preſence of the congregation at Chriſt-church, Oxford, immediately before his receiving the ſacrament from the hands of archbiſhop *Uſher*.

" *My Lord*,

" I eſpy here many reſolved proteſtants, who may de-
" clare to the world the declaration I do now make. I have,
" to the utmoſt of my power, prepared my ſoul to be a wor-
" thy receiver, and may I ſo receive comfort from the bleſ-
" ſed ſacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of the true
" reformed proteſtant religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in
" the happy days of queen *Elizabeth*, *without any connivance*
" *at popery*. I bleſs God that, in the midſt of theſe publick
" diſtractions, I have ſtill liberty to communicate. And may
" this ſacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join
" with my lips in this proteſtation."*

How conſonant was this with his majeſty's actions, when within a few days he agreed to a ceſſation with the Iriſh papiſts for a year, and a toleration of their religion? All men knew, that his majeſty not only connived at popery, but indulged it as far as was in his power; hiſtorians therefore are at a loſs to reconcile this ſolemn appeal to heaven, with the king's piety and ſincerity. The parliament was ſo apprehenſive of the conſequences of bringing over the Iriſh papiſts, that, by an order of November 22, they deſired the aſſembly of divines to write letters to the foreign churches of Holland, France, and Switzerland, and other places, to inform them of the artifices of his majeſty's agents; of the conſtant employment of Iriſh rebels, and other papiſts, to be governors, commanders, and ſoldiers in his armies; of the many evidences of their intentions to introduce popery; to hinder the intended reformation, and to condemn other proteſtant churches as unſound becauſe not prelatical; and that the Scots commiſſioners be deſired to join with them. In purſuance of this order, the aſſembly wrote the following letter, dated November 30, 1643:—

* Ruſhworth, p. 346. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 490, folio.

" *To*

" *To the* Belgick, French, Helvetian, *and other reformed Churches.*

" *Right reverend and dearly beloved in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,*

" WE the aſſembly of divines, and others, convened " by the authority of both houſes of parliament, with the " commiſſioners from the general aſſembly of the church " of Scotland, do heartily ſalute you in the Lord. We " doubt not, but the ſad reports of the miſeries under which " the church and kingdom of England do bleed, and where- " with we are ready to be ſwallowed up, is long ſince come " to your ears; and it is probable, the ſame inſtruments of " ſatan and antichriſt have, by their emiſſaries, endeavoured " to repreſent us as black as may be among yourſelves.*— " And we ſometimes doubt whether we have not been want- " ing to our own innocence, and your ſatisfaction, in being " thus long ſilent; but pardon us, *dear brethren*, if this cup " of trembling wherewith our ſpirits have been filled to " amazement, and our wreſtling with extreme difficulties " ever ſince our meeting, has hindered from that which was " our duty; and give us leave now a little to eaſe our grief, " while we relate the deſolation made by the antichriſtian " faction, who are for hindering the work of reformation, " and for introducing and cheriſhing popery; and are now " arrived to that ſtrength, that if the Lord do not ſpeedily " help us, we ſhall be altogether laid waſte by them.

" How great a hand they [the prelates] have had, in the " miſeries of other reformed churches, in the deſtruction of " the *Palatinate*, in the loſs of *Rochel*, are ſo fully known " and felt by you all, that we need not ſpeak any thing of " them. And we ſuppoſe their inveterate hatred againſt " you all is ſufficiently manifeſt, in that multitudes of them " have refuſed to acknowledge any of you for churches of " Chriſt becauſe you are not prelatical, and thereby (as they " conceive) want a lawful vocation of miniſters. Sure we " are, that among ourſelves, ſcarce one thing can be thought " of which may be ſuppoſed an argument of their deſign " to advance popery, that has not been attempted. The " laws againſt popery have been ſuſpended; *judges* forbid

* Ruſhworth, p. 371.

" to

" to proceed againſt condemned prieſts; jeſuits ſet free; houſes " of ſuperſtition in Ireland and England have been ſet up " and not diſcountenanced; notorious papiſts harboured " about the court and preferred; many releaſed from legal " penalties, and their proſecutors diſcountenanced; agents " have been ſent into Italy, and nuncios from Rome received, " while the moſt zealous proteſtants have been perſecuted; " many prelates and clergymen have publickly preached, " and endeavoured to leaven the people with all points of " popery, except the *ſupremacy*, and introduced abundance " of corrupt innovations into the worſhip of God; for non- " compliance with which many have been forced to fly for " refuge to the remote parts of the world.

" They impoſed upon the kingdom of Scotland a new " popiſh ſervice book and canons, to which, when that na- " tion would not ſubmit, they prevailed with his majeſty to " proclaim them rebels, and raiſe an army againſt them, to " which all the papiſts, and thoſe who were popiſhly affected, " contributed; and had not the Lord, by his bleſſing on the " Scots arms, and by the calling of this parliament, pre- " vented it, the two nations had been embruing their hands " in each others blood.

" But though we hoped through the goodneſs of God, " and his bleſſing upon this parliament, whoſe hearts were " inclined to a more perfect reformation, that our winter " had been paſt, yet, alas! we find it to be quite otherwiſe. " We know our ſins have deſerved all, and if we die and " periſh, the Lord is righteous; to his hand we ſubmit, and " to him alone we look for healing. The ſame antichriſtian " faction not being diſcouraged, by their want of ſucceſs in " Scotland, have ſtirred up a bloody rebellion in Ireland, " wherein above one hundred thouſand proteſtants have " been deſtroyed in one province, within a few months. " They have alienated the heart of his majeſty from his " parliament, and prevailed with him to withdraw and raiſe " an army, which at firſt pretended only to be made " up of proteſtants—but ſoon after papiſts were armed by " commiſſion from the king; many great papiſts were " put into places of publick command, and the body of all " the papiſts have joined his majeſty with all their might;

" they profeſs and exerciſe their religion publickly in ſeveral " parts of the kingdom, and go up and down plundering, " murdering and ſpoiling of their goods, all ſuch as adhere " to the parliament, and to the cauſe of religion. Nor has " the parliament been able, by their petitions and remon- " ſtrances, to recover his majeſty out of their hands, or " bring theſe men to deſerved puniſhment, but the ſword " rages almoſt in every corner of this woeful land.

" And to compleat our miſeries, they have prevailed with " his majeſty ſo far to own the *rebels* in Ireland, as not only " to call them his Roman catholick ſubjects now in arms, " but to grant them a ceſſation of arms for a year, and to " hold what they have gotten, with liberty to ſtrengthen " themſelves with men, money, arms, ammunition, &c. " whereby they are enabled not only to deſtroy the remnant " of proteſtants in Ireland, but to come over hither, (as many " of them are already) to act the ſame butchery upon us.

" In the midſt of theſe troubleſome times the two houſes " of parliament have called this aſſembly, to give them our " beſt council for the reformation of the church, requiring " us to make God's word only our rule, and to endeavour " the neareſt conformity to the beſt reformed churches, and " uniformity to all the churches of the three kingdoms.

" The church and kingdom of Scotland have made offer " of their humble mediation to the king for a *pacification*, " which being rejected, both nations have entered into a " mutual *league and covenant;* and the Scots have reſolved " to join in arms with their brethren in England, for their " mutual preſervation from the common enemy, and ſo far " as in them lieth for the ſafety of their native king. They " have alſo ſent their commiſſioners hither, for uniformity " of religion in the churches of both kingdoms.

" And we their commiſſioners do exceedingly rejoice, to " behold the foundation of the houſe of God, not only in " doctrine, but in church government, laid before our eyes " in a reverend aſſembly of ſo wiſe, learned, and godly di- " vines. And we find ourſelves bound in all chriſtian duty, " as well as by our late *covenant*, to join in repreſenting to " the reformed churches abroad, the true condition of af- " fairs here, againſt all miſtakes and miſinformations.

" And

"And now, dear brethren, we beg of you, *firſt*, to "judge aright of our innocence and integrity in this our "juſt defence; if our enemies ſay, that we are riſen up in "rebellion to deprive the king of his juſt power and great-"neſs, and to bring anarchy and confuſion into the church "of Chriſt, we doubt not but our *ſolemn covenant* (a copy "of which we humbly preſent you herewith) will ſufficiently "clear us. Let the righteous Lord judge between us, whom "we implore to help us no further than we can plead theſe "things in ſincerity.

Secondly, "That you would ſympathize with us as bre-"thren, who ſuffer in and for the ſame cauſe wherein your-"ſelves have been oppreſſed.

Thirdly, "That you would conceive of our condition as "your own common cauſe, which, if it be loſt with us, "yourſelves are not like long to eſcape, the quarrel being "not ſo much againſt men's perſons, as againſt the power of "godlineſs, and the purity of God's word. The way and "manner of your owning us we leave to yourſelves, only "we importunately crave your fervent prayers, both publick "and private, that God would bring ſalvation to us; that "the bleſſings of truth and peace may reſt upon us; that "theſe three nations may be joined as one ſtick in the hands "of the Lord; and that we ourſelves, contemptible builders, "called to repair the houſe of God, in a troubleſome time, "may ſee the pattern of this houſe, and commend ſuch a "platform to our *Zerubbabels* as may be *moſt agreeable to "his ſacred word, neareſt in conformity to the beſt reformed "churches, and to eſtabliſh uniformity among ourſelves;* that "all mountains may become plains before them, and us; "that then all who now ſee the plummet in our hands, may "alſo behold the top ſtone ſet upon the head of the Lord's "houſe among us, and may help us with ſhouting to cry, "*Grace, grace*, to it.

"Thus much we have been commanded to inform you "of, reverend brethren, (and by you all faithful chriſtians "under your charge) by the honourable houſe of com-"mons, in whoſe name, and in our own, we bid you hear-"tily farewell in the Lord.

"*Your moſt affectionately devoted brethren in Chriſt,*

William Twiſſe, *prolocutor*,

Cornelius Burges, John White, } *aſſeſſors*,

Henry Roborough, Adoniram Byfield, } *ſcribes*,

John Maitland, A. Johnſton, Alex. Henderſon, Sam. Rutherford, Rob. Bailie, Geo. Gilleſpie, } *Commiſſioners of the church of Scotland.*"

The inſcription was, "*To the reverend and learned paſtors and elders of the claſſes and churches of the province of Zealand, our much honoured brethren.*"

Letters of the ſame import were ſent to the ſeveral churches of the *ſeven provinces;* to the churches of Geneva; the proteſtant cantons of Switzerland; the churches of Heſſe, Hanau, and Hainault; and to the proteſtant congregation at Paris; all which were received with reſpect, and anſwered by the ſeveral claſſes.* But the churches of Bohemia, Tranſilvania, Poland, Sileſia, and Auſtria, and other cities and principalities of Germany, were not written to. The anſwer from the French church at Paris was read in the aſſembly the beginning of March; from Switzerland June 12, 1644; and from Geneva§ at the ſame time; from the claſſes of Amſterdam and Guelderland June 29; and Mr. *Whitlocke* obſerves, that the Netherland divines expreſſed not only their approbation of the proceedings of the parliament and aſſembly touching the covenant, but deſired to join with the two kingdoms therein.

The king, apprehending himſelf miſrepreſented to the foreign churches, in that part of the aſſembly's letter which

* Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 232.

§ "*Diodati*, the prince of divinity there," biſhop *Warburton* ſays, "returned a very temperate anſwer, no way inconſiſtent with the re-eſta-"bliſhment of epiſcopacy." ED.

inſinuates

inſinuates a deſign to introduce popery, and being adviſed to vindicate his character from that imputation, cauſed a manifeſto to be drawn up in Latin and Engliſh, to all foreign proteſtants; which, though not publiſhed till the beginning of next year, may be properly inſerted in this place.

CHARLES *by the eſpecial providence of Almighty God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all thoſe who profeſs the true reformed proteſtant religion, of what nation, degree, or condition ſoever they be, to whom this preſent declaration ſhall come, greeting.*

" WHEREAS we are given to underſtand, that many " falſe rumours and ſcandalous letters, are ſpread up and " down among the reformed churches in foreign parts, by " the politick, or rather the pernicious induſtry of ſome ill- " affected perſons, that we have an inclination to recede from " that orthodox religion which we were born, baptized, " and bred in, and which we have firmly profeſſed and prac- " tiſed thoughout the whole courſe of our life to this mo- " ment; and that we intend to give way to the introduction, " and publick exerciſe of popery again, in our dominions; " which moſt deteſtable calumny being grounded upon no " imaginable foundation, hath raiſed theſe horrid tumults, " and more than barbarous wars, throughout this flouriſh- " ing iſland, under pretence of a kind of reformation which " is incompatible with the fundamental laws and govern- " ment of this kingdom; we deſire that the whole chriſtian " world ſhould reſt aſſured, that we never entertained the " leaſt thought to attempt ſuch a thing, or to depart a jot " from that holy religion, which when we received the crown " and ſceptre of this kingdom, we took a moſt ſolemn ſa- " cramental oath to profeſs and protect. Nor does our " conſtant practice, and daily preſence in the exerciſe of this " religion, with ſo many aſſeverations at the head of our " armies, and the publick atteſtation of our barons, with " the *circumſpection uſed in the education of our royal offspring*, " beſides divers other undeniable arguments, only demon- " ſtrate this, but alſo that happy alliance of marriage we " contracted between our eldeſt daughter and the illuſtrious

" prince

" prince of *Orange*, moſt cloſely confirms the reality of our " intentions herein; by which it appears, that our endea- " vours are not only to make a profeſſion thereof in our " own dominions, but to ſtrengthen it abroad as much as " lieth in our power.*

" This moſt holy religion of the *Anglicane* church, or- " dained by ſo many convocations of learned divines, con- " firmed by ſo many acts of parliament, and ſtrengthened " by ſo many royal proclamations, together with the ec- " cleſiaſtical diſcipline and liturgy, which the moſt eminent " proteſtant authors, as well as Germans, French, Danes, " and Swedes, Dutch and Bohemians, do with many elogies, " and not without a kind of envy, approve and applaud in " their publick writings, particularly in the tranſactions of " the ſynod of Dort, wherein, (beſides others of our di- " vines who were afterwards prelates) one of our biſhops " aſſiſted, to whoſe dignity all due reſpect and precedency " were given; this religion, we ſay, which our royal father, " of bleſſed memory, doth publickly aſſert in his famous " confeſſion addreſſed to all chriſtian princes, with the hie- " rarchy and liturgy thereof, we ſolemnly proteſt, that by " the help of God, we will endeavour to our utmoſt power, " and laſt period of our life, to keep intire and inviolable; " and will be careful, according to our duty to heaven, and " the tenor of our oath at our coronation, that all our ec- " cleſiaſticks, in their ſeveral degrees and incumbencies, " ſhall preach and practiſe. Wherefore we command all our " miniſters of ſtate beyond the ſeas, as well ambaſſadors as " reſidents, agents and meſſengers; and we deſire all the reſt " of our loving ſubjects that ſojourn in foreign parts, to " communicate and aſſert this our ſolemn and ſincere pro- " teſtation, when opportunity of time and place ſhall be " offered.

" *Given in our univerſity and city of Oxford,*
" *May* 14, 1644."

This declaration did the king little ſervice among foreign proteſtants, for though it aſſured them his majeſty would not turn papiſt, it convinced them that no alteration in the

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 752.

Engliſh

Engliſh hierarchy was to be expected. His marrying his daughter to the prince of *Orange* was perhaps the only evidence of his charity for the Dutch reformation; but his appeal to the education of his children was trifling, when all the world knew they were under *popiſh inſtructors*, in purſuance of a marriage contract, till twelve or fourteen years of age, and had received impreſſions not to be eaſily defaced. His inſinuating to the foreign churches, that their moſt learned divines preferred the Engliſh hierarchy to the government of their own countries, convinced them they ought to be more ſparing of their compliments for the future, to perſons who would draw ſuch concluſions from them. As to the ſynod of Dort, no precedency was given to the biſhop on account of his epiſcopal character, but as a baron of the Engliſh parliament.* Nor is there any thing in the declaration that might encourage the foreign clergy to hope his majeſty would own their churches, miniſters, or ſacraments, or unite with them againſt the common enemy of the reformation, any more than before theſe unhappy troubles began.

All the epiſcopal divines left the aſſembly before the bringing in of the covenant, except Dr. *Featly*, who was expelled for holding correſpondence with archbiſhop *Uſher* at Oxford, and for revealing their proceedings, contrary to the expreſs words of the ordinance, which obliges them *not to divulge by printing or writing, or otherwiſe, their opinions or advices, touching the matters propoſed to them by parliament, without*

* Dr. *Grey* will have it, that the contrary was the fact; and quotes biſhop *Carleton*. But the quotation goes to prove no more, than that the foreign divines, at the ſynod, in their converſations with him, expreſſed their approbation of the epiſcopal government of the Engliſh church, and their wiſhes to have the ſame order eſtabliſhed among themſelves. But Mr *Neal*'s repreſentation does not ſeem to be accurate. The caſe of precedency, according to *Brandt*, appears to have ſtood thus: When the ſynod met, the two commiſſioners of the ſtates took place near the chimney on the right hand. The Engliſh divines ſat on the left. An empty ſeat was kept for the French. The third place was appointed for the deputies of the Palatinate; and ſo on. Next to the commiſſioners on the right the profeſſors of divinity took place, and then the miniſters and elders of the country, according to the rank of each province. So that the precedency, which the Engliſh biſhop had, naturally aroſe from his rank amongſt the Engliſh divines; to whom, in general, was aſſigned the firſt ſeat on the left hand. Hiſtory of the Reformation Abridged, vol. ii. p. 397. Ed.

the

the conſent of both or either houſes. The doctor was a learned man, and a *calviniſt*, upon which account the aſſembly paid him a high regard, and indulged him in all his ſpeeches in favour of epiſcopacy, and againſt the *covenant*, ſome of which were afterwards publiſhed to the world. They appointed him to anſwer a popiſh pamphlet called the *Safeguard;* and he bore a part in the annotations on the Bible, which go under the name of the Aſſembly. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the king ſent him a letter forbidding him to ſit any longer, but that the doctor excuſed it in a letter to archbiſhop *Uſher*, which being intercepted, he was committed priſoner‖ to lord *Peter*'s houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet as a ſpy; the archbiſhop at the ſame time being declared incapable of ſitting in the aſſembly for the like reaſon. And here was an end of all the publick concern the epiſcopal party had in the government of the church till the reſtoration.

From the time of taking the *covenant*, we may date the entire diſſolution of the hierarchy, though it was not as yet aboliſhed by an ordinance of parliament. There were no eccleſiaſtical courts, no viſitations, no wearing the habits, no regard paid to the canons or ceremonies, nor even to the common-prayer itſelf. The archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by an ordinance of May 16, had been forbid to collate any benefices in his gift, but to perſons nominated by parliament; for diſobedience to which he was by another ordinance of June 10, "ſuſpended *ab officio & beneficio*, and from all "archiepiſcopal juriſdiction, till he ſhould be acquitted, or "convicted of the high treaſon of which he was impeached; "and as to ſuch livings, dignities, promotions, &c. in the "ſaid archbiſhop's gift or collation, as are, or ſhall hereafter "become void, inſtitution or induction ſhall henceforward "be given by the archbiſhop's vicar-general, or any other "having authority on his behalf, upon the nomination and "recommendation of both houſes of parliament." By this extraordinary method the reverend Mr. *Corbet* was inducted into the living of Chatham, *ratione ſuſpenſionis dom.* Guil.

‖ The impriſonment of Dr. *Featly*, Mr. *Baxter* obſerves, "much re-"flected on the parliament; becauſe whatever the facts were, he was ſo learn-"ed a man, as was ſufficient to diſhonour thoſe he ſuffered by." Baxter's Life and Times, p. 75. ED.

archiepiſcopi

archiepiſcopi Cant. *& ſequeſtrationis temporalium archiepiſcopatus in manibus ſupremæ curiæ parliamenti, jam exiſtentis. By reaſon of the ſuſpenſion of the archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the ſequeſtration of the temporalities of his archbiſhoprick into the hands of the preſent high court of parliament, the ſame belonging to their gift.* But this ordinance was of no long continuance, for upon the ſitting of the aſſembly of divines, all church buſineſs went through their hands; the *pariſhes* elected their miniſters, the *aſſembly* examined and approved of them, and the *parliament* confirmed them in their benefices without any regard to the archbiſhop or his vicar. Thus the earl of *Mancheſter* filled the vacant pulpits in the aſſociated counties; and when lord *Fairfax* was authorized to ſupply thoſe in the north, by an ordinance of Feb. 27, the preamble ſays, "the houſes being credibly informed that "many miniſters in the county of York were not only of a "ſcandalous life, but having left their churches and cures, "had withdrawn themſelves wilfully from the ſame, and "joined ſuch forces as had been raiſed againſt the parliament, and aſſiſted them with men, money, horſes, and "arms; therefore it is ordained, that lord *Fairfax* be autho-"rized to fill up their places, with ſuch learned and godly "divines as he ſhall think fit, with advice of the aſſembly."‖

This created a great deal of buſineſs; for though the aſſembly had not a parliamentary authority to *ordain*, yet the examination and approbation of ſuch clergymen already in orders, as petitioned for ſequeſtered livings, being by expreſs order of the two houſes referred to them, they were obliged to chuſe a ſelect committee for this work; their names were,

The Rev. Dr. Gouge	*The Rev.* Dr. Spurſtow	*The Rev.* Mr. Corbet
Dr. Stanton	Mr. Ley	Mr. Gataker
Dr. Lightfoot	Mr. Reynolds	Mr. Herle
Dr. Smith	Mr. Conant	Mr. Hall
Dr. Temple	Mr. Gower	Mr. Whitaker
Dr. Tuckney	Mr. Colman	Mr. Bathurſt
Dr. Hoyle	Mr. Hill	Mr. Cheynel
Dr. Burges		

The method of examination was this; the names of the miniſters who petitioned for livings, or were recommended by

‖ Parliamentary Chronicle, part iv. p. 128.

either

either houſe of parliament, being publiſhed in the aſſembly two or three days before the examination, liberty was given in that time to make exceptions to their characters; if nothing was objected they were examined by the committee, or any five of them, who reported their qualifications to the houſe, upon which each candidate received a certificate from the aſſembly to the following effect:

"ACCORDING to an order bearing date —— from the "committee of the houſe of commons for plundered mi- "niſters, to the committee of divines for the examination "of *A. B.* concerning his fitneſs to be admitted to the be- "nefit of the ſequeſtration of the church of ———, in the "county of ———, and ſo to officiate in the cure thereof, "theſe are to certify the ſaid committee of plundered mi- "niſters, that upon examination of the ſaid *A. B.* and ſome "trial of his gifts and abilities, we conceive him fit to offi- "ciate in the cure of ———, in the county aforeſaid. In "witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names."

The ſcribes of the *aſſembly* were ordered to keep a record of all orders and certificates concerning miniſters recommended to ſequeſtrators, and to enter them in a regiſter book. This continued for about a year, till the new directory and form of church government took place.

Towards the latter end of this year died *William Chillingworth*, A. M. whom I mention not as a *puritan*, but as a witneſs againſt ſome of thoſe hardſhips the *preſent diſſenters* complain of; he was born at Oxford, 1602, and educated in Magdalen-College, of which he became fellow in June 1628. He afterwards turned Roman catholick, and went to the jeſuits college at St. Omer's, where not being thoroughly ſatisfied in ſome of their principles he returned to England, 1631, and having embraced the religion of the church of England, publiſhed an excellent treatiſe, entitled *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe Way to Salvation*, for which he was preferred to the chancellorſhip of the church of Sarum, and made maſter of Wygſton *hoſpital* in Leiceſter. He was inſerted in the liſt with other loyaliſts to be created D. D. in the year 1642, but came not thither to receive that honour. It was the general opinion of the times that he

was

was a *ſocinian*, but in his laſt letter at the end of his works, he appears an *Arian*. It is very certain he refuſed to ſubſcribe the thirty-nine articles for ſome years after his converſion, (1.) Becauſe he did not believe the morality of the fourth commandment. (2.) Becauſe he did not agree to the damnatory clauſes in the *Athanaſian* creed, and therefore could not read the common-prayer. He objected alſo to the twentieth article, *of the church's power to decree rites and ceremonies;* to the nineteenth article, *that works done before the grace of Chriſt*, &c. *are not pleaſing to God;* and indeed, ſays the writer of his life, to the articles in general, as an impoſition on men's conſciences, much like the authority which the church of Rome aſſumes.

Mr. *Chillingworth* bleſſes God, that when he had entertained ſome thoughts of ſubſcription, two unexpected impediments diverted him from it; "for (ſays he) I profeſs ſince "I entertained it I never enjoyed quiet day nor night, till "now that I have rid myſelf of it again; and I plainly per- "ceive, that if I had ſwallowed this pill, howſoever gilded "over with gloſſes and reſervations, and wrapt up in con- "ſerves of *good intentions and purpoſes*, yet it would never "have agreed nor ſtayed with me, but I ſhould have caſt it "up again, and with it whatſoever preferment I ſhould have "gained as the wages of unrighteouſneſs; but now, I thank "God, I am reſolved, that I will never do that while I am "living and in health, which I would not do if I was dying; "and this I am ſure I would not do, and therefore whenever "I make ſuch a prepoſterous choice, I will give you leave "to believe, that I am out of my wits, or do not believe in "God——." Notwithſtanding theſe reſolutions, he was prevailed with to ſubſcribe, by his godfather archbiſhop *Laud*, to qualify him for the above-mentioned preferments. *How the pill* was gilded over is not certain; the writer of his life ſays he ſubſcribed as articles of peace, not of belief. Mr. *Chillingworth* was a quick diſputant, and of very high principles, for in one of his ſermons before the king, he ſays, that *the moſt unjuſt and tyrannical violence of princes may not be rejected; this being unlawful, even though princes*

* Chill. Life, p. 273. † Ibid. p. 79.

be

be moſt impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous. But though his political principles were high, he was low enough with regard to the authority of councils, fathers, and convocations, in matters of faith; adhering ſtedfaſtly to that celebrated declaration, *that the* BIBLE *alone is the religion of a proteſtant.* He was an excellent mathematician, and ſerved as engineer in Arundel Caſtle in Suſſex, in which he was taken priſoner, and when indiſpoſed had the favour of being lodged in the biſhop's houſe at Chicheſter, where he died Jan. 20, 1643-4. It is ſurpriſing, that lord *Clarendon* ſhould ſay, *the parliament clergy proſecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable, ſo that by their barbarous uſage he died within a few days;** when, as he himſelf acknowledged, he wanted for nothing; and by the intereſt of Dr. *Cheynel*, who attended him in his ſickneſs, was courteouſly uſed.§ The doctor would have

* Chillingworth's Life, p. 314, 325.

§ Dr. *Cheynel*'s kindneſs extended to the procuring a commodious lodging for Mr. *Chillingworth*; to engaging the phyſician, as his ſymptoms grew worſe, to renew his viſits; and to ſecuring for him the rites of burial, which ſome would have denied him. Yet he held the opinions of Mr. *Chillingworth* in the greateſt deteſtation, and treated his name and memory with virulence and aſperity, as appears from the above ſpeech at the interment of this great man, and by a pamphlet he publiſhed, entitled *Chillingworthi Noviſſima; or the Sickneſs, Hereſy, Death and Burial of William Chillingworth*, &c. which biſhop *Warburton* calls "a villainous book;" and tells us, that "Mr. *Locke* ſpeaks of it in the harſheſt terms, but not "more ſeverely than it deſerves." The fact is, as biſhop *Hoadley* ſtates it, "Dr. *Cheynel* was a *rigid zealous preſbyterian*; exactly orthodox; very "unwilling that any ſhould be ſuppoſed to go to heaven, but in the *right* "*way*. And this was that *one way*, in which he himſelf was ſettled; and "in which he ſeems to be as ſincere, and honeſt, and charitable, as his bi-"gotry and his cramped notions of God's *peculium* could permit him to be." Years after this Dr. *Snape*, a clergyman, of name, in the church of England, diſplayed the like temper and ſpirit to Dr. *Cheynel*, in the Bangorian controverſy; which I mention to introduce biſhop *Hoadley*'s excellent concluſion from both theſe inſtances of bigotry; namely, "That *an intempe-*"*rate heat* ſcorches up charity in *one church*, as well as in *another*; and every "where equally lays waſte the moſt amiable duties of chriſtianity: and "that men of the moſt oppoſite perſuaſions, agreeing in the ſame narrow-"neſs of principles and notions of zeal, though differing from one another "in many particulars, even to a degree of mutual deſtruction, can kindly "and lovingly unite in condemning the *beſt principles* of all religion as "ſubtile atheiſm, or indifference, or infidelity; and in declaring them to "be the principles of all irreligion, when their ſeveral ſchemes and ſyſtems "are likely to ſuffer from them." So the ſentiments on toleration, charity, and

reaſoned him out of ſome of his principles, but could not prevail, and therefore at his interment, after a reflecting ſpeech upon his character, threw his book, entitled *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe Way to Salvation*, into the grave, ſaying, "Get thee gone, thou curſed book, which has ſeduced "ſo many precious ſouls; earth to earth, duſt to duſt; get "thee into the place of rottenneſs, that thou mayſt rot with "thy author, and ſee corruption." A moſt unchriſtian and uncharitable imprecation!

Among the conſiderable ſtateſmen who died this year, may be juſtly reckoned *John Hampden*, eſq; of Buckinghamſhire, a gentleman of good extraction, and one of the greateſt patriots of his age, as appears by his ſtanding trial with the king in the caſe of *ſhip-money*, which raiſed his reputation to a very great height throughout the kingdom. He was not a man of many words, but a very weighty ſpeaker; his reputation for integrity univerſal, and his affections ſo publickly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. He was indeed a very wiſe man, of great parts and modeſty, and poſſeſſed of the moſt abſolute ſpirit of popularity (ſays lord *Clarendon*) I ever knew. He was one of the impeached members of the houſe of commons, and in the beginning of the war took the command of a regiment, and performed the duty of a colonel on all occaſions punctually, being a man of great perſonal courage, not to be tired out by the moſt *laborious*, and of parts not to be impoſed upon by the moſt *ſubtle*, but becauſe he fought againſt the court, lord *Clarendon* ſays (if this be not an interpolation of the editors) that he had *a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute any miſchief.*§ Which is very

and free enquiry, as they were defended by *Chillingworth* and by *Hoadley*'s friend, were condemned by *Cheynel* and *Snape*. Hoadley's works, v. ii. p. 622, folio, and Palmer's Non-Conformiſts' Memorial, ii. p. 466. ED.

§ Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 227.

Dr. *Grey* endeavours to eſtabliſh the authenticity of this paſſage by a large quotation from the "Weekly Miſcellany," by *Richard Hooker*, of the Temple, eſq.—To Mr. *Neal*'s account of *Hampden* it may be added, that he was born in the year 1594, and died the 24th of June 1643, leaving ten children behind him. The parliament, as a teſtimony of his ſervice to the publick, ordered the ſum of 5000l. to be paid to his aſſignees out of

unaccountable in one whom his lordſhip had commended as a perſon not only of chearfulneſs and affability, but of extraordinary ſobriety and ſtrictneſs of life. Mr. *Hampden* was certainly in all reſpects one of the greateſt and beſt men of his age, and the parliament ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in his death, which happened June 24, about a week after his ſhoulder-bone had been broken by a muſket ball, in a ſkirmiſh with prince *Rupert*'s forces in Calgrave-field.

John Pym, eſq; member for Taviſtock in all the parliaments of king Charles I. was a man of the greateſt experience in parliamentary affairs of any man of his time. He was an admirable ſpeaker, and by the gravity of his countenance and graceful behaviour, could turn the houſe which way he pleaſed; he was a man of buſineſs and for moderate meaſures, according to lord *Clarendon*, till the king impeached him of high treaſon. In his private life he was eminent for true piety and exactneſs of manners; and though inclined to the puritan party, not averſe to the hierarchy with ſome emendations. He was one of the lay-members of the aſſembly of divines, and at the head of all publick buſineſs, the fatigue of which wore out his conſtitution, and put an end to his life, December 8, 1643, in the ſixtieth year of his age. The news of no man's death was more welcome to the royaliſts than his, who ſpread a report, that he died of the *morbus pediculoſus*;† to confute which aſperſion,

of the exciſe. Mr. *Baxter* has placed him with the ſaints in heaven, (Everlaſting Reſt, p. 82, 3.); and lord *Cobham* with the worthies in his Elyſium at Stow. Under his buſt is this inſcription:

" JOHN HAMPDEN,

" Who with great ſpirit, and conſummate abilities, began an oppoſition to " an arbitrary court, in defence of the liberties of his country; ſupported " them in parliament, and died for them in the field."

He argued the caſe of ſhip-money with the judges for twelve days together, in the exchequer chamber; and " had more reaſon to triumph," ſays Mr. *Granger*, " from his ſuperiority in the argument, than the crown had " for its victory in the cauſe." Biographical Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 212, 8vo. and Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory, 8vo. vol. iii. p. 432, 3, note, in which work the character of this great man is fully delineated. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey* has the candour to diſcredit this report; and ſays, from the funeral ſermon for Mr. *Pym* by Mr. *Marſhall*, that it was confuted by the teſtimony of near a thouſand people who ſaw the corpſe, and of eight phyſicians who were preſent at the opening of the body. Yet the doctor repeats, from *Clarendon*, the calumnies of thoſe who accuſed him of raiſing conſiderable ſums

ſion, his body was expoſed to publick view for many days, and at laſt interred in the moſt honourable manner in Weſtminſter-Abbey. A little before his death, he publiſhed his own vindication to the world, againſt the many ſlanders that went abroad concerning him, wherein "he declares himſelf "a faithful ſon of the proteſtant religion, and of the or-"thodox doctrine of the church of England. He confeſſes "he had been for reforming abuſes in the government of "the church, when the biſhops, inſtead of taking care of "men's ſouls, were baniſhing their bodies into the moſt de-"ſolate places; bringing in new canons, *arminian* and *pe-"lagian* errors, and ſuch a number of rites and ceremonies, "as the people were not able to bear.——When ſince that "time they had, as much as in them lay, fomented the "civil differences between the king and his parliament, "abetting and encouraging malignants with large ſupplies "of men and money, and ſtirring up the people to tumults "by their ſeditious ſermons. For theſe reaſons (ſays he) "I gave my opinion for aboliſhing their functions, which, "I conceive, may as well be done as the diſſolution of mo-"naſteries, monks and friars was, in king *Henry* the eighth's "time. He concludes with declaring, that he was not the "author of the preſent diſtractions; with acknowledging "the king for his lawful ſovereign, but thinks, when he "was proſcribed for a traitor, merely for the ſervice of "his country, no man can blame him for taking care of his "own ſafety, by flying for refuge to the protection of par-"liament, who were pleaſed to make *his caſe their own.*"

ſums by diſhoneſt practices, of corrupting witneſſes, and ſelling his protection for bribes. Though he was exculpated before the tribunal of parliament, vindicated his conduct by his own pen, and left his private fortune at ſo low an ebb, that the parliament expended a conſiderable ſum in the payment of his debts; an evidence ſufficient to itſelf to confute his enemies. Mr. *Pym* was called, in early life, *Phœbi deliciæ, lepos puelli.* He was commonly called "king *Pym*;" and from his experience in the forms of parliament, his knowledge of the law and conſtitution, his powers of argument and elocution, and his known honeſty and integrity, he enjoyed an unrivalled authority in the lower houſe. Mrs. Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 92, 93, and Granger's Biographical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 111. Ed.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Oxford parliament. Progreſs of the War. Viſitation of the Univerſity of Cambridge by the earl of Mancheſter. *Committees for plundered, ſequeſtered, and ſcandalous Miniſters.*

THE campaign being ended without any proſpect of peace, both parties endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves by new and ſovereign acts of power. The parliament experiencing the want of a *great ſeal*, for many purpoſes, gave orders that one ſhould be made. They continued to liſt ſoldiers, to levy taxes, and to uſe every method to ſupport their cauſe,* which their policy ſuggeſted, and their neceſſity urged. On the other hand, the king raiſed contributions without form of law;‖ ordered the removal of the courts of juſtice from Weſtminſter; and that he might ſeem to act in a parliamentary way, ſummoned the members who had been expelled the houſes, and all others willing to withdraw from the rebellious city of London, to meet him at Oxford,§ January 22, 1643-4, which was, in effect, diſannulling

† Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 560.

* "What was all this," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "but high treaſon?" To confirm his opinion he refers to Dr. *Wood*'s "Inſtitute of the laws of England," and to the 25th of Edw. III. c. 2, as authorities to ſhew, that the acts of the parliament were acts of treaſon. As if laws formed to preſerve the allegiance of the ſubject to a king acting conſtitutionally and fulfilling faithfully *his* part of the political contract, applied to extraordinary emergencies and to a ſovereign who had violated the conſtitution. As if laws made to reſtrain individuals bound the majority of the repreſentative body of the nation. See alſo Rapin, vol. ii. p. 494, folio. Ed.

‖ "And pray," aſks Dr. *Grey*, "*what form of law* had the *rebels* for "raiſing contributions?" That form of law, our readers will probably reply, and that ſpirit of the conſtitution, which inveſt the repreſentatives of the people with the power and right of appointing the taxes. Ed.

§ The impolicy of this ſtep is forcibly, though ſomewhat jocularly, repreſented by Mr. *Selden*: "The king calling his friends from the parlia-"ment," ſaid this great man, "becauſe he had uſe of them at Oxford,

"is

nulling the act for continuing of the preſent parliament. In obedience to the proclamation, there appeared forty-nine peers, and one hundred forty-one of the houſe of commons, not reckoning thoſe employed in his majeſty's ſervice, or abſent with leave. Lord *Clarendon* ſays,‡ the appearance of both houſes with the king was ſuperior in number, as well as quality, to thoſe at Weſtminſter; which muſt be a miſtake; for though the majority of peers were on that ſide, Mr. *Whitlocke** aſſures us, that upon a call of the houſe of commons, the very day the others were to meet at Oxford, there were preſent two hundred and eighty members, not reckoning one hundred more, who were engaged in their ſervice in the ſeveral counties. This is a very conſiderable majority; though if there had been only *forty*, the king could not have prorogued or diſſolved them, without their own conſent. However, the Oxford members ſtiled themſelves the *parliament*, lord *Littleton* being ſpeaker for the peers, and ſerjeant *Evers* for the commons.† Their firſt ſtep was to ſatisfy the world they deſired peace, ſuch a peace, to uſe the king's own words,‡ "wherein God's true religion may "be ſecured from the danger of popery, ſectaries, and in-"novations; the crown may poſſeſs thoſe juſt prerogatives, "which may enable me to govern my people according to "law, and the ſubjects be confirmed in thoſe rights which "I have granted them in parliament, to which I ſhall be "ready to add ſuch new *graces* as I ſhall find may moſt "conduce to their happineſs." They laid an exciſe upon *tobacco*, *wine*, *ſtrong-waters*, *ale*, *cyder*, *grocery* and *mercery wares*, *ſoap*, *ſalt*, and *butcher's meat*, and ſubſcribed conſiderable ſums of money for ſupport of the war; they declared the Scots then entering England with an army, *traytors*, and

"is as if a man ſhould have uſe of a little piece of wood, and he runs "down into the cellar, and takes the ſpiggot: in the mean time all the beer "runs about the houſe: when his friends are abſent the king will be loſt."
TABLE-TALK, on the word *king*. ED.

‡ Clarendon's Remains, p. 165. * Memoirs, p. 76.

† Ruſhworth, p. 567, 688. Rapin, p. 496, 502, fol. Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 246.

‡ On another occaſion, in his ſpeech to the inhabitants of Somerſetſhire, 13th July 1644. ED.

the lords and commons at Weſtminſter, guilty of *high treaſon*, for inviting them, as well as for counterfeiting the *great ſeal*. On the other hand, the parliament at Weſtminſter would not acknowledge the Oxford members, or receive a meſſage from them under the character of a parliament, but expelled them their houſe, except they returned to their ſeats within a limited time.* April 16, 1644, the king prorogued his Oxford members, to November following, when they fell under his diſpleaſure, for adviſing to pacific meaſures at the treaty of Uxbridge, which was then upon the carpet, and in a fair way of producing an accommodation. This was ſo diſagreeable to the queen, and her Roman catholick counſellors, that they never left off teazing the unhappy king, till he had diſmiſſed them, and broke off the treaty; an account of which he ſent her in the following letter, which ſeems to breathe an air of too great ſatisfaction.

" *Dear heart*,

" WHAT I told thee laſt week, concerning a good " parting with our lords and commons here, was on *Monday* " laſt handſomely performed; now if I do any thing un- " handſome, or diſadvantageous to myſelf or friends, in or- " der to a treaty, it will be meerly my own fault.—Now I " promiſe thee, if the treaty be renewed (which I believe " it will not) without ſome eminent good ſucceſs on my ſide, " it ſhall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as " well free from the place of baſe and mutinous motion‡ " (that is to ſay, our *mungrel parliament* here) as of the " chief cauſers, for whom I may juſtly expect to be chidden " by thee, for having ſuffered thee to be vexed by them—"‖

Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays, this aſſembly ſat again at Oxford in the year 1645, and voted againſt the *directory*, and for the common prayer; but the king's cauſe being grown deſpe-

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 383. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 497, 506, folio.

‡ " There is no circumſtance," obſerves biſhop *Warburton*, " that bears " harder on the king's conduct than this. It is not to be conceived that " theſe men, who hazarded all to ſupport the king's right, could adviſe him " to any thing *baſe* in a mutinous manner. I doubt that this is too ſtrong " a proof that nothing leſs than arbitrary government would heartily ſatisfy " him." Ed.

‖ Rapin, p. 512, folio.

rate,

rate, they ſoon after ſhifted for themſelves, and made their peace at Weſtminſter, upon the beſt terms they could obtain.

On the 19th of January 1643-4, the Scots army, conſiſting of twenty-one thouſand men, under the command of general *Leven*, croſſed the Tweed at Berwick, and entered England. The two houſes ſent a committee to meet them, which being joined by another of that nation, was called the *committee of both kingdoms*,* and were a ſort of camp parliament, to direct the motions of the army, which after ſome time united with the lord *Fairfax*'s forces, and with thoſe under the command of the earl of *Mancheſter*, and lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, from the aſſociated counties. The united armies laid ſiege to the city of York, which prince *Rupert* having relieved, occaſioned the battle of Marſton-Moor, wherein the prince was routed, with the loſs of three thouſand men and his whole train of artillery; and thereupon the marquis of *Newcaſtle*, leaving the royal army, embarked with divers lords and gentlemen for Hamburgh, prince *Rupert* retiring towards Cheſter, and deſerting all the northern garriſons to the mercy of the enemy, which falling into their hands next ſummer, concluded the war in thoſe parts.

His majeſty however had better ſucceſs in the Weſt, where being ſtrengthened by prince *Maurice*, he followed the earl of *Eſſex*, and ſhut up his army within the narrow parts of Cornwall, ſo that he could neither engage or retreat.† Here the king invited the earl to make his peace, but he chooſing rather to retire in a boat to Plymouth, left his men to the fortune of war. As ſoon as the general was gone, the horſe under the command of ſir *William Balfour* bravely forced their way through the royal quarters by night; but the foot under the command of major-general *Skippon*, were obliged to ſurrender their arms, artillery, ammunition, and baggage, conſiſting of forty braſs cannon, two hundred barrels of powder, match and ball proportionable, ſeven hundred carriages, and between eight and nine hundred arms, and to ſwear not to bear arms againſt the king, till they came into Hampſhire. This was the greateſt diſgrace the parliament's

* Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 603.

† Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 691, 701, 705, 710.

forces underwent in the courſe of the war, the foot being forced to travel in a naked and ſtarving condition to Portſmouth, where they were ſupplied with new cloaths and arms. And now again, the king made offers of ſuch a peace as, he ſays, he had been labouring for, that is, to be reſtored to his prerogatives as before the war; but the houſes would not ſubmit.

Upon the defeat of the earl of *Eſſex*, his majeſty reſolved to march directly for London, and upon the road iſſued a proclamation, Sept. 30, 1644, requiring all his loving ſubjects to appear in arms, and accompany him in his preſent expedition.† This gave riſe to a combination of men, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Club-men, who aſſociated in Worceſterſhire and Dorſetſhire, agreeing to defend themſelves againſt the orders both of king and parliament. Their increaſe was owing to the prodigious ravages of the king's forces in their march. Prince *Rupert* was a fiery youth, and with his flying ſquadrons of horſe, burnt towns and villages, deſtroying the countries where he came, and indulging his ſoldiers in plunder and blood. In Wales he drove away the people's cattle, rifled their houſes, and ſpoiled their ſtanding corn. Aged and unarmed people were ſtript naked, ſome murdered in cool blood, and others half hanged, and burnt, and yet ſuffered to live.‡ "Lord *Goring*, the king's "general

† Rapin, vol. ii. p 504, folio. ‡ Whitlocke, p. 62, 87, 103.

‡ The reference here, in the former editions of Mr. *Neal*, is to p. 87 of Whitlocke's Memoirs; where all that is ſaid concerning prince *Rupert* is, "that he took in Liverpool a garriſon of the parliament's in Lancaſhire, "but they firſt ſhipped all their arms, ammunition and portable goods, and "moſt of the officers and ſoldiers went on ſhip-board, whilſt a few made "good the fort, which they rendered to the prince upon quarter, yet *were* "*all put to the ſword.*" "This indeed," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "was bad "enough, but not quite ſo bad as Mr. *Neal* has repreſented it. Not one "word of *ſtripping aged and unarmed* people *naked*, or *murdering people in* "*cold blood*, or of *half hanging* or burning others. A diſmal character "of prince *Rupert* this indeed, had we not reaſon to call the truth of "it in queſtion." The references, which we have now ſupplied, will ſhew that the truth of this character ought not to have been queſtioned, and that it was drawn from facts ſtated by Mr. *Whitlocke*. From whom we will give another inſtance of the ſeverity with which prince *Rupert*, at the commencement of his military career, purſued his conqueſts, and of the cruelty of the royal party from the beginning, before mutual provocations had inflamed their

" general of the horſe, was one of the moſt finiſhed de-
" bauchees of the age, and wanted nothing but induſtry to
" make him as eminent and ſucceſsful in the higheſt attempts
" of wickedneſs as ever any man was. *Wilmot*, the lieute-
" nant-general, was as great a debauchee as the other, and
" had no more regard to his promiſes, or any rules of ho-
" nour and integrity."‖ Sir *Richard Grenville*, who commanded the army before Plymouth, is repreſented by the noble hiſtorian, as having been exceeding barbarous and cruel in Ireland, hanging up old men and women of quality, even though they were bed-rid, if he did not find the plunder he expected; when he came into the weſt, he exerciſed all kinds of cruelty, and would ſometimes make one of the company hang all the reſt, contrary to the law of arms.§

The licentiouſneſs of the king's ſoldiers, was not inferior to that of their officers; for having no regular pay, they committed rapines and plunders, without diſtinction of friends or foes; and were infamous for the moſt execrable oaths, and all kinds of impiety. " Lord *Goring*'s horſe (ſays the " noble hiſtorian) committed horrid outrages and barbarities

their paſſions; or they had been familiariſed to ſcenes of blood. When the prince had taken the magazine of the county at Cirenceſter, and 1100 priſoners, he ſent theſe captives, tied together with cords, almoſt naked, beaten and driven along like dogs, in triumph to Oxford; where the king and the lords looked on them, and too many ſmiled at their miſery. Memoirs, p. 64. Ed.

‖ Our reader will be ſurpriſed, when he is told, that Dr. *Grey* diſcredits this character of the lieutenant-general *Wilmot*, though it is given from lord *Clarendon*, and oppoſes to it a narrative of his lordſhip, in which he relates, that *Wilmot*, when he was before Marlborough, gave not only his life, but his liberty, to a ſpy whom he had apprehended. This Dr. *Grey* extols as a *generous act*, when, according to the ſtatement he himſelf gives of it from *Clarendon*, it was to be aſcribed to *Wilmot*'s policy and generalſhip. For, before he diſmiſſed the ſpy, he ordered his forces to be drawn up before him in the moſt convenient place, and bid the fellow to look well upon them, and obſerve, and return to the town and report what he had ſeen, with a threat to the magiſtrates if the garriſon did not ſurrender, and a promiſe of ſecurity if it ſubmitted. The repreſentations which the man made were of ſome advantage to the views of the royal party. Yet this conduct of *Wilmot*, which ſeems to have been a manœuvre only, in order to diſparage Mr. *Neal*'s delineation of his *general* character, is pompouſly repreſented by Dr. *Grey* as a ſingular inſtance of honour and generoſity. Ed.

‖ Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 537, 555. § Ibid. p. 534.

" in

" in Hampſhire, and infeſted the borders of Dorſetſhire, " Somerſetſhire, and Devon, with unheard-of rapines, ſo " that the people who were well devoted to the king, wiſhed " for the acceſſion of any force to redeem them."* They raiſed vaſt contributions in ſeveral counties, without any other pretence but the king's ſovereign pleaſure. In Cornwall they levied ſeven hundred pounds a week; in Devonſhire two thouſand two hundred pounds a week, and proportionable in other parts.† As the army marched along the country, they ſeized the farmers' horſes, and carried them away without any conſideration. At Barnſtable they plundered the town, and hanged the mayor, though it was ſurrendered upon articles. At Eveſham the king ſent the mayor and aldermen priſoners to Oxford. At Woodhouſe in Devonſhire, they ſeized fourteen ſubſtantial weſt-country clothiers, who were not in arms, and hanged them, by way of repriſal for ſome Iriſh rebels, that had been executed according to the ordinance of parliament. In ſhort, wherever they came they lived at free-quarter, and took but every thing they could, and therefore no wonder the Club-Men united in their own defence.

The king thought to have reached London before the parliament could recruit their army, but the two houſes ſent immediately ſix thouſand arms, and a train of artillery to Portſmouth, with new clothing for the Corniſh ſoldiers. They ordered ſir *William Waller* and the earl of *Manchester* to join them, and diſpatched thither five thouſand of the city train-bands, under the command of ſir *James Harington*, by which acceſſion they were enabled to face his majeſty's army at Newbury, October 27, and having forced the town, which the king had fortified, after a ſmart engagement they took nine of his cannon and ſeveral colours, but under covert of the night, his majeſty ſecured the reſt of his artillery in Dennington-Caſtle, and retreated with his broken army to Oxford; the parliament generals left a body of troops to block up the caſtle, being aſſured it muſt ſurrender in the winter for want of proviſion; when on a ſudden a party of the king's horſe raiſed the blockade, and carried off the artillery to Oxford. This occaſioned great murmuring at

* Clarendon, p. 631. † Ibid. p. 643.

London,

London, and quarrels among the generals, *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, and *Cromwell*, which ended in the new modelling of the army, as will be ſeen under the next year.

While the royal army was little better than a company of *banditti*, or publick robbers; the parliament's were kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and grew up, for the moſt part, into great diligence and ſobriety, which (ſays lord *Clarendon*) begot courage and reſolution in them, and notable dexterity in atchievements and exerciſes.* Moſt of their officers were men of religion;§ their ſoldiers poſſeſſed with a belief, that their cauſe was the *cauſe of God*,‖ and that they fought for the *proteſtant religion*, and *magna charta*; however, there

* Vol. ii. p. 384.

* This, Dr. *Grey*, argues does not agree with what lord *Clarendon* ſays in other places:* and he inſinuates that it is not true. As if what Mr. *Neal* advances muſt be falſe, even when he quotes lord *Clarendon* for his aſſertions, becauſe it is apparently repugnant to the repreſentations elſewhere given by his lordſhip's pen: as if it were incumbent on Mr. *Neal* to reconcile this noble writer to himſelf. But the veracity of Mr. *Neal*, and the conſiſtency of lord *Clarendon* with himſelf, would not have been impeached by Dr. *Grey*, had he examined the paſſage to which Mr. *Neal* refers: by which it appears, that both the king's and the parliament's army, at different periods, were of different characters; and the deſcription which they deſerved at one time did not apply to another. The paſſage which Mr. *Neal* now quotes, referred to a later, and the paſſages below, to which Dr. *Grey* directs his reader, refer to a former period. His lordſhip ſays, "thoſe "under the king's commanders *grew inſenſibly* into all the licence, diſorder "and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels: and *they* into "great diſcipline, diligence and ſobriety." Ed.

* Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 46, 55.

§ "Of pretended ſanctity," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "in which none could ex-"ceed them. They were praying and preaching when the enemy was at "a diſtance, and literally made long prayers to devour widows' houſes." He refers, then, to his own appendix for an inſtance of their fanatical *honour*; but the authorities, which he here produces, relate to the Scottiſh, not the Engliſh army. Ed.

‖ This repreſentation, Dr. *Grey* thinks, is contrary to Mr. *Neal*'s character of them, in ch. 7, from Mr. *Baxter*; who ſays, "that the greateſt "part of the common ſoldiers were ignorant men, of little religion." But the doctor neither adverts to the time when this was ſaid, namely in 1646, after the army had been new modelled; nor obſerves what follows in Mr. *Baxter*, which ſhews that theſe ignorant irreligious were many of them ſuch as had belonged to the royal corps: "abundance of them, ſuch" ſays he, "as had been taken priſoners, or turned out of garriſons under the "king, and had been ſoldiers in his army." Baxter's Life, p. 53. Ed.

were

were among them men of diſſolute lives, who fought only for pay and plunder; ſtrange complaints being ſent up from Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Suſſex, of the diſorders of the common ſoldiers, the parliament appointed a committee to enquire into the facts, and make examples of the offenders, which put an effectual ſtop to the growing miſchief. And as the parliament were enabled, by the inexhauſtible treaſure of the city of London, to give their ſoldiers regular pay, they had them under ſuch ſtrict government, that they were little or no burthen to the towns and villages where they were quartered.†

Upon the whole, the parliament affairs were low at the end of this year, and their counſels divided, by reaſon of the length of the war, and the king's were much worſe; for though he had triumphed over the earl of *Eſſex* in Cornwall, and was maſter of the open country in the weſt, he had no acceſſion of real ſtrength, nor had taken any conſiderable garriſons: the entrance of the Scots broke his army in the north, and loſt him that part of the kingdom, whereby the parliament were enabled to draw off their forces to the *weſt;* and the worſt circumſtance of all was, that his majeſty, having exhauſted his treaſure, had no way of raiſing a ſupply, which obliged him to connive at his ſoldiers living at free quarter; his officers being poor, quarrelled in the royal preſence, and carried their reſentments to ſuch an height, that the king himſelf could not reconcile them, which had a very ill aſpect on the ſucceeding campaign.* The parliament generals alſo were cenſuring each other's conduct in the houſe, on occaſion of the eſcape of the king's artillery from Dennington-Caſtle. The earl of *Eſſex*'s party were charged with a deſign of protracting the war, in order to an accommodation, while others being weary, were for putting it to a deciſive iſſue. In ſhort, both parties were in confuſion and diſtreſs; they were divided among themſelves, ſome being for peace, and others for carrying on the war to the laſt ex-

† Dr. *Grey*, to confute theſe aſſertions of Mr. *Neal*, refers to papers, which he has given in the Appendix to his ſecond volume; but the complaints, brought forward in theſe papers, are made of the Scottiſh army, and to tranſactions of the following year, viz. 1645. Ed.

* Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 389, 391.

tremity.

tremity. All property was in a manner loſt, the farmers paying no rent to their landlords; nor could any man be ſecure of what he poſſeſſed, except he buried it under ground. The ſpirits of the contending parties were as much exaſperated as ever, and there was no ſeeing to the end of their troubles.

To return to the church. The ſtate of the controverſy about eccleſiaſtical diſcipline was now changed; for whereas before the entrance of the Scots, the parliament inſiſted only upon a *reformation of the hierarchy*, now they were engaged to attempt the *total extirpation of it*, and to eſtabliſh another ſcheme for both kingdoms in its room; though it was a conſiderable time before this could be perfected. In the mean while, they reſolved to purge the univerſity of Cambridge, which was the head quarters of their forces, that they might have a ſucceſſion of clergymen training up in the principles they had eſpouſed.

The town of Cambridge was in the intereſt of the parliament, but the *colleges* were ſo many little garriſons for the king, and ſanctuaries of diſaffection; the univerſity preſs was at his majeſty's diſpoſal, and their ſermons filled with evectives againſt the two houſes. Frequent quarrels happened between the townſmen and ſcholars, which would have ended in the ruin of the univerſity, had not the parliament forbid the offering any violence to the colleges, chapels, libraries, and ſchools, under ſevere penalties.† Indeed the *committee* enjoined the proper officers of the pariſh, to put in execution the ordinance for deſtroying the relicks of ſuperſtition, whereby the paintings in windows, images of the deity, and a great deal of carved work, was demoliſhed, at which the maſters and fellows were ſo incenſed, that when they were ordered to repair the damages, they peremptorily refuſed, and were fined forty ſhillings a college, as the ordinance directed.*

The heads of the univerſity raiſed a great clamour, at this pretended invaſion of their rights, as if the parliament intended to ſeize all their revenues, and deſtroy the very fountains of learning; whereupon the houſes publiſhed the

† Sufferings of Clergy, p. 168.

* Sufferings of Clergy, p. 111, and Dr. Grey, vol. ii. p. 141.

following

following ordinance, Jan. 6, 1643-4, declaring "that none "of the eſtates, rents, and revenues of the univerſity, or of "the colleges and halls reſpectively, ſhall be ſequeſtered or "ſeized upon, or in any wiſe diſpoſed of, by virtue of the "ordinance for ſequeſtering the eſtates, rents, and revenues "of delinquents, but ſhall remain to the univerſity, and the "reſpective halls and colleges, to all intents and purpoſes "as if the ſaid ordinance had not been made; and the rents "and revenues, &c. are ordered to be approved of by the "earl of *Mancheſter*, and to be applied to their proper uſes "as heretofore. But if any of the heads, fellows, ſcholars, "or other officers, were convicted of delinquency, the re-"ceiver was to pay their dividend into the hands of the "committee of ſequeſtrations."*

This committee was founded upon an ordinance of Jan. 22, for regulating the univerſity of Cambridge, and for removing ſcandalous miniſters in the ſeven aſſociated counties; the preamble ſets forth, "that the ſervice of the parliament "was retarded, the people's ſouls ſtarved, by the idle, ill-"affected, and ſcandalous clergy of the univerſity of Cam-"bridge, and the aſſociated counties; and that many who "were willing to give evidence againſt them, not being able "to bear the charges of a journey to London, the earl of "*Mancheſter* was therefore empowered to appoint committees "in all the aſſociated counties, to conſiſt of ten perſons, "being deputy-lieutenants, or ſuch as had been nominated "to committees, by ſome former ordinance of parliament; "*five* of theſe were a quorum, and they were empowered "to call before them all provoſts, maſters, and fellows of "colleges, all ſtudents and members of the univerſity, all "miniſters in any of the counties of the aſſociation, all "ſchool-maſters, *that were ſcandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the parliament, or fomenters of this unnatural war, or that ſhall wilfully refuſe obedience to the orders of parliament, or that have deſerted their ordinary places of reſidence, not being employed in the ſervice of the king and parliament.* The ſaid committee were alſo empowered to "ſend for witneſſes, and to examine any complaints againſt "the forementioned delinquents upon oath, and to certify

* Huſband's Collections, p. 409.

"the

"the names of the perſons accuſed to the earl of *Man-*
"*cheſter*, with the charge and proof, who ſhall have power
"to eject ſuch as he ſhall judge unfit for their places; to
"ſequeſter their eſtates, means and revenues, and to diſpoſe
"of them as he ſhall think fit, and place others in their
"room, being firſt approved by the aſſembly of divines ſit-
"ting at Weſtminſter. He had alſo power to order the *co-*
"*venant* to be adminiſtered where he thought fit, and to
"aſſign the fifths of ſequeſtered eſtates for the benefit of
"their wives and children."* The ordinance makes no mention of the doctrine or diſcipline of the church, ſeeming to be levelled only againſt thoſe who took part with the king in the war.

The earl of *Mancheſter*, who was at the head of theſe ſequeſtrations, was ſtiled in the life-time of his father, lord *Kimbolton*, and was one of the impeached members of the houſe of commons: Lord *Clarendon* obſerves,§ that "he
"was of a genteel and generous nature; that his natural
"civility and good manners flowed to all men, and that he
"was never guilty of any rudeneſs, even to thoſe whom he
"was obliged to oppreſs; that he long and heartily wiſhed
"for the reſtoration, and never forfeited that grace and
"favour, to which his majeſty received him after his re-
"turn." The earl repaired in perſon to Cambridge, about the middle of February, with his two chaplains Mr. *Aſhe* and Mr. *Good*, and by his warrant of the 24th inſtant, required the heads of the ſeveral colleges and halls to ſend him their ſtatutes, with the names of all their members, and to certify who were preſent, and who abſent, with the expreſs time of their diſcontinuance.† Two days after, the officers of each college and hall were ordered to give ſpeedy advertiſement to the maſters, fellows, ſcholars, &c. to repair to Cambridge by the 10th of March, in order to anſwer ſuch enquiries as ſhould be made by himſelf or his commiſſioners. But the earl being informed, that this notice was too ſhort, the time was prolonged to the 3d of April, when the earl ſummoned Mr. *Tunſtal* and Mr. *Palgrave*, fellows

* Huſband's Collections, p. 415.

§ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 183. Vol. ii. p. 211, 212.

† Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 112.

of

of Corpus Chriſti college, to appear before the commiſſioners at the Bear inn, in Cambridge, on penalty of ejectment. Warrants of the ſame nature were ſent to ſeveral of the fellows of Caius, St. John's, Queen's, Peter-Houſe, Sidney, Trinity, Chriſt's, Magdalen, and Jeſus colleges; and to Pembroke and Clare-hall; who, not appearing according to the ſummons, were by a warrant of April 8, ejected, to the number of ſixty-five. The reaſons aſſigned for their expulſion were, *non-reſidence*, and *not returning upon due ſummons, and ſeveral other political miſdemeanors.*‖ If the parties ejected returned after this, they were required not to continue in the univerſity above three days, on pain of impriſonment, and confiſcation of their goods; their names were put out of the *butteries*, and the profits of their places reſerved for their ſucceſſors. Not one fellow or ſtudent in Trinity-hall, or Katherine-hall, was turned out, but all Queen's-college was evacuated.

The *covenant* which was read March 18, 1644, in the churches and chapels of the town and univerſity, and tendered to the inhabitants and ſoldiers, was not offered to the whole univerſity, but only to ſuch of whoſe diſaffection they had ſufficient evidence. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* ſays, the greateſt part of the fellows of King's-college were exempted, by the intereſt of Dr. *Whitchcott*; and no doubt others who had behaved peaceably, obtained the ſame favour.* Dr. *Barwick*, author of the *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, a famous loyaliſt, mentions an *oath of diſcovery* for the univerſity, like that of the oath *ex officio;* but Mr. *Fuller* the hiſtorian, about the year 1653, having requeſted an account of this oath from Mr. *Aſhe* the earl's chaplain, he returned for anſwer, that he remembered no ſuch thing. Mr. *Fuller* adds, that he is upon juſt grounds daily confirmed in his confidence, that neither the earl of *Mancheſter*, nor any other under him by his command or conſent, enforced ſuch an oath.‡

The whole number of graduates expelled the univerſity in this and the following years, by the earl of *Mancheſter* and his commiſſioners, including maſters and fellows of col-

‖ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 151, 160. * Introduction to the Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 113. ‡ Appeal, p. 72.

leges,

leges, were according to Dr. *Walker*, near two hundred, beſides inferior ſcholars, which were ſomething more than one half;‖ for the ſame author tells us in another place,* there were about three hundred and fifty-five fellowſhips in the ſeveral houſes of the univerſity; above one hundred and fifty kept their places, and far the greateſt part of the reſt had deſerted their ſtations, and fled to the king. There were ſix heads of colleges out of ſixteen that complied, viz. Dr. *Bainbrigge*, of Chriſt's-college, Dr. *Eden*, of Trinity-hall, Dr. *Richard Love*, of Bennet-college, Dr. *Brownrigge*, of Katherine-hall, ejected in the year 1645, Dr. *Bachcroft*, of Caius-college, and Dr. *Rainbow*, of Magdalen-college. The ten who were ejected by the earl of *Mancheſter*, March 13, or ſome little time after, with the names of their ſucceſſors, are contained in the following table:

Maſters turned out.	*Colleges.*	*Succeeded by*
Dr. Jn. Coſins, *from*	*Peter-Houſe*	Dr. Laz. Seaman,
Dr. Tho. Paſk,	*Clare-Hall*	Dr. R. Cudworth,
Dr. Benj. Laney,	*Pembroke-Hall*	Mr. Rich. Vines,
Dr. Samuel Collins,	*King's-College*	Dr. Ben. Whitchcott,
Dr. Edw. Martin,	*Queen's-College*	Mr. Herb. Palmer,
Dr. Rich. Stern,	*Jeſus-College*	Dr. T. Young,
Dr. William Beale,	*St. John's-College*	Dr. J. Arrowſmith
Dr. Tho. Comber,	*Trinity-Hall*	Dr. Tho. Hill,
Dr. R. Holdſworth,	*Eman. College*	Dr. Ant. Tuckney,
Dr. Samuel Ward,	*Sidney-College*	Dr. Rich. Minſhull,
Anno 1645. Dr. Ralph Brownrigge,	*Kath. Hall*	Dr. W. Spurſtow, *and afterwards* Dr. Lightfoot.

It has been objected to the proceedings of the commiſſioners, that they were not according to the ſtatutes of the univerſity; to which it was replied, that the nation was in a ſtate of war; that theſe gentlemen were declared enemies to the proceedings of parliament; that they inſtilled into their pupils, the unlawfulneſs of reſiſting the king upon any pretence whatſoever, and preached upon theſe ſubjects to the people. It was therefore neceſſary to take the education of the youth out of their hands, which could not be

‖ Introduction to Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 114.

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 163.

done

done any other way at preſent; but in all future elections they returned to the ſtatutes.——It has been ſaid further, that it was a great loſs to learning, becauſe thoſe who ſucceeded were not equal to thoſe who were ejected.* Had this been true, it is no ſufficient reaſon for keeping them in their places, in a time of war, if they were enemies to the conſtitution and liberties of their country. But the beſt way of determining the queſtion as to their learning, is by comparing their reſpective characters.

Dr. COSINS had been ſequeſtered by the parliament in the year 1640, for his high principles, and was retired to France, where he continued till the reſtoration, and was then preferred to the rich biſhoprick of Durham: He was a learned man, of an open, frank, and generous temper, and well-verſed in the canons, councils, and fathers.§

Dr. PASKE lived peaceably and chearfully under the parliament, and was reinſtated in all his livings at the reſtoration, except the maſterſhip of this college, which he quitted to his ſon. The *Querela Cantab.* ſays, he was eminent for learning; but I do not remember that he has given any ſpecimens of it to the world.†

Dr. LANEY was firſt chaplain to Dr. *Neil*, and afterwards prebendary of Weſtminſter; he was one of the king's divines at the treaty of Uxbridge, and attended upon king *Charles* II. in his exile; after the reſtoration he was ſucceſſively biſhop of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely, and was more favourable to the non-conformiſts than ſome of his brethren. He has ſome ſermons extant, and a ſmall treatiſe againſt *Hobbes*.

Dr. COLLINS was *regius profeſſor*, provoſt of King's-college, and rector of Fenny-Ditton; of which laſt he was deprived by the earl of *Mancheſter*, for his ſteady adherence to the royal cauſe. He kept his provoſtſhip till the year 1645, and his profeſſorſhip much longer. He died in the year 1651, and had the reputation of a great ſcholar (ſays Dr. *Barwick*) and his name was famous in foreign univerſities, though he has tranſmitted very little down to poſterity.‖

* Walker's Attempt, p. 114. § Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 68.
† Ibid. p. 141. ‡ Ibid. p. 153. Calamy's Abridg. p. 173.
‖ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 150.

Dr. MARTIN was one of archbiſhop *Laud*'s chaplains, and one of Mr. *White*'s ſcandalous miniſters; he was accuſed not only of practiſing the late innovations, and of being in the ſcheme of reconciling the church of England with Rome; but of ſtealing wheat-ſheaves out of the field in harveſt on the ſabbath day, and laying them to his tithe ſtock. He was very high in his principles, and was impriſoned for ſending the univerſity plate to the king. After his enlargement, he retired to France, and at the reſtoration was preferred to the deanry of Ely. *Lloyd* ſays he was a godly man, and excellently well ſkilled in the canon, civil, and common law; but Mr. *Prynne* gives him a very indifferent character; and biſhop *Kennet* acknowledges his principles were rigid, and his temper ſour.*

Dr. STERN was another of archbiſhop *Laud*'s chaplains, and impriſoned for the ſame reaſon as the former. He afterwards aſſiſted the archbiſhop on the ſcaffold, and lived retired till the reſtoration, when he was made biſhop of Carliſle, and in 1664, archbiſhop of York.‖ He had a ſober, honeſt, mortified aſpect, but was of very arbitrary principles, and a very uncharitable temper; for when Mr. *Baxter*, at the Savoy conference, was intreating the biſhops not to caſt out ſo many miniſters in the *nation*, he made this mean remark to his brethren, that Mr. *Baxter* would not uſe the word *kingdom* leſt he ſhould own a king.‖

Dr. BEALE was alſo impriſoned for ſending the univerſity plate to the king; after his enlargement he retired to Oxford, and was one of the preachers before the court, but upon the declining of the king's cauſe, he retired to Madrid, where he died about the year 1651. He was a man of very high principles; though if we may believe the *Querela*, a perſon of ſuch worth, as rendered him above the reach of commendation.†

Dr. COMBER was another of the king's chaplains, though impriſoned and deprived, for ſending the univerſity plate to the king; after his enlargement he lived privately till the year 1654, when he died; he was a learned man, and of great piety and charity.

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 670. ‖ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 146.
† Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 148.

Dr.

Dr. HOLDSWORTH had been a celebrated preacher in the city of London, and divinity profeſſor in Greſham-college; he was afterwards choſen maſter of Emanuel-college, Cambridge, and was a zealous advocate for the king, for which he was ſometime under confinement. He attended his majeſty at Hampton-Court and the Iſle of Wight, and ſoon after died with grief. He was a pious and charitable man, but high in his principles, and of an haſty paſſionate temper. He publiſhed one ſermon in his life-time, and after his death his friends publiſhed his *Prelectiones*, and a volume of ſermons.

Dr. WARD was one of the Engliſh divines at the ſynod of Dort, and nominated of the committee of divines that ſat in the Jeruſalem-Chamber, and of the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, though he never ſat; he was a very learned man, and died ſoon after his ejectment.

Dr. BROWNRIGGE was inſtalled biſhop of Exeter 1642, and deprived of his maſterſhip in the year 1645, for ſome expreſſions in his ſermon upon the king's inauguration. He was an excellent man, and of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition; after the war he was allowed the liberty of the pulpit, and was choſen maſter of the Temple, where he died about the year 1659.

Far be it from me to detract from the perſonal merit of any of theſe ſufferers, or from their rank in the commonwealth of learning; but their political principles, like thoſe of archbiſhop *Laud*, were certainly inconſiſtent with the conſtitution and liberties of England, and expoſed them very naturally to the reſentments of the parliament in theſe boiſterous times.

Thoſe who ſucceeded the ejected *maſters*, having been firſt examined and approved by the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, were theſe:

Dr. LAZARUS SEAMAN, a very conſiderable divine, according to Mr. *Wood*, a compleat maſter of the oriental languages, an excellent caſuiſt, and a judicious moving preacher. He was well verſed in the controverſy of church government, which made the parliament ſend him with their commiſſioners to the Iſle of Wight, where his majeſty was pleaſed

to

to take particular notice of his abilities.§ He was ejected out of his maſterſhip of Peter-Houſe in 1662, and died in 1675.* He printed ſeveral ſermons, and a *Vindication of the Judgment of the reformed Churches concerning ordination.*

Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH is ſo univerſally known in the learned world, for his great learning, which he diſcovered in his *Intellectual Syſtem*,† that I ſhall only obſerve, he conformed at the reſtoration, and a little before reſigned his maſterſhip of Clare-Hall into the hands of Dr. *Dillingham*, who continued in it to his death.

Mr. RICHARD VINES was a very learned and excellent divine, a popular and laborious preacher, one of the parliament divines at the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, and a moſt induſtrious and uſeful man in his college. He was turned out of his maſterſhip for refuſing the *engagement*, and died before the reſtoration.

Dr. BENJAMIN WHITCHCOT was fellow of Emanuel college, and upon the ejectment of Dr. *Collins* preferred to the maſterſhip of King's college, in which he continued till the reſtoration, and then conformed. The account archbiſhop *Tillotſon* gives of him is this; "that he was an excellent "tutor and inſtructor of youth, and bred up many perſons "quality and others, who afterwards proved uſeful and of

§ Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 16.

* He always carried about with him a ſmall Plantin Hebrew Bible without points. He had a deep and piercing judgment in all points of controverſial divinity: nor was he leſs able to defend than find out the truth. Upon the invitation of an honourable lady, who was the head of a noble family, and was often ſolicited by Romiſh prieſts to change her religion, he engaged two of the moſt able prieſts they could pick out in a diſpute, in the preſence of the lord and lady for their ſatisfaction; and, by ſilencing them upon the head of *tranſubſtantiation*, was inſtrumental to preſerve that whole family ſtedfaſt in the proteſtant religion. Dr. *Grey* acknowledges, on Mr. *Wood*'s authority, that he was a learned man, and died much lamented by the brethren. Palmer's Nonconformiſt's Memorial, vol. i. p. 77. ED.

† This work, diſtinguiſhed by the excellence of its reaſoning and the variety of its learning, was publiſhed to ſtem the torrent of irreligion and atheiſm that prevailed in the reign of Charles II. The author, who was ſuperior to all his contemporaries in metaphyſicks, was father to the learned and accompliſhed lady *Maſham*, of Oates in Eſſex, in whoſe houſe Mr. *Locke* ſpent the laſt fourteen years of his life. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 283. 8vo. ED.

"eminent; that he contributed more to the forming the "ſtudents to a ſober ſenſe of religion than any man of that "age. He never took the *covenant*, and by his particular "friendſhip and intereſt with ſome of the chief viſitors, pre-"vailed to have the *greateſt part of the fellows of his col-"lege exempted from that impoſition.*"§

Mr. HERBERT PALMER, B. D. was one of the univerſity preachers in 1632, and clerk in convocation for the dioceſe of Lincoln, at the beginning of this parliament; he was one of the aſſeſſors of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, and on April 11, 1644, conſtituted maſter of Queen's college by the earl of *Mancheſter*.‡ He was very careful to appoint ſuch perſons for tutors of youth as were eminent for learning and piety; and being poſſeſſed of a good paternal eſtate was unbounded in his liberality. He was a polite gentleman, a complete maſter of the French language, in which he could preach as well as in Engliſh; but his conſtitution being infirm he died in the year 1647, when he was only forty-ſeven years of age.*

Dr. T. YOUNG was an eminent member of the aſſembly of divines (ſays Mr. *Clarke*†) a man of great learning, of much prudence and piety, and of great ability and fidelity in the work of the miniſtry. He was a preacher at Duke's-Place in London, from whence he was preferred to the maſterſhip of Jeſus college, where he behaved with great prudence and piety, till he was turned out for refuſing the engagement. He was one of the authors of the pamphlet called *Smectymnuus*.

§ "His notions of religion were like his charity," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "exalted and diffuſive, and never limited by the narrow prejudices of ſects "and parties. He was diſguſted with the dryneſs and fooliſhneſs of preach-"ing that prevailed in his time; and encouraged the young ſtudents of his "college to form themſelves after the beſt models of Greece and Rome." Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 283-4. 8vo. ED.

‡ Clarke's Lives, p. 183, annexed to his GENERAL MARTYROLOGY.

* What archbiſhop *Laud* urged in his defence at his trial, as an inſtance of his impartiality, ought to be mentioned here to his credit: namely, that he preſented Mr. *Palmer*, though profeſſedly of puritan principles, on account of his excellent character, to the vicarage of Aſhwell in Hertfordſhire, in 1632. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 183, 8vo. ED.

† Clarke's Lives, p. 194.

Dr.

Dr. JOHN ARROWSMITH was fellow of Catherine-hall, and of an unexceptionable character for learning and piety. He was an acute diſputant, and a judicious divine, as appears by his *Tactica Sacra*, a book of great reputation in thoſe times. He died before the reſtoration.

Dr. THOMAS HILL was fellow of Emanuel college, and one of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter. He was firſt conſtituted maſter of Emanuel, and afterwards removed to Trinity college, where he employed all his zeal in the advancement of knowledge and virtue, and in keeping up the college exerciſes. He was twice vice-chancellor, and as ſolicitous to preſerve the honour and privilege of the univerſity as any of his predeceſſors. He was a zealous *calviniſt*, and after about ten years government of his college died in the year 1653.§

Dr. ANTHONY TUCKNEY had been vicar of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, from whence he was called up to ſit in the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter. In the year 1645, he was conſtituted maſter of Emanuel college.† In 1653, he was choſen maſter of St. John's, and upon the death of Dr. *Arrowſmith*, regius profeſſor of Oxford, which place he enjoyed till the reſtoration, when king *Charles* II. by letter under the hand of ſecretary *Nicholas*, ordered him to reſign, promiſing him, in conſideration of his great pains and diligence in diſcharge of his duty, one hundred pounds *per ann.* which was paid by his ſucceſſor till his death, in the year 1671. He left behind him the character of a pious and learned man, an indefatigable ſtudent, a candid diſputant, and a zealous promoter of truth and piety. He publiſhed ſome practical treatiſes in his life; and his *Prælectiones Theologicæ*, with a volume of ſermons, were printed after his death.*

§ Clarke's Lives, p. 230, ut ante. † Calamy's Abridg. p. 77.

* Dr. *Tuckney* was alſo vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, and after the reſtoration was appointed one of the commiſſioners at the conference held at the Savoy. His modeſty was as diſtinguiſhing as his learning. He preſided over his college, which never flouriſhed more than under his government, with great prudence and ability. And is ſaid to have ſhewn more courage in maintaining the rights and privileges of the univerſity in the lawleſs time in which he lived, than any of the heads of houſes at Cambridge. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 305-6, 8vo. ED.

Dr.

Dr. RICHARD MINSHULL was fellow of Sidney college, and upon the death of Dr. *Ward* choſen regularly, according to the ſtatutes, into the vacant maſterſhip, and continued therein till the reſtoration, when he conformed, and was confirmed in his place, which he filled with reputation till his death.

Dr. WILLIAM SPURSTOW, one of the aſſembly of divines, and one of the commiſſioners at the Savoy in the year 1662,* was a perſon of good learning, of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition, and of great humility and charity. He was turned out of his maſterſhip of Catherine-hall for refuſing the *engagement*, and was ſucceeded by the famous

Dr. LIGHTFOOT, the moſt complete maſter of oriental learning of his age; the doctor enjoyed this maſterſhip, with the ſequeſtered living of Much-Munden, given him by the aſſembly of divines, till the reſtoration, when he would have reſigned it back into the hands of Dr. *Spurſtow*, but he declining it, *Lightfoot* conformed, and upon his application to the king was confirmed in both his preferments till his death. His works were publiſhed by Mr. *Strype* in two volumes folio.

If it ſhould be granted, that the new profeſſors were not at firſt ſo expert in the learning of the ſchools as their predeceſſors, that defect was abundantly ſupplied by their application and diligence in their places, and by their obſerving a very ſtrict and ſevere diſcipline; the tutors were conſtant in reading lectures not only in *term-time*, but out of it; the *proctors* and other officers had a ſtrict eye over the ſtudents to keep them within bounds, and oblige them to be preſent at morning and evening prayer. The Lord's-day was obſerved with uncommon rigour; there were ſermons and prayers in all the churches and chapels both morning and afternoon. Vice and profaneneſs were baniſhed, inſomuch that an oath was not to be heard within the walls of the univerſity; and if it may be ſaid without offence, the colleges never appeared more like nurſeries of religion and virtue than at this period.‖ The noble hiſtorian confeſſes, the univerſity of Oxford flouriſhed as much in learning and

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 471. ‖ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 74.

learned

learned men at the reſtoration, as before the civil wars, which is equally true of Cambridge. And it ought to be remembered, that moſt of the conſiderable divines and philoſophers who flouriſhed in the reigns of king *Charles* the ſecond and king *William* the third, owed their education to the tutors of thoſe times, for whom they always retained a great veneration.

Though the form of inducting the new *maſters* was not according to the ſtatutes, (as has been obſerved) becauſe of the diſtraction of the times, it is evident this was not deſigned to be a precedent for their ſucceſſors, as appears by the manner of their inveſtiture, which was this: Mr. *Lazarus Seaman* having been examined and approved by the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, the earl of *Mancheſter* came in perſon into the chapel of Peter-houſe, April 11, and did there declare and publiſh Mr. *Lazarus Seaman* to be conſtituted maſter of the ſaid Peter-houſe, in the room of Dr. *Coſins*, late maſter, who had been juſtly and lawfully ejected; requiring Mr. *Seaman* to take upon him that office, putting him into the maſter's ſeat, and delivering to him the ſtatutes of the college in token of his inveſtiture, ſtraitly charging the fellows, &c. to acknowledge and yield obedience to him, *notwithſtanding he was not elected, nor admitted according to the ordinary courſe preſcribed by the ſaid ſtatutes in this time of diſtraction and war, there being a neceſſity of reforming, as well the ſtatutes themſelves, as the members of the ſaid houſe.*‡ The earl then gave him an inſtrument under his hand and ſeal to the ſame effect, and adminiſtered him an oath or proteſtation, which he took in the following words:

"I do ſolemnly and ſeriouſly promiſe, in the preſence "of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, that during "the time of my continuance in this charge, I ſhall faith-"fully labour to promote learning and piety in myſelf, the "fellows, ſcholars, and ſtudents, that do or ſhall belong to "the ſaid college, agreeably to the late ſolemn national "*league and covenant*, by me ſworn and ſubſcribed, with re-"ſpect to all the good and wholeſome ſtatutes of the ſaid

‡ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 114, 115.

"college

" college and of the univerſity, correſpondent to the ſaid " covenant; and by all means to procure the good, welfare, " and perfect reformation both of the college and univerſity, " ſo far as to me appertaineth."

The other maſters were introduced into their ſeveral chairs after the ſame ſolemn manner, their warrants bearing date the 11th, 12th, or 13th of April, 1644; but the clauſe of the covenant was omitted by thoſe who did not take it, as in the caſe of Dr. *Whitchcot*, and others.

The vacant fellowſhips being more numerous were not ſo quickly filled, though the earl took the moſt prudent method in that affair; April 10, he directed a paper to the ſeveral colleges, declaring that " his purpoſe was forthwith to ſup- " ply the vacant fellowſhips, and deſiring that if there were " any in the reſpective colleges, who in regard of degree, " learning, and piety, ſhould be found fit for ſuch prefer- " ment, they would upon receipt of that paper, return him " their names, in order to their being *examined by the aſ-* " *ſembly*, and inveſted in them." The perſons thus examined and preſented, were conſtituted *fellows* by warrant under the hand and ſeal of the earl of *Mancheſter*, to the heads of the ſeveral colleges, in the following form:

" WHEREAS *A. B.* has been ejected out of his fel- " lowſhip in this college; and whereas *C. D.* has been exa- " mined and approved by the *aſſembly of divines*, theſe are " therefore to require you to receive the ſaid *C. D.* as fel- " low in the room of *A. B.* and to give him place according " to his ſeniority in the univerſity, in preference to all thoſe " that are, or ſhall hereafter be put in by me."§

I have before me the names of fifty-five perſons,‡ who *after they had been examined by the aſſembly*, were preſented to the vacant fellowſhips, in the compaſs of the year 1644; and within ſix months more all the vacancies were in a manner ſupplied, with men of approved learning and piety.

§ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 114, 115. ‡ MS. penes me.

From

From this time the univerſity of Cambridge enjoyed a happy tranquillity; learning flouriſhed, religion and good manners were promoted, at a time when the reſt of the nation was in blood and confuſion. And though this alteration was effected by a mixture of the civil and military power, yet in a little time things reverted to their former channel, and the ſtatutes of the univerſity were as regularly obſerved as ever. Let the reader now judge the candour and impartiality of the famous Dr. *Barwick*, author of the *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, whoſe words are theſe: "Thus the "*knipperdollings* of the age reduced a glorious and renowned "univerſity almoſt to a meer *Munſter*, and did more in leſs "than three years, than the apoſtate *Julian* could effect in "his reign, viz. broke the heartſtrings of learning, and all "learned men, and thereby luxated all the joints of chriſti-"anity in this kingdom. We are not afraid to appeal to "any impartial judge, whether if the *Goths* and *Vandals*, "or even the Turks themſelves, had over-run this nation, "they would have more inhumanly abuſed a flouriſhing "univerſity, than theſe pretended advancers of religion "have done? Having thruſt out one of the eyes of this "kingdom, made eloquence dumb, philoſophy ſottiſh; wid-"dowed the arts, drove the muſes from their ancient habi-"tation, plucked the reverend and orthodox profeſſors out "of the chairs, and ſilenced them in priſon or their graves; "turned religion into rebellion; changed the apoſtolical "chair into a deſk for blaſphemy; tore the garland from off "the head of learning to place it on the dull brows of diſ-"loyal ignorance, and unhived thoſe numerous ſwarms of "labouring bees, which uſed to drop honey-dews over all "this kingdom, to place in their room ſwarms of ſenſeleſs "drones."† Such was the rant of this reverend clergyman; and ſuch the language and the ſpirit of the ejected loyaliſts!

While the earl was ſecuring the univerſity to the parliament, he appointed commiſſioners for removing ſcandalous miniſters in the ſeven aſſociated counties, empowering them to act by the following warrant;

† Querela, Pref. p. 2, 26, 27. Walker's Attempt, p. 115.

March

"March 15, 1644.

"BY virtue of an ordinance of both houſes of par-
"liament, bearing date January 22, 1643-4, I do authorize
"and appoint you ———, or any five of you, to call be-
"fore you all miniſters or ſchool-maſters within the coun-
"ties of ———, *that are ſcandalous in their lives, or ill-
"affected to the parliament, or fomenters of this unnatural
"war; or that ſhall wilfully refuſe obedience to the ordinances
"of parliament; or that have deſerted their ordinary places
"of reſidence, not being employed in the ſervice of the king
"and parliament*, with full power and liberty to ſend for
"any witneſſes, and to examine complaints upon *oath*.
"And you are to certify the names of ſuch miniſters, with
"the charge and proof againſt them to me."†

It is to be obſerved, that the *warrant* is pointed only againſt thoſe *who are immoral, or diſaffected to the parliament, or had deſerted their cures;* and was accompanied with *inſtructions*, and a *letter*, exhorting them to the faithful and effectual diſcharge of their truſt. The inſtructions were to this effect.

Firſt, "That they ſhould be ſpeedy and effectual in exe-
"cuting the ordinances, and ſit in ſuch places within the
"county that all parties, by the eaſineſs of acceſs, may be
"encouraged to addreſs themſelves to them with their com-
"plaints.

Secondly, "That they ſhould iſſue their warrants, to ſum-
"mon before them ſuch miniſters and witneſſes, as the articles
"preferred againſt them ſhould require.

Thirdly, "That the party accuſed ſhould not be preſent at
"the taking the depoſitions, becauſe of diſcountenancing the
"witneſſes, and diſturbing the ſervice;* but when the de-
"poſitions were taken upon oath the party accuſed ſhould
"have a copy, and have a day given him to return his an-

† Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 117.

* This was owing to the inſolent and unmannerly behaviour of ſome of the clergy before the commiſſioners; for the ordinance of Sept. 6, 1643, appoints, that the witneſſes ſhall be examined in their preſence; and that ſufficient warning ſhall be given of the time and place where the charge againſt them ſhould be proved.

"ſwer

"ſwer in writing, and to make his defence within fourteen "days, or thereabouts.

Fourthly, "They were to return both the accuſation and "defence to Mr. *Good* and Mr. *Aſhe*, the earl's chaplains, "and upon ſuch receipts they ſhould have further directions.

Fifthly, "If the party accuſed would not appear to make "his defence, they were to certify the cauſe of his abſence, "becauſe *if they were non-reſidents, or in arms againſt the "parliament*, the earl would proceed againſt them.*

Sixthly, "It being found by experience, that pariſhioners "were not forward to complain of their miniſters, though "very ſcandalous; ſome being enemies to the intended re-"formation, and others ſparing their miniſters, becauſe they "favoured them in their tithes, and were therefore eſteemed "*quiet men;* therefore they were required to call unto them "ſome well-affected men within every hundred, who, having "no private engagements, were to be encouraged by the "committees to enquire after the doctrines, lives, and con-"verſations of all miniſters and ſchool-maſters, and to give "information what could be depoſed, and who could depoſe "the ſame.

Seventhly, "Each commiſſioner ſhall have five ſhillings "for every day he ſits; and the clerk to receive ſome pay, "that he might not have occaſion to demand fees for every "warrant or copy, unleſs the writings were very large.

Eighthly, "Upon the ejecting of any ſcandalous or ma-"lignant miniſters, they were to require the pariſhioners to "make choice of ſome fit and able perſon to ſucceed, who "was to have a teſtimonial from the well-affected gentry "and miniſtry; and to take particular care that no *anabap-"tiſt*, or *antinomian*, be recommended.

Ninthly, "They were to certify the true value of each "living; as alſo the eſtate, livelihood, and charge of chil-"dren, which the accuſed perſon had, for his lordſhip's di-"rection in the aſſignment of the fifths. And,

Laſtly, "They were to uſe all other proper ways and "methods for ſpeeding the ſervice."

With theſe *inſtructions* the earl ſent an exhortation by *letter*, in the following words:

* Huſband's Collections, p. 311. "*Gen.*

"*Gentlemen*,

"I ſend you by this bearer a commiſſion, with in-
"ſtructions for executing the ordinance, &c. within your
"county. I neither doubt of your abilities nor affections
"to further this ſervice, yet according to the great truſt
"repoſed in me herein by the parliament, I muſt be earneſt
"with you to be diligent therein. You know how much
"the people of this kingdom have formerly ſuffered in their
"perſons, ſouls, and eſtates, under an idle, ill-affected, ſcan-
"dalous, and inſolent clergy, upheld by the biſhops; and
"you cannot but foreſee, that their preſſures and burthens
"will ſtill continue, though the form of government be al-
"tered, unleſs great care be taken to diſplace ſuch miniſters,
"and to place orthodox and holy men in every pariſh; for
"let the government be what it will for the form thereof,
"yet it will never be good, unleſs the parties employed
"therein be good themſelves. By the providence of God
"it now lies in your power to reform the former abuſes,
"and to remove theſe offenders. Your power is great, and
"ſo is your truſt. If a general reformation follows not
"within your county, aſſuredly the blame will be laid upon
"you, and you muſt expect to be called to an account for
"it both here and hereafter. For my part, I am reſolved
"to employ the utmoſt of my power given to me by the
"ordinance, for procuring a general reformation in all the
"aſſociated counties, expecting your forwardneſs, and hear-
"tily joining with me herein.*

"I reſt, &c."

When a clergyman was convicted according to the inſtructions above-mentioned, report was made to the earl, who directed a warrant to the churchwardens of the pariſh, to eject him out of his parſonage, and all the profits thereof; and another to receive the tithes, and all the benefits into their own hands, and to keep them in ſafe cuſtody till they ſhould receive further order from himſelf.† At the ſame time he directed the pariſhioners to chooſe a proper miniſter for the vacant place, and upon their preſentation his lordſhip ſent him to the *aſſembly of divines* at Weſtminſter, with an ac-

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 118. † Ibid. p. 119.

count

count of his character, for their trial and examination. And upon a certificate from the aſſembly, that they approved of him as an orthodox divine, and qualified to officiate in the paſtoral function, his lordſhip iſſued out his laſt warrant, ſetting forth that "ſuch an one having been approved by the "aſſembly, &c. he did therefore authorize and appoint him "the ſaid ———, to officiate as miniſter, to preach, teach, "and catechize in ſuch a pariſh *during his* (the earl's) *plea-* "*ſure*, and then empower him to take poſſeſſion of the "church, parſonage-houſes, glebe-lands, and to receive the "tithes and profits, and enjoy the ſame, until his lordſhip "ſhould take further order concerning the ſame, requiring "all officers to aid and aſſiſt him for that purpoſe."

If the committees obſerved theſe articles there could be no reaſonable ground of complaint, except of the *ſixth*, which may be conſtrued as giving too much encouragement to informers; but the methods of conviction were unexceptionable. The perſons to be called before the commiſſioners were ſcandalous, or enemies to the parliament; the depoſitions were upon oath; a copy of them was allowed the defendant, with time to give in his anſwer in writing; then a day appointed to make his defence in preſence of the witneſſes, to whom he might take exceptions; and after all, the final judgment not left with the commiſſioners, but with the *earl*. The filling the vacant benefice was no leſs prudent; the pariſhioners were to chooſe their own miniſter, who was to produce teſtimonials of his ſobriety and virtue; the aſſembly were then to examine into his learning and miniſterial qualifications; and after all, the new incumbent to hold his living only *during pleaſure;* the parliament being willing to leave open a door, at the concluſion of a peace, for reſtoring ſuch royaliſts as were diſplaced merely for adhering to the king, without prejudice to the preſent poſſeſſor. One cannot anſwer for particulars under ſuch uncommon diſtractions and violence of parties; but the orders were, in my opinion, not only reaſonable but expedient, for the ſupport of the cauſe in which the parliament was engaged.

The committees for the aſſociated counties acted, I apprehend, no longer than the year 1644. The laſt warrant of ejectment mentioned by Dr. *Nalſon*, bearing date March 17, 1644-5,

1644-5, in which time affairs were brought to ſuch a ſettlement in thoſe parts, that the royaliſts could give them no diſturbance.† The aſſociated counties, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, eſcaped the beſt of all parts in this civil war, the ſmoak thereof only offending them, while the fire was felt in other places. The chief ejectments by the commiſſioners in other parts of England, were in the years 1644, 1645, and till the change of government in the year 1649, when the *covenant* itſelf was ſet aſide, and changed into an ENGAGEMENT to the new commonwealth.

It is hard to compute the number of clergymen that might loſe their livings by the ſeveral committees during the war, nor is it of any great importance, for the *law* is the ſame whether more or fewer ſuffer by it; and the not putting it in execution might be owing to want of power or opportunity. Dr. *Nalſon* ſays, that in five of the aſſociated counties one hundred and fifty-ſix clergymen were ejected in little more than a year; namely, in Norfolk fifty-one, Suffolk thirty-ſeven, Cambridgeſhire thirty-one, Eſſex twenty-one, Lincolnſhire ſixteen; and if we allow a proportionable number for the other two, the whole will amount to two hundred and eighteen; and if in ſeven counties there were two hundred and eighteen ſufferers, the fifty-two counties of England, by a like proportion, will produce upwards of ſixteen hundred. Dr. *Walker* has fallaciouſly increaſed the number of ſuffering clergymen to eight thouſand, even though the liſt at the end of his book makes out little more than a fifth part. Among his cathedral clergy he reckons up ſeveral *prebends* and *canonries*, in which he ſuppoſes ſufferers without any evidence. Of this ſort Dr. *Calamy* has reckoned above two hundred.* If one clergyman was poſſeſſed of three or four dignities, there appear to be as many ſufferers. The like is obſervable in the caſe of pluraliſts; for example, *Richard Stuart*, L. L. D. is ſet down as a ſufferer in the deanery of St. Paul's, as prebendary of St. Pancras, and reſidentiary; in the deanery and prebend of the third ſtall in Weſtminſter; in the deanery of the royal chapel; in the provoſtſhip of Eaton-college, and prebend of North-

† Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 119.

* Church and Diſſenters compared, p. 52.

alton

alton in the church of Saliſbury; all which preferments he enjoyed, (ſays Dr. *Walker*) or was entitled to, together, and his name is repeated in the ſeveral places. By ſuch a calculation it is eaſy to deceive the reader, and ſwell the account beyond meaſure. The reverend Mr. *Withers*,* a late nonconformiſt miniſter at Exeter, has taken care to make an exact computation in the aſſociated counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeſhire, in which are one thouſand three hundred and ninety-eight pariſhes, and two hundred and fifty-three ſequeſtrations; ſo that if theſe may be reckoned as a ſtandard for the whole kingdom, the whole number will be reduced conſiderably under two thouſand. He has alſo made another computation from the county of Devon, in which are three hundred ninety-four pariſhes, and one hundred and thirty-nine ſequeſtrations, out of which thirty-nine are deducted for pluralities, &c. and then by comparing this county (in which both Dr. *Walker* and Mr. *Withers* lived) with the reſt of the kingdom, the amount of ſufferers according to him, is *one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix;* but admitting they ſhould ariſe to the number of the doctor's names in his index, which are about two thouſand four hundred, yet when ſuch were deducted as were fairly convicted upon oath, of immoralities of life, &c. (which were a fourth in the aſſociated counties) and all ſuch as took part with the king in the war, or diſowned the authority of the parliament; preaching up doctrines inconſiſtent with the cauſe for which they had taken arms, and exciting the people to an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the authority of the crown, the remainder that were diſplaced *only for refuſing the covenant*, muſt be very inconſiderable. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, they caſt out the groſſer ſort of inſufficient and ſcandalous clergy, and ſome few civil men that had acted in the wars for the king, and ſet up the late innovations, but left in near one half of thoſe that were but barely tolerable. He adds further, "that in all the counties in which he was "acquainted *ſix to one at leaſt, if not more*, that were ſequeſ-"tered by the committees, were by the oaths of witneſſes "proved inſufficient, or ſcandalous, or both."§

* Appendix to his Reply to Mr. Agate, p. 27, 28.

§ Hiſtory of Life and Times, p. 74.

But

But admitting their numbers to be equal to thoſe puritan miniſters ejected at the reſtoration, yet the cauſe of their ejectment, and the circumſtances of the times, being very different, the ſufferings of the former ought not to be compared to the latter; though Dr. *Walker* is pleaſed to ſay in his preface, that *if the ſufferings of the diſſenters bear any tolerable proportion to thoſe of the ejected loyaliſts, in number, degrees, or circumſtances, he will be gladly deemed not only to have loſt all his labour, but to have revived a great and unanſwerable ſcandal on the cauſe he has undertaken to defend.* I ſhall leave the reader to paſs his own judgment upon this declaration, after I have produced the teſtimony of one or two divines of the church of England. "Who can anſwer (ſays one) for the violence and injuſtice of actions "in a civil war? Thoſe ſufferings were in a time of general "calamity, but *theſe* [in 1662] were ejected not only in a "time of peace, but a time of joy to all the land, and after "an act of oblivion, to which common rejoicing theſe ſuffering miniſters had contributed their earneſt prayers, and "great endeavours.*—" "I muſt own (ſays another of the "doctor's correſpondents) that though both ſides have been "exceſſively to blame, yet that the ſeverities uſed by the "church to the diſſenters are leſs excuſable than thoſe uſed "by the diſſenters to the church; my reaſon is, that the "former were uſed in times of peace, and a ſettled government, whereas the latter were inflicted in a time of tumult "and confuſion, ſo that the plundering and ravaging endured by the church miniſters were owing (many of them "at leaſt) to the rudeneſs of the ſoldiers, and the chances "of war; THEY WERE PLUNDERED NOT BECAUSE THEY "WERE CONFORMISTS, BUT CAVALIERS, AND OF THE "KING'S PARTY."§ The caſe of thoſe who were ſober and virtuous, ſeems to be much the ſame with the *nonjurors* at the late revolution of king *William* III. and I readily agree with Mr. *Fuller*, that "moderate men bemoaned theſe ſeverities, for as much corruption was let out by theſe ejectments (many ſcandalous miniſters being deſervedly pu-

* Conform. firſt Plea, p. 12, 13.

§ Calamy's Church and Diſſenters compared, p. 23, 24.

"niſhed)

" niſhed) ſo at the ſame time the veins of the Engliſh church " were alſo emptied of much good blood."§

We have already obſerved, that a *fifth* part of the revenues of theſe ejected clergymen was reſerved for the maintenance of their poor families, " which was a chriſtian act, " and which I ſhould have been glad (ſays the divine above- " mentioned) to have ſeen imitated at the reſtoration."* Upon this the *cavaliers* ſent their wives and children to be maintained by the parliament miniſters, while themſelves were fighting for the king. The houſes therefore ordained, Sept. 8, 1645, that the *fifths* ſhould not be paid to the wives and children of thoſe who came into the parliament quarters without their huſbands or fathers, or who were not bred in the proteſtant religion.† Yet when the war was over, all were allowed their *fifths*, though in ſome places they were ill paid, the incumbent being hardly able to allow them, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of his living, and the devaſtation of the war. When ſome pretended to excuſe themſelves on the forementioned exceptions, the two houſes publiſhed the following explanation, Nov. 11, 1647, viz. " That the wives and children of all ſuch perſons whoſe " eſtates and livings are, have been, or ſhall be ſequeſtered " by order of either houſe of parliament, ſhall be compre- " hended within the ordinance which allows a fifth part for " wives and children, and ſhall have their fifth part allowed " them; and the committee of lords and commons for ſe- " queſtrations, and the committees for plundered miniſters, " and all other miniſters, are required to take notice hereof, " and yield obedience hereunto."‡ Afterwards, when it was queſtioned whether the *fifths* ſhould pay their proportion of the publick taxes, it was ordained, that *the incumbent only* ſhould pay them. Under the government of the protector *Cromwell* it was ordained, that if the ejected miniſter left the quiet poſſeſſion of his houſe and glebe to his ſucceſſor within a certain time, he ſhould receive *his fifths, and all his arrears*, provided he had not a real eſtate of his own of thirty pounds *per annum*, or five hundred pounds in money.

§ Church Hiſtory, p. 207. * Calamy's Ch. and Diſſ. comp. p. 24.
† Huſband's Collections, p. 726. ‡ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 100.

After

After all, it was a hard caſe on both ſides; the *incumbents* thought it hard to be obliged to all the duties of their place, and another to go away with a *fifth* of the profit, at a time when the value of church lands was conſiderably leſſoned by the neglect of tillage, and exorbitant taxes laid upon all the neceſſaries of life. To which may be added, an opinion that began to prevail among the farmers, of the unlawfulneſs of paying tithes: Mr. *Selden* had led the way to this in his book of tithes, whereupon the parliament, by an ordinance of Nov. 8, 1644, "ſtrictly enjoined all perſons fully, truly, "and effectually to ſet out, yield, and pay reſpectively, all "and ſingular tithes, offerings, oblations, obventions, rates "for tithes, and all other duties commonly known by the "name of tithes." Others who had no ſcruple about the payment of tithes, refuſed to pay them to the new incumbent, becauſe the ejected miniſter had the legal right; inſomuch that the preſbyterian miniſters were obliged in many places to ſue their pariſhioners, which created diſturbances and diviſions, and at length gave riſe to ſeveral petitions from the counties of Buckingham, Oxford, Hertford, &c. praying, that their miniſters might be provided for ſome other way. The parliament referred them to a committee, which produced no redreſs, becauſe they could not fix upon another fund, nor provide for the lay-impropriations.

CHAP. IV.

Of the ſeveral Parties in the Aſſembly of Divines, PRESBYTERIANS, ERASTIANS, INDEPENDENTS. *Their Proceedings about* Ordination, *and the* Directory for Divine Worſhip. *The Riſe, Progreſs, and Sufferings of the Engliſh* ANABAPTISTS.

BEFORE we proceed to the debates of the aſſembly of divines, it will be proper to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral parties of which it was conſtituted.§ The epiſcopal clergy had entirely deſerted it before the bringing in of the *covenant*, ſo that the eſtabliſhment was left without a ſingle advocate. All who remained were for taking down the main pillars of the hierarchy, before they had agreed what ſort of building to erect in its room.

The majority at firſt intended only the reducing epiſcopacy to the ſtandard of the firſt or ſecond age, but for the ſake of the Scots alliance, they were prevailed with to lay aſide the name and function of biſhops, and attempt the eſtabliſhing a preſbyterial form, which at length they advanced into *jus divinum*, or a *divine inſtitution*, derived expreſsly from Chriſt and his apoſtles. This engaged them in ſo many controverſies, as prevented their laying the top ſtone of the building, ſo that it fell to pieces before it was perfected. The chief patrons of preſbytery in the houſe of commons, were *Denzil Hollis*, eſq; ſir *William Waller*, ſir *Philip Stapleton*, ſir *John Clotworthy*, ſir *Benjamin Rudyard*, ſerjeant *Maynard*, colonel *Maſſey*, colonel *Harley*, *John Glynn*, eſq; and a few others.

The ERASTIANS formed another branch of the aſſembly, ſo called from *Eraſtus*, a German divine of the ſixteenth century. The *paſtoral office* according to him was only per-

§ The name of Puritans is from this time to be ſunk; and they are for the future to be ſpoken of under the diſtinction of Preſbyterians, Eraſtians, and Independents, who had all their different views. Dr. Warner's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 561. ED.

ſuaſive, like a profeſſor of the ſciences over his ſtudents, without any power of the keys annexed.‖ The Lord's ſupper, and other ordinances of the goſpel, were to be free and open to all. The miniſter might diſſuade the vicious and unqualified from the communion, but might not refuſe it, or inflict any kind of cenſure; the puniſhment of all offences, either of a civil or religious nature, being reſerved to the magiſtrate. The pretended advantage of this ſcheme was, that it avoided the erecting *imperium in imperio*, or two different powers in the ſame civil government; it effectually deſtroyed all that ſpiritual juriſdiction and coercive power over the conſciences of men, which had been challenged by popes, prelates, preſbyteries, &c. and made the government of the church *a creature of the ſtate*. Moſt of our firſt reformers were ſo far in theſe ſentiments, as to maintain that no one form of church government is preſcribed in ſcripture as an invariable rule for future ages; as *Cranmer*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, &c. and archbiſhop *Whitgift*, in his controverſy with *Cartwright*, delivers the ſame opinion; "I deny "(ſays he) that the ſcripture has ſet down any one certain "form of church-government to be perpetual."—Again, "It is well known, that the manner and form of govern- "ment expreſſed in the ſcriptures neither is now, nor can, "nor ought to be obſerved either touching perſons or func- "tions.—The charge of this is left to the magiſtrate, ſo "that nothing be contrary to the word of God. The go- "vernment of the church muſt be according to the form of "government in the common-wealth." The chief patrons of this ſcheme in the aſſembly were Dr. *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Colman*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Whitlock*, and in the houſe of commons, beſides *Selden* and *Whitlock*, *Oliver St. John*, eſq; ſir *Thomas Widdrington*, *John Crew*, eſq; ſir *John Hipſley*, and others of the greateſt names.

The INDEPENDENTS, or *congregational brethren*, compoſed a third party, and made a bold ſtand againſt the proceedings of the high preſbyterians; their numbers were ſmall at firſt, though they increaſed prodigiouſly in a few years, and grew to a conſiderable figure under the protectorſhip of *Oliver Cromwell*.

‖ Baxter's Life, p. 139.

We

We have already related their original, and carried on their hiſtory till they appeared in publick about the latter end of the year 1640. The divines who paſſed under this denomination in the aſſembly, had fled their country in the late times, and formed ſocieties according to their own model in Holland, upon the ſtates allowing them the uſe of *their* churches, after their own ſervice was ended, with liberty of ringing a bell to publick worſhip. Here (as they declare) they ſet themſelves to conſult the holy ſcriptures as impartially as they could, in order to find out the diſcipline that the apoſtles themſelves practiſed in the very firſt age of the church; the condition they were in, and the melancholy proſpect of their affairs affording no temptation to any particular biaſs. The reſt of their hiſtory, with their diſtinguiſhing opinions, I ſhall draw from their *Apologetical Narration*, publiſhed in 1643, and preſented to the houſe of commons.

"As to the church of England (ſay they) we profeſs, before God and the world, that we do apprehend a great deal of defilement in their way of worſhip, and a great deal of unwarranted power exerciſed by their church governors, yet we allow multitudes of their parochial churches to be true churches, and their miniſters true miniſters. In the late times, when we had no hopes of returning to our own country, we held communion with them, and offered to receive to the Lord's ſupper ſome that came to viſit us in our exile, whom we knew to be godly, upon that relation and membership they held in their pariſh churches in England, they profeſſing themſelves to be members thereof, and belonging thereto. The ſame charitable diſpoſition we maintained towards the Dutch churches among whom we lived. We mutually gave and received the right hand of fellowſhip, holding a brotherly correſpondence with their divines, and admitting ſome of the members of their churches to communion in the ſacrament, and other ordinances, by virtue of their relation to thoſe churches."*

The ſcheme they embraced was a middle way between *browniſm* and *preſbytery*, viz. that "*every particular congregation of chriſtians has an entire and compleat power of*

* Apologet. Narr. of the Independents, p. 78.

"*juriſdiction*

" *juriſdiction over its members, to be exerciſed by the elders* " *thereof within itſelf.* This they are ſure muſt have been " the form of government in the primitive church, before " the numbers of chriſtians in any city were multiplied ſo " far as to divide into many congregations, which it is du- " bious, whether it was the fact in the apoſtles times.*

" Not that they claim an entire independency with regard " to other churches, for they agree that in all caſes of of- " fence, the offending church is to ſubmit to an open exa- " mination, by other neighbouring churches, and on their " perſiſting in their error of miſcarriage, they then are to " renounce all chriſtian communion with them, till they re- " pent, which is all the authority or eccleſiaſtical power that " one church may exerciſe over another, unleſs they call in " the civil magiſtrate, for which they find no authority in " ſcripture.‖

" Their method of publick worſhip in Holland was the " ſame with other proteſtants; they read the ſcriptures of " the old and new teſtament in their aſſemblies, and ex- " pounded them on proper occaſions; they offered up pub- " lick and ſolemn prayers for kings, and all in authority; " and though they did not approve of a preſcribed form, " they admitted that publick prayer in their aſſemblies ought " to be framed by the meditation and ſtudy of their miniſters, " as well as their ſermons; the word of God was conſtantly " preached; the two ſacraments, of baptiſm to infants, and " the Lord's ſupper, were frequently adminiſtered; to which " was added, ſinging of pſalms, and a collection for the poor " every Lord's day.

" They profeſs their agreement in doctrine with the ar- " ticles of the church of England, and other reformed " churches.

" Their officers, and publick rulers in the church, were " paſtors, teachers, ruling elders (not lay, but eccleſiaſtical " perſons, ſeparated to that ſervice) and deacons.

" They practiſed no church cenſures but admonition; " and excommunication upon obſtinate and impenitent of- " fenders, which latter they apprehended ſhould not be pro- " nounced but for crimes of the laſt importance, and which

* Apologet. Narr. of the Independents, p. 12, 15. ‖ Ibid. p. 18.

may

" may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be committed contrary to " the light and conviction of the perſon's conſcience.

" In concluſion, they call God and man to witneſs, that " out of a regard to the publick peace they had forbore to " publiſh their peculiar opinions, either from the pulpit or " preſs, or to improve the preſent diſpoſition of the people " to the increaſe of their party; nor ſhould they have pub- " liſhed that apology to the world, had not their ſilence " been interpreted as an acknowledgment of thoſe reproaches " and calumnies that have been caſt upon them by their ad- " verſaries; but ſhould have waited for a free and open de- " bate of their ſentiments in the preſent aſſembly of divines, " though they are ſenſible they ſhall have the diſadvantage " with regard to numbers, learning, and the ſtream of pub- " lick intereſt; however, they are determined in all debates " to yield to the utmoſt latitude of their conſciences, pro- " feſſing it to be as high a point of religion to acknowledge " their miſtakes when they are convinced of them, as to " hold faſt the truth; and when matters are brought to " the neareſt agreement, to promote ſuch a temper as may " tend to union, as well as truth.‖

" They therefore beſeech the honourable houſes of par- " liament, not to look upon them as diſturbers of the pub- " lick peace, but to conſider them as perſons that differ but " little from their brethren; yea, far leſs than they do from " what themſelves practiſed three years ago. They beſeech " them likewiſe to have ſome regard to their paſt exile and " preſent ſufferings, and upon theſe accounts to allow them " to continue in their native country, with the enjoyment " of the ordinances of Chriſt, and an indulgence in ſome " leſſer differences, as long as they continue peaceable ſub- " jects.

Signed by,

Thos. Goodwin,
Sydrach Simpſon,
Philip Nye,
Jer. Burroughs,
William Bridge."*

‖ Apologet. Narr. of the Independents, p. 24, 25, 27. * Ibid. p. 30.

The

The reverend Mr. *Herle*, afterwards prolocutor of the aſſembly, in his *imprimatur* to this Apology, calls it a performance full of peaceableneſs, modeſty, and candour; and though he wrote againſt it, yet in his preface to his book, entitled *The Independency upon Scripture of the Independency of Churches*, ſays, "the difference between us and our brethren who are for independency, is nothing ſo great as "ſome may conceive; at moſt it does but ruffle the fringe, "not any way rend the garment of Chriſt; it is ſo far from "being a fundamental, that it is ſcarce a material difference." The more rigid preſbyterians attacked the *Apology* with greater ſeverity; ſwarms of pamphlets were publiſhed againſt it in a few months, ſome reflecting on the perſons of the *apologiſts*, and others on their principles, as tending to break the uniformity of the church, under the pretence of liberty of conſcience. The moſt furious adverſaries were Dr. *Baſtwick*, old Mr. *Vicars*, and Mr. *Edwards* miniſter of Chriſt Church, London, who printed an *antapologia*, of three hundred pages in quarto, full of ſuch bitter invectives, that the pacifick Mr. *Burroughs* ſaid, "he queſtioned whether any "good man ever vented ſo much malice againſt others, "whom he acknowledged to be pious and religious perſons." But we ſhall have occaſion to remember this gentleman hereafter.

Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Eachard* repreſent the *independents* as ignorant and illiterate enthuſiaſts; and though Mr. *Rapin* confeſſes,* he knew nothing of their riſe and progreſs, he has painted them out in the moſt diſadvantageous colours, affirming "that their principles were exceeding proper to "put the kingdom into a flame; that they abhorred mo-"narchy, and approved of none but a republican govern-"ment, and that as to religion, their principles were con-"trary to all the reſt of the world; that they would not en-"dure ordinary miniſters in the church, but every one among "them prayed, preached, admoniſhed, and interpreted ſcrip-"ture, without any other call, than what himſelf drew from "his ſuppoſed gifts, and the approbation of his hearers."

It is ſurpriſing ſo accurate an hiſtorian ſhould take ſuch liberties with men whoſe principles he was ſo little acquaint-

* Vol. ii. p. 514, folio.

ed

ed with, as to ſay, *the independents abhorred monarchy, and approved of none but a republican government;* whereas they aſſure the world in their Apology, that they prayed publickly for kings, and all in authority. This was no point of controverſy between them and the preſbyterians, for when they had the king in their cuſtody they ſerved him on the knee, and in all probability would have reſtored him to the honours of his crown, if he had complied with their propoſals. When they were reproached with being *enemies to magiſtracy*, a declaration was publiſhed by the *congregational ſocieties* in and about London, in the year 1647, wherein they declare, "that as magiſtracy and government in general is "the ordinance of God, they do not diſapprove of any "form of civil government, but *do freely acknowledge, that* "*a kingly government, bounded by juſt and wholeſome laws,* "*is both allowed by God, and a good accommodation unto* "*men.*"* And if we may believe Dr. *Welwood*,§ when the army reſolved to ſet aſide the preſent king, *the governing party* would have advanced the duke of *Glouceſter* to the throne, if they could have done it with ſafety. With regard to religion *Rapin* adds, *their principles were contrary to all the reſt of the world;* and yet they gave their conſent to all the doctrinal articles of the Aſſembly's confeſſion of faith, and declared in their Apology, their agreement with the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and with all the proteſtant reformed churches in their *harmony of confeſſions*, differing only about the juriſdiction of claſſes, ſynods, and convocations, and the point of liberty of conſcience.——Our hiſtorian adds, that "they were not only "averſe to epiſcopacy, but would not endure ſo much as "ordinary miniſters in the church. They maintained, that "every man might pray in publick, exhort his brethren and "interpret ſcripture, without any other call than what him-"ſelf drew from his zeal and ſuppoſed gifts, and without "any other authority than the approbation of his hearers." Here his annotator Mr. *Tindal* rightly obſerves, that he has miſtaken the *independents* for the *browniſts;* the independents had their ſtated officers in the church for publick prayer, preaching, and adminiſtring the ſacraments, as *paſtors*,

* Page 8. § Memoirs, p. 90, 1718.

teachers,

teachers, and *elders*, (who were eccleſiaſticks) and *deacons* to take care of the poor; nor did they admit of perſons unordained to any office, to exerciſe their gifts publickly, except as *probationers*, in order to their devoting themſelves to the miniſtry. The words of their confeſſion are; "the work "of preaching is not ſo peculiarly confined to paſtors and "teachers, but that others alſo gifted, and fitted by the "Holy Ghoſt for it, and approved (*being by lawful ways and "means, by the providence of God, called thereunto*) may pub-"lickly, ordinarily, and conſtantly perform it, *ſo that they "give themſelves up thereunto.*"* It is neceſſary the reader ſhould make theſe remarks, to rectify a train of miſtakes which run through this part of Mr. *Rapin*'s hiſtory, and to convince him, that the king's death was not owing to the diſtinguiſhing tenets of any ſect or party of chriſtians. There were indeed ſome *republicans* and *levellers* in the army, whoſe numbers increaſed after they deſpaired of bringing the king into their meaſures, and it is well known that at their firſt appearance, *Cromwell* by his perſonal valour ſuppreſſed them with the hazard of his life. Theſe were chiefly *anabaptiſts*, and proved as great enemies to the *protector* as they had been to the king. But there is nothing in the principles of the *preſbyterians*, *independents*, or *anabaptiſts*, (as far as I can learn) inconſiſtent with monarchy, or that had a natural tendency to put the kingdom into a flame.

Mr. *Baxter*, who was no friend to the independents, and knew them much better than the above-mentioned writers, admits, "that moſt of them were zealous, and very many "learned, diſcreet and pious, capable of being very ſerviceable "to the church, and ſearchers into ſcripture and antiquity;"‖ though he blames them on other occaſions, for making too light of ordination; for their too great ſtrictneſs in the qualification of church-members; for their popular form of church-government; and their too much exploding of ſynods and councils; and then adds, "I ſaw commendable care "of ſerious holineſs and diſcipline in moſt of the indepen-"dent churches; and I found that ſome epiſcopal men, of "whom archbiſhop *Uſher* was one, agreed with them in "this, that every biſhop was independent, and that ſynods

* Savoy Conference, 4to. p. 24, art. 14. ‖ Baxter's Life, p. 140, 143.

"and

" and councils were not ſo much for government as concord." And I may venture to declare, that theſe are the ſentiments of almoſt all the proteſtant non-conformiſts in England at this day.

There was not one profeſſed *anabaptiſt* in the aſſembly, though their ſentiments began to ſpread wonderfully without doors. Their teachers were for the moſt part illiterate, yet Mr. *Baxter* ſays,* " he found many of them ſober, godly, " and zealous, not differing from their brethren but as to " infant baptiſm." Theſe joining with the *independents* in the point of diſcipline and toleration, made *them* the more conſiderable, and encouraged their oppoſition to the *preſbyterians*, who were for eſtabliſhing their own diſcipline, without regard to ſuch as differed from them.

It is not to be wondered, that ſo many parties with different views ſhould entangle the proceedings of this venerable body, and protract the intended union with the Scots; though as ſoon as the *covenant* was taken, they entered upon that affair, the parliament having ſent them the following order, dated October 12, 1643.

" UPON ſerious conſideration of the preſent ſtate of " affairs, the lords and commons aſſembled in this preſent " parliament do order, that the aſſembly of divines and " others do forthwith confer, and treat among themſelves, " of ſuch a diſcipline and government as may be moſt agree- " able to God's holy word, and moſt apt to procure and " preſerve the peace of the church at home, and a nearer " agreement with the church of Scotland, &c. to be ſettled " in this church inſtead of the preſent church government " by archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. which it is reſolved to take " away; and to deliver their advice touching the ſame to " both houſes of parliament with all convenient ſpeed."

Hereupon the aſſembly ſet themſelves to enquire into the conſtitution of the primitive church, in the days of the apoſtles, which, being founded upon the model the of Jewiſh ſynagogues, gave the *Lightfoots*, the *Seldens*, the *Colemans*, and other maſters of Jewiſh antiquities, an opportunity of diſplaying their ſuperior learning, by new and unheard-of

* Life, p. 40.

interpretations

interpretations of ſcripture, whereby they frequently diſconcerted the warmer preſbyterians, whoſe plan of diſcipline they had no mind ſhould receive the ſtamp of an *apoſtolick ſanction*, in the church of England.†

It was undoubtedly a capital miſtake in the proceedings of parliament, to deſtroy one building before they were agreed upon another. The ancient order of worſhip and diſcipline in the church of England was ſet aſide above twelve months before any other form was appointed; during which time, no wonder *ſects* and *diviſions* arrived to ſuch a pitch, that it was not in their power afterwards to deſtroy them. Committees indeed were appointed to prepare materials for the debate of the aſſembly, ſome for *diſcipline*, and others for *worſhip*, which were debated in order, and then laid aſide without being perfected, or ſent up to parliament to be framed into a law. Nothing can be alledged in excuſe of this, but their backwardneſs to unite with the Scots, or the proſpect the parliament might yet have of an agreement with the king.

The firſt point that came upon the carpet was the ORDINATION OF MINISTERS; which was the more neceſſary, becauſe the biſhops refuſed to ordain any who were not in the intereſt of the crown:* this gave occaſion to enquire into the *antient right of preſbyters to ordain without a biſhop*, which meeting with ſome oppoſition, the committee propoſed a temporary proviſion till the matter could be ſettled, and offered theſe two queries:

Firſt, "Whether in extraordinary caſes, ſomething extraordinary may not be admitted, till a ſettled order can be fixed, yet keeping as near to the rule as poſſible?

Secondly, "Whether certain miniſters of this city may not be appointed to ordain miniſters in the city and neighbourhood, for a certain time, *jure fraternitatis?*"

To the laſt of which, the *independents* entered their diſſent, unleſs the ordination was attended with the previous election of ſome church. New difficulties being continually

† Lightfoot's Remains, in pref. p. 8.

* Biſhop *Hall* complained, that he was violently reſtrained in his power of ordination. On this *ſingle* inſtance Dr. *Grey* grounds a general aſſertion, that the biſhops were prevented from ordaining by the rabble. ED.

ſtarted,

ſtarted, upon this and ſome other heads, the Scots commiſſioners were out of all patience, and applied to the city miniſters to petition the parliament to call for the *advice of the aſſembly*. The petition was preſented Sept. 18, 1644, in which, having reminded the *commons* of their *remonſtrance*, wherein they declare, it was not their intention to let looſe the golden reins of diſcipline; and of their *national* covenant, wherein they had engaged to the moſt high God, to ſettle an uniformity in the church; they add, "give us "leave, we beſeech you, in purſuance of our national co- "venant, to ſigh out our ſorrows at the foot of this ho- "nourable ſenate. Through many erroneous opinions, "ruinating ſchiſms, and damnable hereſies, unhappily fo- "mented in this city and country, the orthodox miniſtry is "neglected, the people are ſeduced, congregations torn "aſunder, families diſtracted, rights and duties of relations, "national, civil, and ſpiritual, ſcandalouſly violated, the "power of godlineſs decayed, parliamentary authority un- "dermined, fearful confuſions introduced, imminent de- "ſtruction threatened, and in part inflicted upon us lately "in the weſt. May it therefore pleaſe your wiſdoms, as a "ſovereign remedy for the removal of our preſent miſeries, "and preventing their further progreſs, to expedite a di- "rectory for publick worſhip, to accelerate the eſtabliſh- "ment of a pure diſcipline and government, according to "the word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed "churches, and to take away all obſtructions that may im- "pede and retard our humble deſires."§ Upon this the "aſſembly were ordered to ſend up their *humble advice* upon this head; which was to the following effect, [Sept. 22,] viz. That in this preſent exigency, while there were no preſbyterians, yet it being neceſſary that miniſters ſhould be ordained for the army and navy, and for the ſervice of many deſtitute congregations, by ſome who, having been ordained themſelves, have power to join in the ſetting apart of others: they adviſe,

(1.) That an aſſociation of ſome godly miniſters in and about the city of London be appointed by publick autho-

§ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 789.

rity,

rity, to ordain miniſters for the city and the neighbouring parts, keeping as near to the rule as may be.

(2.) That the like aſſociations be made by the ſame authority in great towns and neighbouring pariſhes in the ſeveral counties, which are at preſent quiet and undiſturbed.

(3.) That ſuch as are choſen, or appointed for the ſervice of the army or navy, being well recommended, be ordained as aforeſaid, by the aſſociated miniſters of London, or ſome others in the country; and the like for any other congregations that want a miniſter.†

According to this advice the two houſes paſſed an ordinance, October 2, for the ordination of miniſters *pro tempore*, which appoints the following ten perſons, being preſbyters, and members of the aſſembly, to examine and ordain, by impoſition of hands, all thoſe whom they ſhall judge qualified to be admitted into the ſacred miniſtry, viz.

Dr. Cornelius Burgeſs, *aſſeſſor*,	Mr. Starkey Gower,
Dr. William Gouge,	Mr. John Conant,
Mr. John Ley,	Mr. Humphrey Chambers,
Mr. George Walker,	Mr. Henry Roborough,
Mr. Edmund Calamy,	Mr. Daniel Cawdry.

And the following thirteen being preſbyters of the city of London, but not members of the aſſembly, viz.

The Rev. Mr. John Downham,	*The Rev.* Mr. Sam. Clarke,
Mr. Cha. Offspring,	Mr. Arthur Jackſon,
Mr. Richard Lee,	Mr. Em. Bourne,
Mr. Tim. Dod,	Mr. Fulk Billers,
Mr. James Cranford,	Mr. Fr. Roberts,
Mr. Tho. Horton,	Mr. Leon. Cooke.
Mr. Tho. Clendon,	

Any ſeven, or more, to be a *quorum*, and all perſons ſo ordained to be reputed miniſters of the church of England, ſufficiently authorized for any office or employment therein, and capable of all advantages appertaining to the ſame. Their rules for examination, and trial of candidates, will be ſeen the next year, when this affair was fully ſettled. In the mean time another ordinance paſſed the houſes, for the

† Vol. Pamp. penes me, No. 68.

benefit

benefit of the county of Lancaſter, whereby the reverend Mr. *Charles Herle*, Mr. *Richard Herrick*, Mr. *Hyet*, Mr. *Bradſhaw*, Mr. *Iſaac Ambroſe*, and others, to the number of twenty-one, had full power given them to ordain *pro tempore* in the county of Lancaſter. And to obviate the reproaches of the Oxford divines, the following clauſe was added, "that "if any perſon do publickly preach, or otherwiſe exerciſe "any miniſterial office, who ſhall not be ordained, or there-"unto allowed by ſeven of the ſaid miniſters, their names "ſhall be returned to both houſes of parliament, to be dealt "with as they in their wiſdom ſhall think fit." It was voted further, that "no miniſter be allowed to preach, un-"leſs he has a certificate of his ordination, or at leaſt of "his being examined and approved by the aſſembly."* And Feb. 16, at a conference between the two houſes it was agreed, that the aſſembly of divines be deſired to admit none into their pulpits, except ſuch whoſe doctrine they would be anſwerable for. Such was the concern of the parliament in theſe diſtracted times, to have a ſober and well-regulated clergy.

Next to the providing for a ſucceſſion of miniſters by *ordination*, the aſſembly conſulted about a form of publick devotion. The old liturgy being laid aſide, there were no publick offices in the church: a committee was therefore appointed, October 17, 1643, to agree upon certain general heads, for the direction of the miniſter in the diſcharge of his office, which, having paſſed through the aſſembly, were ſent into Scotland for the approbation of the general aſſembly, and then eſtabliſhed by an ordinance of parliament bearing date Jan. 3, 1644-5, under the title of a *directory for publick worſhip*.

The reaſons which induced the parliament to diſcard the old liturgy, and form a new plan for the devotion of the church, I ſhall tranſcribe from their own preface. "It is "evident, (ſay they) after long and ſad experience, that the "liturgy uſed in the church of England, notwithſtanding "all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers, has "proved an offence to many of the godly at home, and to "the reformed churches abroad. The enjoining the read-

* Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 152.

"ing

"ing all the prayers heightened the grievances; and the "many unprofitable and burdenſome ceremonies have occa- "ſioned much miſchief, by diſquieting the conſciences of "many, who could not yield to them. Sundry good peo- "ple have by this means been kept from the Lord's table, "and many faithful miniſters debarred from the exerciſe of "their miniſtry, to the ruin of them and their families. "The prelates and their faction have raiſed their eſtimation "of it to ſuch an height, as if God could be worſhipped "no other way but by the *ſervice book;* in conſequence of "which the preaching of the word has been depreciated, "and in ſome places entirely neglected.

"In the mean time the papiſts have made their advantage "this way, boaſting that the common prayer book came up "to a compliance with a great part of their *ſervice;* by "which means they were not a little confirmed in their ido- "latry and ſuperſtition, eſpecially of late, when new cere- "monies were daily obtruded on the church.

"Beſides, the liturgy has given great encouragement to "an idle and unedifying miniſtry, who choſe rather to con- "fine themſelves to *forms* made to their hands, than to exert "themſelves in the exerciſe of the gift of prayer, with which "our Saviour furniſhes all thoſe whom he calls to that office.

"For theſe and many other weighty conſiderations, re- "lating to the book in general, beſides divers particulars "which are a juſt ground of offence, it is thought adviſe- "able to ſet aſide the former liturgy, with the many rites "and ceremonies formerly uſed in the worſhip of God, not "out of any affectation of novelty, nor with an intention "to diſparage our firſt reformers, but that we may anſwer "in ſome meaſure the gracious providence of God, which "now calls upon us for a further reformation; that we "may ſatisfy our own conſciences; anſwer the expectations "of other reformed churches; eaſe the conſciences of many "godly perſons among ourſelves; and give a publick teſ- "timony of our endeavours after an uniformity in divine "worſhip, purſuant to what we had promiſed in our *ſolemn "league and covenant.*"

It has been obſerved, that the *directory* is not an abſolute form of devotion, but, agreeably to its title, contains only ſome

ſome general directions, taken partly from the word of God, and partly from rules of chriſtian prudence; it points out the heads of publick prayer, of preaching, and other parts of the paſtoral function, leaving the miniſter a diſcretionary latitude to fill up the vacancies according to his abilities. It is divided into ſeveral chapters, and being a book of a publick nature, comprehending all the peculiarities of the preſbyterian reformation, I have given it a place in the appendix.* Mr. *Fuller* obſerves,§ that the *independents* in the aſſembly were hardly perſuaded to conſent to it, for fear of infringing the liberty of prayer, yet being admitted to qualify ſome things in the preface, they complied. The committee who compoſed the preface were Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Bridges*, Mr. *Burges*, Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, all independents; Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Marſhall*, and Dr. *Temple*, with the Scots commiſſioners.

The *directory* paſſed the aſſembly with great unanimity; thoſe who were for ſet forms of prayer reſolving to confine themſelves to the very words of the directory, while others made uſe of them only as heads for their enlargement.

It may not be improper in this place to adviſe the reader of the following variations introduced into the ſervice of the church upon this occaſion. Inſtead of one preſcribed form of prayer, the *directory* only points out certain topicks on which the miniſter might enlarge. The whole *Apocrypha* is rejected; *private and lay baptiſm*, with the uſe of god-fathers and god-mothers, and the ſign of the croſs, are diſcontinued.‖ In the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper no mention

* Appendix, No. VIII. § Church Hiſtory, b. xi. p. 222.

‖ Another variation, not noticed by Mr. *Neal*, was the excluſion of dipping, and declaring ſprinkling ſufficient. This was owing to Dr. *Lightfoot*. When the aſſembly came to the vote, whether the directory ſhould run thus: "The miniſter ſhall take water, and *ſprinkle* or *pour* it with his "hand upon the face or forehead of the child:" ſome were unwilling to have *dipping* excluded, ſo that the vote came to an equality within one; for the one ſide there being twenty-four, and for the other twenty-five. Next day the affair was reſumed, when the doctor inſiſted on hearing the reaſons of thoſe who were for dipping. At length it was propoſed, that it ſhould be expreſſed thus: that "pouring on of water, or ſprinkling in the admini-"ſtration of baptiſm, is lawful and ſufficient." *Lightfoot* excepted againſt the word lawful, it being the ſame as if it ſhould be determined lawful to uſe

tion is made of private communion, or adminiſtering it to the ſick. The *altar with rails* is changed into a communion table, to be placed in the body of the church, about which the people might ſtand or ſit, *kneeling* not being thought ſo proper a poſture. The preſbyterians were for giving the power of the keys into the hands of the *miniſters and elders*, as the independents were to the whole *brotherhood;* but *Lightfoot*, *Selden*, *Coleman*, and others, were for an open communion, to whom the parliament were moſt inclinable, for all they would yield was, that *the miniſter immediately before the communion ſhould warn, in the name of Chriſt, all ſuch as are ignorant, ſcandalous, prophane, or that live in any ſin or offence againſt their knowledge or conſcience, that they preſume not to come to that holy table, ſhewing them, that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himſelf.* The prohibition of marriage in *Lent*, and the uſe of the *ring*, is laid aſide. In the viſitation of the ſick, no mention is made of private confeſſion, or authoritative abſolution. No ſervice is appointed for the *burial of the dead.* All particular veſtments for prieſts or miniſters, and all *ſaints* days, are diſcarded. It has been reckoned a conſiderable omiſſion, that the directory does not enjoin reading the *apoſtles creed* and the *ten commandments;* lord *Clarendon* reports,‡ that when this was obſerved in private converſation at the treaty of Uxbridge, the earl of *Pembroke* ſaid, he was ſorry for the omiſſion, but that upon a debate in the houſe of commons, it was carried in the negative by eight or nine voices. Which made many ſmile (ſays his lordſhip;) but the *jeſt* will be loſt, when the reader is informed, that the queſtion in the houſe was not, whether the *creed* ſhould be received or rejected, but whether it ſhould be printed with the *directory for worſhip;* it being apprehended more proper for a *confeſſion of faith;* and accordingly the creed and ten commandments were added to the *aſſembly's confeſſion*, publiſhed a year or two forwards. The ordinance for eſtabliſhing the *directory* repeals and makes void

uſe bread and wine in the Lord's ſupper; and he moved, that it might be expreſſed thus; "it is not only lawful, but alſo ſufficient;" and it was put down ſo accordingly. Robinſon's Hiſtory of Baptiſm, p. 450, 51. Ed.

‡ Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 588.

the

the acts of *Edward* VI. and queen *Elizabeth*, by which the old liturgy was eſtabliſhed, and forbids the uſe of it within any church, chapel, or place of publick worſhip in England or Wales, appointing the uſe of the *directory* in its room; and thus it continued till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. when the conſtitution being reſtored, the old liturgy took place again, the ordinance for its repeal having never obtained the royal aſſent.

It was a conſiderable time before this great revolution in the form of publick worſhip took place over the whole kingdom. In ſome parts of the country the churchwardens could not procure a *directory*, and in others they deſpiſed it, and continued the old *common-prayer-book;* ſome would read no form, and others would uſe one of their own. In order therefore to give life to the *directory*, the parliament next ſummer called in all *common-prayer-books*, and impoſed a fine upon thoſe miniſters who ſhould read any other form than that contained in the *directory*. The ordinance is dated Aug. 23, 1645, and enacts, that "the knights and burgeſſes of "the ſeveral counties of England and Wales, ſhall ſend "printed books of the *directory* fairly bound to the com-"mittee of parliament in their ſeveral counties, who ſhall "deliver them to the officers of the ſeveral pariſhes in Eng-"land and Wales, by whom they ſhall be delivered to the "ſeveral miniſters of each pariſh. It ordains further, that "the ſeveral miniſters next Lord's day after their receiving "the *book of directory*, ſhall read it openly in their reſpective "churches before morning ſermon.——It then forbids the "uſe of the common-prayer-book in any church, chapel, "or place of publick worſhip, or in any private place or "family, under penalty of five pounds for the firſt offence, "ten for the ſecond, and for the third a year's impriſonment. "Such miniſters as do not obſerve the *directory* in all ex-"erciſes of publick worſhip ſhall forfeit forty ſhillings; and "they who, with a deſign to bring the *directory* into con-"tempt, or to raiſe oppoſition to it, ſhall preach, write, "or print any thing in derogation of it, ſhall forfeit a ſum "of money not under five pounds, nor more than fifty, to "be given to the poor. All common-prayer-books remain-"ing in pariſh churches or chapels, are ordered within a

" month, to be carried to the committee of the ſeveral " counties, to be diſpoſed of as the parliament ſhall direct."*

Theſe were the firſt fruits of preſbyterian uniformity, and are equally to be condemned with the ſeverities and oppreſſions of the late times; for though it ſhould be admitted, that the parliament or legiſlature had a right to abrogate the uſe of the *common-prayer-book* in churches, was it not highly unreaſonable to forbid the reading it in private families or cloſets? Surely the devotion of a private family could be no diſturbance to the publick; nor is it any excuſe to ſay, that very few ſuffered by it, becauſe the law is ſtill the ſame, and equally injurious to the natural rights of mankind.

Though his majeſty's affairs were very deſperate after the battle of *Naſeby*, yet he had the courage to forbid the uſe of the new *directory*, and enjoin the continuance of the *common-prayer*, by a proclamation from Oxford, dated Nov. 13, 1645, in which his majeſty takes notice, that " the book " of common-prayer, being a moſt excellent form of wor- " ſhip, grounded on the holy ſcriptures, is a great help to " devotion, and tends to preſerve an uniformity in the church " of England; whereas the directory gives liberty to igno- " rant, factious, and evil men, to broach their own fancies " and conceits, and utter thoſe things in their long prayers " which no conſcientious man can aſſent to; and be the mi- " niſter never ſo pious, it breaks in upon the uniformity of " publick ſervice. And whereas this alteration is intro- " duced by an ordinance of parliament, inflicting penalties " on offenders, which was never pretended to be in their " power without our conſent: Now, leſt our ſilence ſhould be " interpreted as a connivance in a matter ſo highly concern- " ing the worſhip of God, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the " kingdom, we do therefore require and command all miniſters " in all cathedral and pariſh churches, and all other places of " publick worſhip, that the ſaid book of common-prayer " be kept and uſed in all churches, chapels, &c. according " to the ſtatute *primo Eliz.* and that the directory be in no " ſort admitted, received, or uſed; and whenſoever it ſhall " pleaſe God to reſtore us to peace, and the laws to their " due courſe, we ſhall require a ſtrict account, and proſecu-

* Ruſhworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 205.

" tion

" tion againſt the breakers of the ſaid law. And in the " mean time, in ſuch places where we ſhall come and find " the book of common-prayer ſuppreſſed and laid aſide, and " the directory introduced, we ſhall account all thoſe that " are aiders, actors, or contrivers therein, to be perſons " diſaffected to the religion and laws eſtabliſhed."‖

His majeſty likewiſe iſſued out warrants under his own hand, to the heads of the *univerſity*, commanding them to read divine ſervice as uſual, morning and evening; and aſſured his peers at Oxford, that he was ſtill determined to live and die for the privileges of his crown, his friends, and church government.

About this time the ANABAPTISTS began to make a conſiderable figure, and ſpread themſelves into ſeveral ſeparate congregations. We have already diſtinguiſhed the German anabaptiſts from the Engliſh, who differed only from their proteſtant brethren about the ſubject and mode of *baptiſm*; theſe were divided into *general* and *particular*, from their different ſentiments upon the *arminian* controverſy; the former appeared in Holland, where Mr. *Smith* their leader publiſhed a confeſſion of faith in the year 1611, which Mr. *Robinſon*, the miniſter of the independent congregation at Leyden, anſwered in 1614; but the ſeverity of thoſe times would not admit them to venture into England. The *particular baptiſts* were ſtrict *calviniſts*, and were ſo called from their belief of the doctrines of *particular election*, *redemption*, &c. They ſeparated from the independent congregation about the year 1638, and ſet up for themſelves under the paſtoral care of Mr. *Jeſſe*, (as has been related) and having renounced their former baptiſm, they ſent over one of their number, [Mr. *Blunt*] to be immerſed by one of the Dutch anabaptiſts of Amſterdam, that he might be qualified to baptize his friends in England after the ſame manner.‡ A ſtrange and unaccountable conduct! for unleſs the Dutch anabaptiſts could derive their pedigree in an uninterrupted line from the apoſtles, the firſt reviver of this uſage muſt have been unbaptized, and conſequently, not capable of communicating the ordinance to others. Upon Mr. *Blunt*'s return he baptized Mr. *Blacklock* a teacher, and Mr. *Black-*

‖ Ruſhworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 207. ‡ MS. penes me.

lock dipped the reſt of the ſociety, to the number of fifty-three, in this preſent year 1644. "Preſuming upon the "patience of the ſtate (ſays Dr. *Featly*) they have rebaptized "one hundred men and women together, in the twilight, in "rivulets, and ſome arms of the Thames, and elſewhere, "dipping them over head and ears. They have printed "divers pamphlets in defence of their hereſy (ſays the ſame "author) and challenged ſome of our preachers to a diſ-"putation." Nay, ſo wonderfully did this opinion prevail, that there were no leſs than forty-ſeven congregations in the country, and ſeven in London at this time, who publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith, ſigned in the name of their congregations, by *William Kiffin*, *Thomas Patience*, *George Tipping*, *John Spilſbury*, *Thomas Sheppard*, *Thomas Munden*, *Thomas Gun*, *John Mabbett*, *John Webb*, *Thomas Kilcop*, *Paul Hobſon*, *Thomas Gore*, *John Philips*, and *Edward Heath*. In the year 1646, it was reprinted, with the additional names of *Dennis le Barbier* and *Chriſtopher Durell*, miniſters of the French congregation in London, of the ſame judgment.

Their confeſſion conſiſted of fifty-two articles, and is ſtrictly *calviniſtical* in the doctrinal part, and according to the independent diſcipline; it confines the ſubject of baptiſm to grown chriſtians, and the mode to immerſion; it admits of gifted lay-preachers, and acknowledges a due ſubjection to the civil magiſtrate in all things lawful; and concludes thus, "We deſire to live quietly and peaceably, as becomes ſaints, "endeavouring in all things to keep a good conſcience, and "to do to every man (of what judgment ſoever) as we "would they ſhould do to us; that as our practice is, ſo it "may prove us to be a conſcionable, quiet, and harmleſs "people, (no way dangerous or troubleſome to human ſo-"ciety) and to labour to work with our hands, that we may "not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth, "both friend and enemy, accounting it more excellent to "give than to receive. Alſo we confeſs, that we know but "in part, to ſhew us from the word of God, that which "we ſee not, we ſhall have cauſe to be thankful to God "and them. But if any man ſhall impoſe upon us any "thing that we ſee not to be commanded by our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt, we ſhould, in his ſtrength, rather embrace all re-

"proaches,

" proaches, and tortures of men; to be ſtripped of all our " outward comforts, and if it were poſſible, to die a thou- " ſand deaths, rather than to do any thing againſt the truth " of God, or againſt the light of our own conſciences. " And if any ſhall call what we have ſaid hereſy, then do " we with the apoſtle acknowledge, that after the way they " call hereſy ſo worſhip we the God of our fathers; diſ- " claiming all hereſies (rightly ſo called) becauſe they are " againſt Chriſt; and deſiring to be ſtedfaſt and immoveable, " always abounding in obedience to Chriſt, as knowing our " labour ſhall not be in vain in the Lord."

When Dr. *Featly* had read this confeſſion, he owned they were neither hereticks nor ſchiſmaticks, but tender-hearted chriſtians, upon whom, through falſe ſuggeſtions, the hand of authority had fallen heavy whilſt the hierarchy ſtood.

The advocates of this doctrine were, for the moſt part, of the meaneſt of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the country making proſelytes of all who would ſubmit to *immerſion*, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral characters. The writers of theſe times repreſent them as tinctured with a kind of enthuſiaſtick fury againſt all that oppoſed them. Mr. *Baxter* ſays,‡ " there were but " few of them that had not been the oppoſers and troublers " of faithful miniſters——That in this they ſtrengthened " the hands of the profane, and that in general, *reproach of* " *miniſters*, *faction*, *pride*, *and ſcandalous practices*, *were* " *fomented in their way*."* But ſtill there were among

‡ Baxter's Life, p. 102, 144.

* We refer our reader, for a more full account of the baptiſts of this period, to the ſupplement to this volume. Suffice it to ſay here: that Mr. *Baxter*, great and excellent as he was, had his weakneſſes and prejudices, for which much allowance muſt be made. Severe as is what he ſays above of the baptiſts, he ſpeaks of them, at other times, with more candour and reſpect. As p. 140 of his Life: " For the anabaptiſts themſelves, (though " I have written and ſaid ſo much againſt them) as I found moſt of them " were perſons of zeal in religion, ſo *many* of them were ſober, godly peo- " ple: and differed from others but in the point of infant-baptiſm; or at " moſt in the points of predeſtination, and free-will and perſeverance." It is to be regretted, on the ground of the juſtice due to this people and even to Mr. *Baxter*, that Mr. *Neal* ſhould have overlooked, or omitted, this teſ- timony, ſo honourable to both. ED.

them

them ſome learned, and a great many ſober and devout chriſtians, who diſallowed of the imprndence of their country friends. The two moſt learned divines that eſpouſed their cauſe were Mr. *Francis Cornwall*, M. A. of Emanuel college, and Mr. *John Tombes*, B. D. educated in the univerſity of Oxford, a perſon of incomparable parts, well verſed in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and a moſt excellent diſputant. He wrote ſeveral letters to Mr. *Selden* againſt infant baptiſm, and publiſhed a Latin *exercitation* upon the ſame ſubject, containing ſeveral arguments, which he repreſented to the committee appointed by the aſſembly to put a ſtop to the progreſs of this opinion. The *exercitation* being tranſlated into Engliſh, brought upon him a whole army of adverſaries, among whom were the reverend Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Holmes*, Mr. *Marſhal*, *Fuller*, *Geree*, *Baxter*, and others. The people of this perſuaſion were more expoſed to the publick reſentments, becauſe they would hold communion with none but ſuch as had been *dipped*. All muſt paſs under this cloud before they could be received into their churches; and the ſame narrow ſpirit prevails too generally among them even at this day.

Beſides the above-mentioned writers, the moſt eminent divines in the city of London, as Mr. *Vines*, *Calamy*, and others, preached vigorouſly againſt theſe doctrines, which they had a right to do; though it was moſt unjuſtifiable to fight them at the ſame time with the ſword of the civil magiſtrate,* and ſhut them up in priſon, as was the caſe of ſeveral in this and the following year, among whom are reckoned the reverend Mr. *Henry Denn*, formerly ordained by the biſhop of St. David's, and poſſeſſed of the living of

* Nothing, it is juſtly obſerved by Mr *Croſby*, is more evident, than that the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the preſbyterian divines preached and wrote againſt toleration; and were ſtrenuous advocates for the interference of the civil power to ſuppreſs what they deemed error. Mr. *Baxter* always freely avowed, that "he abhorred unlimited liberty, or toleration of all." Dr. *Lightfoot* informed the houſe of commons, in a ſermon at St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, that though "he would not go about to determine whether *con-* "*ſcience* might be bound or not, yet certainly the *devil in the conſcience* "might be, yea, muſt be bound by the civil magiſtrate." Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 176, 178. Robinſon's Hiſtory of Baptiſm, p. 151. ED.

Pyeton

Pyeton in Hertfordſhire; Mr. *Coppe*, miniſter in Warwickſhire, and ſometime preacher to the garriſon in Compton-Houſe; Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, who was ſeveral times before the committee for preaching *antinomianiſm* and *antipædobaptiſm;* and being forbid to preach in the publick churches, he opened a ſeparate meeting in Great St. Helen's, from whence he was quickly diſlodged and his followers diſperſed. Mr. *Andrew Wyke*, in the county of Suffolk, was impriſoned on the ſame account; and Mr. *Oates* in *Eſſex*, tried for his life at Chelmsford aſſizes for the murder of *Anne Martin*, becauſe ſhe died a few days after her immerſion, of a cold that ſeized her at that time. *Lawrence Clarkſon* was impriſoned by the committee of Suffolk, and having lain in gaol ſix months, ſigned a recantation and was releaſed. The recantation,‡ as entered in the committee's books, was in theſe words:

"July 15, 1645.

"THIS day *Lawrence Clarkſon*, formerly committed "for an *anabaptiſt*, and for dipping, does now, before the "committee, diſclaim his errors. And whereas formerly "he ſaid he durſt not leave his dipping, if he might gain all "the committee's eſtates, now he ſays, that he by the holy "ſcriptures is convinced, that his ſaid opinions were erro-"neous, and that he will not, nor dares not practiſe it again, "if he might gain all the committee's eſtates by doing it. "And that he makes this recantation not for fear, or to "gain his liberty, but merely out of a ſenſe of his error, "wherein he will endeavour to reform others."

It muſt be granted, that the imprudent behaviour of the *baptiſt lay* preachers, who declaimed againſt human literature, and hireling prieſts, crying down magiſtracy, and a regular

‡ Every inſtance of a recantation, which eccleſiaſtical hiſtory furniſhes, moves our pity, and excites our indignation; our pity of the weakneſs and timidity from which it flows; and our indignation at the ſpirit of intolerance, which can demand the ſacrifice of principle and integrity. "Mr. "*Clarkſon* had not only been impriſoned ſix months, but all the interceſſion "of his friends, though he had ſeveral, could not procure his releaſe. The "committee were unrelenting. Nay; though an order came down, either "from a committee of parliament, or the chairman of it, to diſcharge "him, yet they refuſed to obey it." Croſby's Hiſtory of Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. preface p. 16. ED.

miniſtry,

miniſtry, and talking in the moſt exalted ſtrains of a fifth monarchy, and king *Jeſus*, prejudiced the minds of many ſober people againſt them; but ſtill the impriſoning men merely on account of religious principles, not inconſiſtent with the publick peace, nor propagated in a riotous and tumultuous manner, is not to be juſtified on any pretence whatſoever; and it was the more inexcuſeable in this caſe, becauſe Mr. *Baxter* admits,‖ that the preſbyterian zeal was in a great meaſure the occaſion of it.

Before we leave the aſſembly for this year, it will be proper to take notice, that it was honoured with the preſence of CHARLES LEWIS, elector *palatine* of the Rhine, eldeſt ſon of *Frederick*, &c. king of Bohemia, who married king *James*'s daughter, and loſt his territories by the fatal battle of Prague in 1619. The unhappy *Frederick* died in 1632, and left behind him ſix ſons and five daughters, among whom were prince *Rupert*, prince *Maurice*, and the princeſs *Sophia*. The young elector and his mother often ſolicited the Engliſh court for aſſiſtance to recover their dominions, and were as often complimented with empty promiſes. All the parliaments of this reign mention with concern the calamitous condition of the queen of *Bohemia* and her children, and offer to venture their lives and fortunes for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, but king *Charles* I. did not approve his ſiſter's principles, who being a reſolved proteſtant, had been heard to ſay (if we may believe *L'Eſtrange*) *that rather than have her ſon bred up in idolatry at the Emperor's court, ſhe had rather be his executioner.* And Mr. *Eachard* adds,† that the birth of king *Charles* II. in the year 1630, gave no great joy to the *puritans*, becauſe as one of them declared, *God had already provided for them in the family of the queen of* Bohemia, *who were bred up in the proteſtant religion, while it was uncertain what religion king* Charles's *children would follow, being to be brought up by a mother devoted to the church of Rome.* When the war broke out between the king and parliament, the elector's younger brothers, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, ſerved the king in his army, but the elector himſelf being in Holland took the *covenant*, and by a letter to the parliament teſtified his approbation of the cauſe in which

‖ Baxter's Life, p. 103. † Hiſtory, p. 449.

they

they were engaged. This ſummer he made a tour to England, and was welcomed by a committee of the two houſes, who promiſed him their beſt advice and aſſiſtance; to whom the prince made the following reply:

"I Hold myſelf much obliged to the parliament for "their favours, and my coming is to expreſs in perſon what "I have often done by letter, my ſincere affections to them, "and to take off ſuch jealouſies, as either the actions of "ſome of my relations, or the ill effects of what my ene-"mies might by my abſence caſt upon me. My wiſhes* are "conſtant for the good ſucceſs of the great work you have "undertaken, for a thorough reformation; and my deſires "are to be ruled and governed by your grave counſels."‖

The parliament ordered an apartment to be fitted up for the prince at Whitehall, and voted him eight thouſand pounds† a year for his maintenance, and ten thouſand for his royal mother, till he ſhould be reſtored to his electorate.§ While he ſtayed here, he frequently attended the aſſembly in their debates, and after ſome time had a paſs for himſelf and forty horſe into the Low Countries. His ſiſter princeſs SOPHIA, afterwards married the duke of *Brunſwick* and *Hanover*, whoſe ſon, upon the deceaſe of queen *Anne*, ſucceeded to the crown of Great-Britain, by the name of GEORGE I.; the numerous poſterity of king *Charles* I. being ſet aſide as papiſts, and thus the deſcendants of the queen of *Bohemia*, electreſs *Palatine*, and daughter of king *James* I. came to inherit the imperial crown of theſe kingdoms, as a reward for their firmneſs to the proteſtant religion:—and may the ſame illuſtrious family continue to be the GUARDIANS of our LIBERTIES, both ſacred and civil, to the end of time!

Religion was the faſhion of the age; the aſſembly was often turned into a houſe of prayer, and hardly a week

* Biſhop *Warburton* thinks it apparent, from many circumſtances, that the elector had his eye on the crown: matters being gone too far for the king and parliament ever to agree. ED.

‖ Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 268.

† It was ordered October 1645, but Dr. *Grey* quotes an authority to prove that it was ill paid. Vol. ii. Appendix, No. 50. ED.

§ Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 279.

paſſed

paſſed without ſolemn faſting and humiliation, in ſeveral of the churches of London and Weſtminſter; the laws againſt profaneneſs were carefully executed; and becauſe the former ordinances for the obſervation of the Lord's day had proved ineffectual, it was ordained, April 6, that all perſons ſhould apply themſelves to the exerciſe of piety and religion on the Lord's day, "that no wares, fruit, herbs, or goods of "any ſort, be expoſed to ſale, or cryed about ſtreets, upon "penalty of forfeiting the goods. That no perſon without "cauſe ſhall travel, or carry a burden, or do any worldly "labour, upon penalty of ten ſhillings for the traveller, "and five ſhillings for every burden.‡ That no perſon ſhall, "on the Lord's day, uſe, or be preſent at any wreſtling, "ſhooting, fowling, ringing of bells for pleaſure, markets, "wakes, church-ailes, dancing, games or ſports whatſoever, "upon penalty of five ſhillings, to every one above fourteen "years of age. And if children are found offending in "the premiſes, their parents or guardians to forfeit twelve "pence for every offence. That all May-poles be pulled "down, and none others erected. That if the ſeveral fines "above-mentioned cannot be levied, the offending party "ſhall be ſet in the ſtocks for the ſpace of three hours. "That the king's declaration concerning lawful ſports on "the Lord's day be called in, ſuppreſſed, and burnt.

"This ordinance ſhall not extend to prohibit dreſſing "meat in private families, or ſelling victuals in a moderate "way in inns or victualling-houſes, for the uſe of ſuch who "cannot otherwiſe be provided for; nor to the crying of "milk before nine in the morning, or after four in the af-"ternoon."*

The *ſolemn league and covenant* was in ſuch high repute at this time,‖ that by an order of the houſe of commons, Jan. 29, 1644, it was appointed, "that on every faſt-day, "and day of publick humiliation, the *covenant* ſhould be "publickly read in every church and congregation within

‡ "And for every offence in doing any worldly labour or work." Ed.

* Sobel's Collect. p. 68.

‖ Dr. *Grey* gives various paſſages from the ſermons of the day to prove in what extravagant eſtimation it was held, and to ſhew what high encomiums were paſſed on it. Ed.

"the

"the kingdom; and that every congregation be enjoined "to have one of the ſaid *covenants* fairly printed, in a fair "letter, in a table fitted to hang up in ſome publick place "of the church to be read." Which was done accordingly, and they continued there till the reſtoration.*

But that which occaſioned the greateſt diſturbance over the whole nation, was an order of both houſes relating to *Chriſtmas-day*. Dr. *Lightfoot* ſays, the London miniſters met together laſt year, to conſult whether they ſhould preach on that day; and one of conſiderable name and authority oppoſed it, and was near prevailing with the reſt, when the doctor convinced them ſo far of the lawfulneſs and expediency of it, that the queſtion being put it was carried in the affirmative with only four or five diſſenting voices. But this year it happening to fall on the *monthly faſt*, ſo that either the *faſt*, or the feſtival, muſt be omitted, the parliament, after ſome debate, thought it moſt agreeable to the preſent circumſtances of the nation, to go on with faſting and prayer; and therefore publiſhed the following order:

"*Die Jovis* 19 *Dec.* 1644.

"WHEREAS ſome doubts have been raiſed, whether "the *next faſt* ſhall be celebrated, becauſe it falls on the "day which heretofore was uſually called the feaſt of the "nativity of our Saviour; the lords and commons in parliament aſſembled do order and ordain, that publick notice be given, that the faſt appointed to be kept the laſt "*Wedneſday* in every month ought to be obſerved, till it be "otherwiſe ordered by both houſes; and that this day in "particular is to be kept with the more ſolemn humiliation, "becauſe it may call to remembrance our ſins, and the ſins "of our forefathers, who have turned this feaſt, pretending "the memory of Chriſt, into an extreme forgetfulneſs of "him, by giving liberty to carnal and ſenſual delights, being contrary to the life which Chriſt led here on earth, "and to the ſpiritual life of Chriſt in our ſouls, for the "ſanctifying and ſaving whereof, Chriſt was pleaſed both to "take a human life, and to lay it down again."†

* Lond. Min. Teſtimony to the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt, p. 26.

† Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 817.

The

The royaliſts raiſed loud clamours on account of the ſuppoſed impiety and profaneneſs of this tranſaction, as what had never before been heard of in the chriſtian world, tho' they could not but know, that this, as well as other feſtivals, is of eccleſiaſtical appointment;‡ that there is no mention of the obſervation of *Chriſtmas* in the firſt or ſecond age of chriſtianity; that the kirk of Scotland never obſerved it ſince the reformation, except during the ſhort reign of the biſhops, and do not regard it at this day. Some of the moſt learned divines among the preſbyterians, as well as independents, were in this ſentiment. Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, in his ſermon before the houſe of lords on this day, has theſe expreſſions: "This day is commonly called *Chriſtmas-day*, a "day that has heretofore been much abuſed to ſuperſtition "and profaneneſs. It is not eaſy to ſay, whether the ſu"perſtition has been greater, or the profaneneſs. I have "known ſome that have preferred *Chriſtmas-day* before the "Lord's-day. Some that would be ſure to receive the ſa"crament on *Chriſtmas-day*, though they did not receive all "the year after. Some thought, though they did not play "at cards all the year long, yet they muſt play at *Chriſtmas*, "thereby it ſeems, to keep in memory the birth of Chriſt. "This, and much more, hath been the profanation of this "feaſt; and truly, I think the ſuperſtition and profaneneſs "of this day is ſo rooted into it, that there is no way to "reform it, but by dealing with it as *Hezekiah* did with the "brazen ſerpent. This year God, by his providence, has "buried this feaſt in a faſt, and I hope it will never riſe again. "You have ſet out, right honourable, a ſtrict order for "keeping of it, and you are here this day to obſerve your "own order, and I hope you will do it ſtrictly. The ne"ceſſities of the times are great, never more need of prayer "and faſting. The Lord give us grace to be humbled in "this day of humiliation, for all our own and England's "ſins, and eſpecially for the old ſuperſtition and profaneneſs "of this feaſt."

About Midſummer this year died doctor *Thomas Weſtfield* biſhop of Briſtol, born in the iſle of Ely 1573, educated in

‡ Dr. *Grey* ſays, that the obſervation of Chriſtmas was appointed by ſtatute 5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 3. Ed.

Jeſus-

Jeſus-College, Cambridge, and afterwards rector of Hornſey, and of St. Bartholomew the Great, London, and archdeacon of St. Alban's. In the year 1641, he was advanced to the ſee of Briſtol, which he accepted, though he had refuſed it (as is ſaid) twenty-five years before.* He was a gentleman of great modeſty, a good preacher, an excellent orator. The parliament had ſuch an eſteem for him, that they named him one of the aſſembly of divines, and he had the goodneſs to appear among them for ſome time. Upon the biſhop's complaint, that the profits of his biſhoprick were detained, the committee ordered them to be reſtored, and gave him a paſs to go to Briſtol to receive them, wherein they ſtile him a perſon of great learning and merit. He died in poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick, June 25, 1644, aged ſeventy-one, and compoſed his own epitaph, one line of which was,

Senio & mœrore confectus.
Worn out with age and grief.

And another;

Epiſcoporum infimus, peccatorum primus.
The leaſt of biſhops, the greateſt of ſinners.

Dr. *Calibute Downing* was born of an ancient family in Glouceſterſhire, about 1616; he was educated in Oriel-college, Oxford, and at length became vicar of Hackney near London, by the procurement of archbiſhop *Laud*; which is very ſtrange, if (as Mr. *Wood* ſays) he always looked awry on the church. In his ſermon before the *Artillery* company, Sept. 1, 1640, he maintained, that *for the defence of religion, and reformation of the church, it was lawful to take up arms againſt the king, if it could be obtained no other way.* For this he was forced to abſcond till the beginning of the preſent parliament. He was afterwards chaplain in the earl of *Eſſex*'s army, and a member of the aſſembly of divines; but died before he was forty years of age, having the character of a pious man, a warm preacher, and very zealous in the intereſt of his country.

* Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Abſtract of the Trial of Archbiſhop LAUD; *and, of the Treaty of* Uxbridge.

NEXT day after the eſtabliſhment of the *directory*, Dr. WILLIAM LAUD, archbiſhop of Canterbury, received ſentence of death. He had been a priſoner in the Tower almoſt three years, upon an impeachment of high treaſon by the houſe of commons, without once petitioning for a trial, or ſo much as putting in his anſwer to the articles; however as ſoon as the parliament had united with the Scots, it was reſolved to gratify that nation by bringing him to the bar; accordingly ſerjeant *Wild* was ſent up to the houſe of lords, October 23, with ten additional articles of high treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors; and to pray, that his *grace* might be brought to a ſpeedy trial. We have already recited the fourteen original articles under the year 1640. The additional ones were to the following purpoſe:

1. "That the archbiſhop had endeavoured to deſtroy the "uſe of parliaments, and to introduce an arbitrary govern-"ment.

2. "That for ten years before the preſent parliament, he "had endeavoured to advance the council-table, the canons "of the church, and the king's prerogative above law.

3. "That he had ſtopt writs of prohibition to ſtay pro-"ceedings in the eccleſiaſtical courts, when the ſame ought "to have been granted.

4. "That he had cauſed Sir *John Corbet* to be committed "to the Fleet for ſix months, only for cauſing the *petition* "*of right* to be read at the ſeſſions.

5. "That judgment having been given in the court of "King's-Bench againſt Mr. *Burley*, a clergyman of a bad cha-"racter, for non-reſidence, he had cauſed the judgment to "be

" be ſtayed, ſaying *he would never ſuffer judgment to paſs* " *upon any clergyman* by *nihil dicit.*

6. " That large ſums of money having been contributed " for buying in impropriations, the archbiſhop had cauſed " the *feoffments* to be overthrown into his majeſty's Exche- " quer, and by that means ſuppreſſed the deſign.

7. " That he had harboured and relieved divers popiſh " prieſts, contrary to law.

8. " That he had ſaid at Weſtminſter, there muſt be a " blow given to the church, ſuch as had not been given, be- " fore it could be brought to conformity, declaring thereby " his intention to alter the true proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed " in it.

9. " That after the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, he " had cauſed a convocation to be held, in which ſundry " canons were made contrary to the rights and privileges of " parliament, and an illegal oath impoſed upon the clergy, " with certain penalties, commonly known by the *et cætera* " oath.

10. " That upon the abrupt diſſolving of the ſhort par- " liament 1640, he had told the king, *he was now abſolved* " *from all rules of government, and at liberty to make uſe of* " *extraordinary methods for ſupply.*"§

I omit the charge of the Scots commiſſioners, becauſe the archbiſhop pleaded the act of oblivion.

The lords ordered the archbiſhop to deliver in his anſwer in writing to the above-mentioned articles in three weeks, which he did, taking no notice of the original ones.* The trial was put off from time to time, at the requeſt of the priſoner, till Sept. 16, when the archbiſhop appearing at the bar, and having kneeled ſome time, was ordered to ſtand, and one of the managers for the commons moved the lords, that their articles of impeachment, with the archbiſhop's anſwer, might be read; but when the clerk of the houſe had read the articles, there was no anſwer to the *original ones.* Upon which ſerjeant *Maynard* roſe up and obſerved, " how " unjuſt the archbiſhop's complaints of his long impriſon-

§ Prynne's Complete Hiſtory of the Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 38.

* Prynne, p. 45.

" ment,

" ment, and of the delay of his hearing, muſt be, when in all " this time he had not put in his anſwer to their original ar- " ticles, though he had long ſince *council* aſſigned him for " that purpoſe. That it would be abſurd in them to pro- " ceed on the additional articles, when there was no iſſue " joined on the original ones; he therefore prayed, that " the archbiſhop might forthwith put in his anſwer to all " their articles, and then they ſhould be ready to confirm " their charge whenever their lordſhips ſhould appoint."

The archbiſhop ſays, the *lords* looked hard one upon another, as if they would aſk where the miſtake was, he himſelf ſaying nothing, but that his anſwer had not been called for.* His *grace* would have embarraſſed them further, by deſiring them to hear his council, whether the articles were certain and particular enough to receive an anſwer. He moved likewiſe, that if he muſt put in a *new* anſwer, his *former* might be taken off the file; and that they would pleaſe to diſtinguiſh which articles were *treaſon*, and which *miſdemeanour*. But the lords rejected all his motions, and ordered him to put in his peremptory anſwer to the original articles of the commons by the 22d inſtant, which he did accordingly, to this effect:

" As to the 13th article, concerning the troubles in Scot- " land, and all actions, attempts, aſſiſtance, counſel, or device " relating thereto, this defendant pleadeth the late act of " oblivion, he being none of the perſons excepted by the " ſaid act, nor are any of the offences charged upon this " defendant excepted by the ſaid act.

" And as to all the other articles, both original and ad- " ditional, this defendant ſaving to himſelf all advantages " of exception to the ſaid articles, humbly ſaith, that he is " *not guilty* of all or any the matters, by the ſaid articles " charged, in ſuch manner and form as the ſame are by the " ſaid articles charged againſt him."

The trial was deferred all the month of February, as the archbiſhop inſinuates, becauſe Mr. *Prynne* was not ready with his witneſſes. When it came on, lord *Grey* of Werk,

* Wharton's Hiſtory of Archbiſhop Laud's Troubles, p. 214, 215.

ſpeaker

ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, was appointed preſident; but the archbiſhop complains, that there were ſeldom more than ſixteen or eighteen peers at a time. The managers for the commons were Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, and Mr. *Maynard*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Nicolas*, and Mr. *Hill*, whom the archbiſhop calls *conſul bibulus*, becauſe he ſaid nothing; their ſolicitor was Mr. *Prynne*, the archbiſhop's grand enemy. His grace's counſel were Mr. *Herne*, Mr. *Hales*, Mr. *Chute*, Mr. *Gerard*; and his ſolicitor was his own ſecretary, Mr. *Dell*. The trial was depending almoſt five months, in which time the archbiſhop was heard twenty days, with as much liberty and freedom of ſpeech as could be reaſonably deſired. When he complained of the ſeizure of his papers, the lords ordered him a copy of all ſuch as were neceſſary for his defence; and when he acquainted them, that by reaſon of the ſequeſtration of his eſtate, he was incapable of feeing his counſel, they moved the committee of ſequeſtrations in his favour, who ordered him two hundred pounds. His counſel had free acceſs to him at all times, and ſtood by to adviſe him during the whole of his trial.

The method of proceeding was this; the archbiſhop had three or four days notice of the day of his appearance, and of the articles they deſigned to proceed on; he was brought to the bar about *ten* in the morning, and the managers were till *one* making good their charge; the houſe then adjourned till *four*, when the archbiſhop made his defence, after which one of the managers replied, and the archbiſhop returned to the Tower between *ſeven* and *eight* of the clock in the evening.

It is unhappy that this remarkable trial, which contains the chief heads of controverſy between the puritans and the hierarchy, was not publiſhed by order of the houſe of peers, that the world might have ſeen the arguments on both ſides in their full ſtrength. Mr. *Prynne*, by order of the houſe of commons, has given us *their* evidence to that branch of the charge which relates to religion, and the archbiſhop has left behind him his own defence on every day's hearing, mixed with keen and ſatyrical reflections on his adverſaries; but theſe being detached performances, I have endeavoured to reduce the moſt material paſſages into a proper method,

without confining myſelf to the exact order of time in which the articles were debated.

All the articles may be reduced to theſe three general heads.

Firſt, "That the archbiſhop had traiterouſly attempted, "and endeavoured to *ſubvert the rights of parliament, and* "*to exalt the king's power above law.*

Secondly, "That he had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſub- "vert the fundamental temporal laws and government of "the realm of England, and to introduce an arbitrary go- "vernment againſt law and the liberties of the ſubject.

Thirdly, "That he had traiterouſly endeavoured, and "practiſed, to alter and ſubvert God's true religion by law "eſtabliſhed in this realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet up "popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the "church of Rome."

The trial began March 12, 1643-4, when Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, one of the managers of the houſe of commons, opened the impeachment with a ſmart ſpeech, in which he ſtated and aggravated the ſeveral crimes charged upon the archbiſhop, and concluded with comparing him to *Naaman* the Syrian, who was a great man, but a leper.

The archbiſhop, in his reply, endeavours to wipe off the aſperſions that were caſt upon him, in a laboured ſpeech which he held in his hand. He ſays, "It was no leſs than "a *torment* to him to appear in that place, and plead for "himſelf on that occaſion, becauſe he was not only a chriſtian "but a clergyman, and by God's grace advanced to the "greateſt place this church affords. He bleſſed God that "he was neither aſhamed to live, nor afraid to die; that he "had been as ſtrict an obſerver of the laws of his country, "both in publick and private, as any man whatſoever; and "as for religion, that he had been a ſteady member of the "church of England as eſtabliſhed by law, which he had "endeavoured to reduce to decency, uniformity, and beauty, "in the outward face of it; but he had been as far from "attempting any alterations in favour of popery, as when "his mother firſt bore him into the world; and let nothing "be ſpoken but truth, (ſays he) and I do here challenge

"whatſoever

"whatſoever is between heaven and hell, that can be ſaid "againſt me in point of my religion, in which I have ever "hated diſſimulation."* He then concludes with a liſt of twenty-one perſons whom he had converted from popery to the proteſtant religion.

It was obſerved by ſome, that if the paſſionate expreſſions in this ſpeech had been a little qualified, that they would have obtained more credit with his *grace*'s judges;† but as they were pronounced, were thought hardly fit for the mouth of one who lay under the weight of ſo many accuſations from the repreſentative body of the nation.

The next day [March 13] the managers for the commons began to make good the firſt branch of their charge, to the following purpoſe, viz.

"That the archbiſhop had traiterouſly attempted to ſub-"vert the rights of parliament, and to exalt the king's "power above the laws."

In ſupport of which they produced, (1.) a paſſage out of his own Diary, Dec. 5, 1639. "*A reſolution was voted at* "*the board to aſſiſt the king in extraordinary ways, if* (ſays "he) *the parliament ſhould prove* peeviſh *and refuſe.*"

The archbiſhop replied, that this was the vote of the whole *council-table*, of which he was only a ſingle member, and therefore could not be called *his counſel*. Beſides, the words had relation to the troubles of Scotland, and are therefore included in the act of oblivion.

2. "They produced another expreſſion in one of the "archbiſhop's papers under his own hand, in the beginning "of which he ſays, that *Magna Charta had an obſcure birth*, "*and was foſtered by an ill nurſe.*"‖

The archbiſhop replied, that it was no diſgrace to *Magna Charta* to ſay it had an *obſcure birth;* our hiſtories confirm the truth of it, and ſome of our law-books of good account

* Wharton's Hiſtory of Archbiſhop Laud's Troubles, p. 223.

† Dr. *Grey* thinks that the ſevereſt expreſſions were juſtifiable in anſwer to ſo foul-mouthed an impeacher as ſerjeant *Wild*, and that there was nothing in the biſhop's ſpeech unbecoming that great prelate to ſpeak, or that aſſembly to hear. Ed.

‖ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 229, 230, 231.

uſe almoſt the ſame expreſſions; and ſhall the ſame words be hiſtory and law in them, and treaſon in me?§

3. They averred, "that he had ſaid in council, that the "*king's proclamation was of as great force as an act of par-* "*liament;* and that he had compared the king to the ſtone "ſpoken of in the goſpel, *that whoſoever falls upon it ſhall* "*be broken, but upon whomſoever it falls it will grind him* "*to powder.*"

The archbiſhop replied, that this was in the caſe of the *ſoap buſineſs*, twelve years ago; and thinks it impoſſible thoſe words ſhould be ſpoken by him; nor does he apprehend the gentlemen who preſs this evidence can believe it themſelves, conſidering they are accuſing him as a *cunning delinquent*. So God forgive theſe men the falſhood and malice of their oaths (ſays he!) but as to the alluſion to the *ſtone* in the ſcripture, if I did apply it to the *king*, it was far enough from treaſon, and let them and their like take care, leſt it prove true upon themſelves, for *Solomon* ſays, *The anger of a king is death.**

4. In further maintenance of this part of their charge, the managers produced "two ſpeeches which his *grace* "framed for the king to be ſpoken to the parliament; and "his majeſty's anſwer to the remonſtrance of the houſe of "commons in the year 1628, which was all written with "the archbiſhop's own hand, and theſe words endorſed by "himſelf, *My anſwer* to the parliament's remonſtrance. In "which papers were ſundry paſſages tending to ſet up an "abſolute power in the king, and to make the calling of "parliaments in a manner uſeleſs. The king is made to ſay, "that *his power is only from God, and to him only he is ac-* "*countable for his actions*; that never king was more jea- "lous of his honour, or more ſenſible of the neglect and "contempt of his royal rights. His majeſty bids the com- "mons remember, that parliaments are altogether in his "power, for their calling, ſitting, and diſſolution; and that "according as they behaved themſelves they ſhould con- "tinue, or not be. When ſome of the members of parlia- "ment had ſpoken freely againſt the duke of *Buckingham*, "they were by the king's command ſent to the Tower; and

§ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 409. * Ibid. p. 234.

"his

" his majeſty coming to the houſe of peers, tells them, that " he had thought fit to puniſh ſome inſolent ſpeeches lately " ſpoken againſt the duke, for I am ſo ſenſible of all your " honours, (ſays he) that he that touches any of you, " touches me in a very great meaſure. Further, when the " parliament was diſſolved in the year 1628, a proclamation " was publiſhed, together with the above-mentioned remon- " ſtrance, in which his majeſty declares, that ſince his par- " liament was not ſo dutiful as they ought to be, he was " reſolved to live without them, till thoſe who had inter- " rupted his proceedings ſhould receive condign puniſhment, " and his people come to a better temper; and that in the " mean time, he would exact the duties that were received " by his father, which his now majeſty neither could nor " would diſpenſe with."‡

The archbiſhop replied, that he did indeed make the above-mentioned ſpeeches, being commanded to the ſervice, and followed his inſtructions as cloſe as he could. As for the ſmart paſſages complained of, he hopes they will not be thought ſuch, when it is conſidered whoſe mouth was to utter them, and upon what occaſion. However, if they be, he is heartily ſorry for them, and humbly deſires they may be paſſed by. The anſwer to the remonſtrance was drawn by his majeſty's command, as appears by the endorſement; and the ſevere paſſages objected to, were in his inſtructions. When a parliament errs, may not their king tell them of it? Or muſt every paſſage in his anſwer be ſour that pleaſes not?‖

The managers proceeded to produce ſome other paſſages tending more immediately to ſubvert the rights of parliament, and among others, they inſiſted on theſe three:

1. " That the archbiſhop had ſaid at the *council-table*, " after the ending of the late parliament, that *now the king* " *might make uſe of his own power*. This was atteſted by " ſir *Harry Vane* the elder, who was a privy-counſellor, and " then preſent."

The archbiſhop replied, that he did not remember the words; that if he did ſpeak them they were not treaſonable;

‡ King's Speeches, March 27, 29, May 11.

‖ Laud's Hiſt. p. 230, 403, 404, 406.

or

or if they were, he ought to have been tried within ſix months, according to the ſtatute 1 *Eliz. cap.* 6. That ſir *Henry Vane* was only a ſingle witneſs, whereas the law requires two witneſſes for treaſon: beſides, he conceived that this advice relating to the Scottiſh troubles was within the act of oblivion, which he had pleaded. But *laſt of all*, let it be remembered, ſays the archbiſhop, for ſir *Harry*'s honour, that he being a man in years, has ſo good a memory, that he alone can remember words ſpoken at a full council-table, which no perſon of honour remembers ſave himſelf; but I would not have him brag of it, for I have read in St. *Auſtin*, that *ſome, even the worſt of men, have great memories, and ſo much the worſe for having them.* God bleſs ſir *Henry!**

2. The archbiſhop had affirmed, "that the parliament "might not meddle with religion, without the aſſent of the "clergy in convocation. Now if this were ſo (ſay the ma-"nagers) we ſhould have had no reformation, for the biſhops "and clergy diſſented."

The archbiſhop in his reply cited the ſtatute 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1, which ſays, that *what is hereſy ſhall be determined by the parliament, with the aſſent of the clergy in convocation*, from whence he concluded, the parliament could not by law determine the truth of doctrine without the aſſent of the clergy; and to this the managers agreed, as to the point of *hereſy*, but no further. The archbiſhop added, that in his opinion, it was the prerogative of the church alone to determine *truth and falſehood*, though the power of making laws for the puniſhment of erroneous perſons, was in the parliament with the aſſent of the clergy.‖ Indeed the king and parliament may, by their abſolute power, change *chriſtianity* into *turciſm* if they pleaſe, and the ſubjects that cannot obey muſt fly, or endure the penalty of the law; but of *right* they cannot do this without the *church*. Thus the parliament, in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, by abſolute power aboliſhed popiſh ſuperſtition; but when the clergy were ſettled, and a form of doctrine was to be agreed on, a ſynod was called 1562, and the articles of religion were confirmed by parliament, with the aſſent of the clergy, which gave all parties their juſt right, as is ſo evi-

* Laud's Hiſtory, p. 231. ‖ Ibid. p. 401.

dent,

dent, that the heathens could ſee the juſtice of it, for *Lucullus* ſays in *Tully*, that *the prieſts were judges of religion, and the ſenate of the law.*

3. "At a reference between Dr. *Gill*, ſchool-maſter of "St. Paul's, and the *Mercers'* company, the archbiſhop had "ſaid, that the company could not turn him out of the "ſchool, without conſent of his ordinary; and that upon "mention of an act of parliament, he replied, I ſee nothing "will down with you but acts of parliament, no regard at "all to the canons of the church; but I will reſcind all acts "that are againſt the canons, and I hope ſhortly to ſee the "canons and the king's prerogative of equal force with an "act of parliament."

The archbiſhop was ſo provoked with the oath of the witneſs who gave this in evidence, [Mr. *Samuel Blood*] that he was going *to bind his ſin on his ſoul*, not to be forgiven him, *till he ſhould aſk him forgiveneſs*;† but he conquered his paſſion, and replied, that ſince by a canon* no perſon is allowed to teach ſchool without the biſhop's licence, and that in caſe of offence he is liable to admonition and ſuſpenſion, it ſtands good, that he may not be turned out without the ſaid biſhop's knowledge and approbation. As for the words, that *he ſaw nothing would down with them but an act of parliament, and that no regard was had to the canons*, he conceived them to be no offence; for though the ſuperiority belongs to acts of parliament in this kingdom, yet certainly ſome regard is due to the canons; and therefore he ſays again, that *if nothing will down with men but acts of parliament, the government in many particulars cannot ſubſiſt.* As to the laſt words, of his reſcinding thoſe acts that were againſt the canons, he is morally certain he could not utter them; nor does he believe any man that knows him will believe him ſuch a fool, as to ſay, he hoped to ſee the canons and the king's prerogative of equal force with an act of parliament, ſince he has lived to ſee ſundry canons rejected, and the king's prerogative diſcuſſed by law, neither of which can be done by any judges to an act of parliament. However, if ſuch words ſhould have eſcaped him, he obſerves there is only one witneſs to the charge; and if they be

† Laud's Hiſtory, p. 236, 237. * Can. 77, 79.

within

within the danger of the ſtatute, then to that ſtatute which requires his trial within ſix months, he refers himſelf.

The managers went on to the *ſecond charge* againſt the archbiſhop, which was his deſign TO SUBVERT THE FUNDAMENTAL TEMPORAL LAWS OF THE KINGDOM, AND TO INTRODUCE AN ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT AGAINST LAW AND THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT. In maintenance whereof they alledged "his illegal preſſures of *ton-*
"*nage and poundage* without act of parliament, *ſhip-money*,
"*coat* and *conduct money*, *ſoap-money*, &c. and his commit-
"ment of divers perſons to priſon for non-payment; for a
"proof of which there appeared, among others, three al-
"dermen, viz. aldermen *Atkins*, *Chambers*, and *Adams*."

The archbiſhop confeſſed, that as to the buſineſs of *ſhip-money*, he was zealous in that affair, yet not with an intent to violate the law, for though this was before judgment given for the king, it was after the judges had declared the legality of it under their hands, and he thought he might ſafely follow ſuch guides. He was likewiſe of opinion, that *tonnage* and *poundage*, *coat* and *conduct-money*, were lawful on the king's part; that he was led into this opinion by the expreſs judgment of ſome lords preſent, and by the ſilence of others; none of the great lawyers at the table contradicting it; however, that it was the common act of the *council-table*, and therefore all were as culpable as himſelf; and he was ſure this could not amount to treaſon, except it were againſt the three aldermen, *Atkins*, *Chambers*, and *Adams*.†

They objected further, "ſundry depopulations, and pull-
"ing down houſes; that for the repair of St. Paul's above
"ſixty dwelling-houſes had been pulled down, *by order of*
"*council*, without any ſatisfaction to the tenants, becauſe
"they did not accept of the committee's compoſition.—
"That he had obliged a brewer near the court not to burn
"ſea-coal, under penalty of having his brewhouſe pulled
"down; and that by a like order of council many ſhop-
"keepers were forcibly turned out of their houſes in Cheap-
"ſide, to make way for *goldſmiths*, who were forbid to open

† Laud's Hiſtory, p. 232, 233, 234.

"ſhop

" ſhop in any other places of the city. When a commiſſion " was iſſued under the broad ſeal to himſelf, to compound " with delinquents of this kind, Mr. *Talboys* was fined fifty " pounds for non-compliance; and when he pleaded the " ſtatute of the 39th of *Elizabeth*, the archbiſhop replied, " *Do you plead law here? either abide the order, or take your* " *trial at the ſtar-chamber.* When Mr. *Wakern* had one " hundred pounds allowed him for the pulling down his " houſe, he was ſoon after fined one hundred pounds in the " *high commiſſion court, for profanation;* of which he paid " thirty."

This the archbiſhop admitted, and replied to the reſt, that he humbly and heartily thanked God, that he was counted worthy to ſuffer for the repair of St. Paul's, which had coſt him out of his own purſe above twelve hundred pounds. As to the grievances complained of, there was a *compoſition* allotted for the *ſufferers*, by a committee named by the lords, not by him, which amounted to eight or nine thouſand pounds, before they could come at the church to repair it; ſo that if any thing was amiſs, it muſt be imputed to the lords of the council, who are one body, and whatſoever is done by the major part is the act of the whole; that, however, here was ſome recompence made them, whereas in king *James*'s time, when a commiſſion was iſſued for demoliſhing theſe very houſes, no care was taken for ſatisfaction of any private man's intereſt; and I cannot forbear to add (ſays the archbiſhop,) that the biſhop, and dean and chapter, did ill in giving way to theſe buildings, to increaſe their rents by a ſacrilegious revenue; there being no law to build on conſecrated ground. When it was replied to this, " that the king's commiſſion was no legal warrant " for pulling down houſes, without authority of parlia- " ment," he anſwered, that houſes more remote from the church of St. Paul's had been pulled down by the king's commiſſion only in king *Edward* the third's time. As to the *brew-houſe*, the archbiſhop owned that he had ſaid to the proprietor, that he muſt ſeal a bond of two thouſand pounds to brew no more with ſea-coal; but it was at the council-table, when he was delivering the ſenſe of the board,

* Laud's Hiſtory, p. 235, 244, 146, 265.

which

which office was uſually put upon him if preſent; ſo that this or any other hardſhip he might ſuffer ought not to be imputed to him, but to the whole council; and he was very ſure it could not amount to treaſon, except it were treaſon againſt a *brew-houſe*. The like anſwer he made to the charge about the *goldſmiths ſhops*, namely, that it was the order of council, and was thought to be for the beauty and grandeur of the city, and he did apprehend the council had a right to command in things of *decency, and for the ſafety of the ſubject, and where there was no law to the contrary*. As to the words which he ſpoke to Mr. *Talboys*, they were not deſigned to derogate from the law, but to ſhew, that we ſat not there as judges of the law, but to offer his majeſty's *grace*, by way of compoſition to them who would accept it, and therefore he had his option, whether he would agree to the fine we impoſed upon him, or take his trial elſewhere. The commons replied with great reaſon, that no commiſſion from the king could juſtify the pulling down men's houſes, or oblige them to part with their eſtates without act of parliament.

The managers objected further to the archbiſhop, "ſeveral illegal commitments, and exorbitant fines and cenſures in the ſtar-chamber, and high commiſſion court, as in the caſes of *Prynne*, *Burton*, *Baſtwick*, *Huntley*, and others; and that when the perſons aggrieved brought *prohibitions*, he threatened to lay them by the heels, ſaying, "*Does the king grant us power, and are we then prohibited?* Let us go and complain, *I will break the back of prohibitions, or they ſhall break mine*. Accordingly ſeveral perſons were actually impriſoned for delivering *prohibitions*, as was teſtified by many witneſſes; nay, Mr. *Wheeler* ſwore, he heard the archbiſhop in a ſermon ſay, that *they which granted prohibitions to the diſturbance of the church's right, God will prohibit their entrance into the kingdom of heaven*."

The archbiſhop replied, that the fines, impriſonments, and other cenſures complained of, were the acts of the ſeveral courts that directed them, and not his. That the reaſon why ſeveral perſons were impriſoned for *prohibitions*, was becauſe they delivered them in court in an unmannerly way, throwing them on the table, or handing them over the heads

of

of others on a ſtick, to the affront of the court; notwithſtanding which, as many *prohibitions* had been admitted in his time as in his predeceſſors; and after all, he apprehended theſe *prohibitions* were a very great grievance to the church; nor was there the ſame reaſon for them now, as before the reformation, while the biſhops' courts were kept under a foreign power, whereas now all power exerciſed in *ſpiritual courts*, as well as in *temporal*, is for the king. As to the words in his ſermon, though he did not remember them, yet he ſaw no great harm in them. And here the archbiſhop put the lords in mind, that nothing had been done of late in the ſtar-chamber, or council-table, more than had been done in king *James* and queen *Elizabeth*'s times. Nor is there any one witneſs that ſays, what he did was with a deſign to overthrow the laws, or introduce arbitrary government; no, that is only the conſtruction of the managers, *for which, and ſomething elſe in their proceedings, I am confident, ſays he, they ſhall anſwer at another bar.*‖

The managers objected further, "the archbiſhop's taking "undue gifts, and among others, his receiving two *buts of* "*ſack*, in a cauſe of ſome Cheſter men, whom it was in his "power to relieve, by mitigating the fine ſet on them in the "high-commiſſion, and taking ſeveral large ſums of money "by way of compoſition for fines in the high commiſſion "court, making uſe of the method of *commutation*, by virtue "of a patent obtained from the king, which took away all "opportunity from his majeſty of doing juſtice, and ſhewing "mercy to his poor ſubjects, and inveſted the archbiſhop "with the final determination."

His *grace* heard this part of his charge with great reſentment and impatience. If I would have had any thing to do in the baſe, dirty buſineſs of bribery, (ſays he) I needed not be in ſuch want as I am now. As to the *ſack*,* he proteſted, as he ſhould anſwer it to God, that he knew nothing of it, and offered to confirm it by his oath, if it might be admitted.

‖ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 270, 271, 273, 274.

* Dr. *Grey* charges Mr. *Neal* with not giving the whole truth here, and with being cautious not to produce too many things in favour of the archbiſhop. The Editor, not having "Laud's Hiſtory," cannot aſcertain the truth or candour of this charge. Ed.

He

He declared, that when his ſteward told him of Mr. *Stone*'s deſign, he abſolutely forbad his receiving it, or any thing from any man who had buſineſs before him; but Mr. *Stone*, watching a time when his ſteward was out of town, and the archbiſhop at court, brought the *ſack*, telling the yeoman of the wine-cellar, that he had leave to lay it in. Afterwards, when his ſteward acquainted him that the *ſack* was brought in, he commanded it ſhould be carried back; but Mr. *Stone* intreated that he might not be ſo diſgraced, and proteſted he did not do it on the account of the Cheſter *buſineſs*, though after this he went home and put it on their account; for which they complained to the houſe of commons, and produced Mr. *Stone* for their witneſs. The archbiſhop obſerves, that Mr. *Browne*, in ſumming up his charge, did him juſtice in this particular, for neither to the lords nor commons did he ſo much as mention it.

As to the other ſums of money which he received by way of *compoſition* or otherwiſe, for fines in the high commiſſion, he ſaid, that he had the *broad ſeal* from the king, for applying them to the repairing the weſt end of St. Paul's, for the ſpace of ten years, which *broad ſeal* was then in the hands of Mr. *Holford*, and was on record to be ſeen. And all fines in the high commiſſion belonging to the crown, his majeſty had a right to give them to what uſe he pleaſed; that as for himſelf, he thought it his duty to get as much money for ſo good a work as he could, even by way of *commutation* for certain crimes; which method of pecuniary commutations was according to law, and the ancient cuſtom and practice of this kingdom, eſpecially where men of quality were offenders, and he had applied no part of them to his own benefit or advantage.

It was next objected, "that he had made divers alterations "in the *king*'s coronation oath, and introduced ſeveral un- "warrantable innovations with relation to that auguſt cere- "mony; as particularly, that he had inſerted thoſe words "into the oath, *agreeable to the king's prerogative*, with "about twenty other alterations of leſs moment, which they "apprehended to be a matter of moſt dangerous conſe- "quence. That he had revived certain old popiſh ceremo- "nies, diſuſed ſince the reformation, as the placing a crucifix

"on

" on the altar, the conſecrating the holy oil, the anointing " the king in form of a croſs, the offering up the *regalia* " on the altar, without any rubrick or direction for theſe " things, and inſerting the following charge taken *verbatim* " out of the Roman pontifical: " *Stand, and hold faſt, from* " *henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the ſuc-* " *ceſſion of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the* " *authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all* " *the biſhops and ſervants of God; and as you ſee the clergy* " *come nearer the altar than others, ſo remember, that in place* " *convenient you give them greater honour, that the mediator* " *of God and man may eſtabliſh you in the kingly throne, to be* " *the mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that you* " *may reign for ever with Jeſus Chriſt, the King of kings, and* " *Lord of lords, who with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth* " *and reigneth for ever.* Amen."

The archbiſhop replied, that he did not inſert the words above-mentioned into the *coronation oath*, they being firſt added in king *Edward* VI. or queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and had no relation to the laws of the kingdom, mentioned before in the beginning of the oath, but to the profeſſion of the goſpel, whereby the king ſwears to maintain his prerogative againſt all foreign juriſdictions: and if this be not the meaning, yet he avers, that the clauſe was in the coronation oath of king *James*. As to the other alterations they were admitted not to be material; but his *grace* confeſſes, that when they met in the committee, they were forced to mend many ſlips of the pen in ſome places, and to make ſenſe and good Engliſh in others, and the book being intruſted with him he did it with his own hand, openly in the committee and with their approbation. As to the ceremonies of the coronation, they are nothing to him, ſince his predeceſſor crowned and anointed the king, indeed he ſupplied the place of the dean of *Weſtminſter*, and was obliged to look after the *regalia*, and conceives the offering them at the altar could be no offence. He does not remember the crucifix was brought out, [though *Heylin* ſays it was] and as to the prayer, it was not taken from the *pontifical* by him, for it was uſed at king *James*'s coronation, and being a good one it is no matter whence it was taken. To all which the managers

nagers replied, that it appeared by his own Diary, that he had the chief direction of all theſe innovations.‖

The managers went on, and charged the archbiſhop "with endeavouring to ſet up an independent power in the "church, by attempting *to exempt the clergy from the juriſ-* "*diction of the civil magiſtrate;* of which they produced "ſeveral examples; one was, the archbiſhop's forbidding "the lord-mayor of the city of London to carry the ſword "upright in the church, and then obtaining an order of "council for ſubmitting it in time and place of divine ſervice. "Another was taken out of the archbiſhop's Diary; upon "making the biſhop of *London, lord treaſurer*, he ſays, *No* "*churchman had it ſince* Henry VII. *and now, if the church* "*will not hold up themſelves, under God, I can do no more.* "A third was, his ſaying in the high commiſſion, that *no* "*conſtable ſhould meddle with men in holy orders.* A fourth "was, his calling ſome juſtices of peace into the high com-"miſſion, for holding the ſeſſions at *Tewksbury* in the church "yard, being *conſecrated ground*, though they had licence "from the biſhop, and though the eighty-eighth *canon* of "the church of England gives leave, that temporal courts "or leets may be kept in the church or church-yard. And "a fifth was, that he had cauſed certain churchwardens to "be proſecuted, for executing the warrant of a juſtice of "peace upon an ale-houſe-keeper.†

The archbiſhop replied in general, that he never attempted to bring the temporal power under the clergy, nor to free the clergy from being under it; but this he confeſſed, that he had laboured to preſerve the clergy from ſome laymen's oppreſſions, for *vis laica* has been an old and a juſt complaint; and this I took to be my duty, (ſays he) aſſuring myſelf that God did not raiſe me to that place of eminence to ſit ſtill, and ſee his miniſters diſcountenanced and trampled upon. To the firſt particular he replied, that it was an order of council, and therefore not his; but it was a reaſonable one, for the *ſword* was not ſubmitted to any foreign or home power, but to God only, and that in the place and at the performance of his holy worſhip, at which time and place kings ſubmit themſelves, and therefore cannot inſiſt upon the

‖ Laud's Hiſt. p. 318. Prynne, p. 475. † Laud's Hiſt. p. 293.

emblems

emblems of their power. To the ſecond and third examples he replied, that he ſaw no treaſon or crime in them. To the fourth he replied, that no temporal courts ought to be kept upon *conſecrated ground;* and that though ſome ſuch might upon urgent occaſions be kept in the church with leave, yet that is no warrant for a ſeſſions, where there might be a trial for blood; and certainly it can be no crime to keep off profanation from churches; but be it never ſo criminal, it was the act of the high commiſſion, and not his; nor is there any thing in it that looks towards *treaſon.* To the proſecuting the churchwardens he anſwered, that thoſe ſtatutes concerned *ale-houſe-keepers* only, and the reaſon why they were proſecuted was, becauſe being church-officers they did not complain of it to the chancellor of the dioceſe; for certainly ſtanding in ſuch a relation to the church, they ought to have been as ready to inform the biſhop as to obey the juſtice of the peace.

Laſtly, The managers objected to the archbiſhop, "the "convocation's ſitting after the parliament was diſſolved, "contrary to law; their impoſing an oath on the ſubject, "and their making ſundry canons, which had ſince been "voted by both houſes of parliament contrary to the king's "prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the "rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the "ſubject, and containing matters tending to ſedition, and of "dangerous conſequence."

The archbiſhop replied, that the ſitting of the convocation after the diſſolution of the parliament was, in the opinion both of judges and other lawyers, according to law; that as they were called to ſit in convocation by a different writ from that which called them as biſhops to ſit in parliament, ſo they could not riſe till they had a writ to diſcharge them. As for the *oath* ſo much complained of, it was according to law, or elſe they were miſled by ſuch precedents as were never excepted againſt; for in the canons made in king *James*'s time, there was an oath againſt *ſimony*, and an oath for licences for marriages, and an oath for judges in eccleſiaſtical courts, and all theſe eſtabliſhed by no other authority than the late one. As to the vote of both houſes, which

* Laud's Hiſtory, p. 287, 292.

condemned

condemned the *canons*, ſince their lordſhips would not ſuffer him to debate the juſtice and equity of it, he could only reply, that all theſe canons were made in open and full convocations, and are acts of that body, and cannot be aſcribed to him, though preſident of that ſynod, ſo by me (ſays the archbiſhop) they were not made.*

Theſe were the principal evidences produced by the commons, in maintenance of the firſt branch of their charge, viz. his *grace*'s endeavours to ſubvert the rights of parliament, and the *fundamental temporal* laws of the kingdom. From whence it is eaſy to obſerve, that beſides the ſharpneſs of the archbiſhop's temper, there are three capital miſtakes which run through this part of his defence.

1. A groundleſs ſuppoſition, that *where the law is ſilent the prerogative takes place;* and that in all ſuch caſes, a proclamation, or order of council, or a decree of the ſtar-chamber, &c. is binding upon the ſubject; and that diſobedience to ſuch proclamations or orders might be puniſhed at diſcretion. This gave riſe to moſt of the unwarrantable *orders* by which the ſubject was inſufferably oppreſſed in the former part of this reign, and to the exorbitant fines that were levied for diſobedience, in which the archbiſhop himſelf was notoriouſly active.

2. *The falſe concluſions drawn from his being but a ſingle member of the council or high commiſſion*, viz. that therefore he was not anſwerable for their votes or orders, even though he had ſet his hand to them; becauſe *what is carried by a majority is ſuppoſed to be the act of the whole body, and not of any particular member.*‖ According to which way of reaſoning, the conſtitution might be deſtroyed, without a poſſibility of puniſhing the authors.

3. *His wilful miſconſtruction of the managers' reaſonings;* as when he replies with an air of ſatisfaction and triumph, he hopes this or the other particular will not be conſtrued treaſon, unleſs it be againſt a *brew-houſe* or an *alderman*, or the like; though he was told over and over, by the managers for the commons, that they did not object theſe things to him as ſo many treaſonable acts, but as proofs and evidences

* Laud's Hiſtory, p. 282. ‖ Ibid. p. 437.

of one general charge, which was, a *traiterous attempt and endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental temporal laws, government, and liberties of the realm*; and how far they have made good this part of their charge muſt be left with the reader.

The commons proceeded next to the third general charge, relating to religion, in which our hiſtory requires us to be more particular; and here they aver, "That the archbiſhop "had traiterouſly endeavoured and practiſed *to alter and* "*ſubvert God's true religion by law eſtabliſhed in this realm,* "*and inſtead thereof to ſet up popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry,* "*and to reconcile us to the church of Rome.*

This was divided into two branches:

1ſt. "His introducing and practiſing certain popiſh in- "novations, and ſuperſtitious ceremonies, not warranted by "law, nor agreeable to the practice of the church of Eng- "land ſince the reformation.

2dly. "His countenancing and encouraging ſundry doc- "trinal errors in favour of *arminianiſm* and *popery.*"

The managers began with *popiſh innovations* and *ceremonies*, in maintenance of which they inſiſted on the following proofs:

(1.) "*His countenancing the ſetting up of images in churches,* "*church-windows, and other places of religious worſhip.* That "in his own chapel at Lambeth he had repaired the popiſh "paintings on the windows, that had been deſtroyed at the "reformation, and made up the hiſtory of Chriſt crucified "between two thieves; of his riſing out of the grave; of "his aſcenſion into heaven; of the Holy Ghoſt deſcending "in form a dove; of Chriſt raiſing *Lazarus* out of the "grave; and of God himſelf raining down manna from "heaven; of God's giving the law to *Moſes* on mount "Sinai; of fire deſcending from heaven at the prayer of "*Eliſha*; of the Holy Ghoſt overſhadowing the virgin, &c. "all taken from the Roman miſſal, with ſeveral ſuper- "ſtitious mottoes and inſcriptions. That he had cauſed "divers crucifixes to be ſet up in churches over the com- "munion table, in his chapel at Lambeth, at Whitehall, and "at the univerſity at Oxford, of which he was chancellor. "That in the pariſh of St. Mary's there was ſince his time

"erected a ſtatue of the *Virgin Mary* cut in ſtone, with a "child in her arms, to which divers people bowed and did "reverence as they went along the ſtreets; which could not "be done without his allowance; nay, ſo zealous was this "prelate (ſay the managers) in defence of images, that he "procured Mr. *Sherfield* to be ſentenced in the ſtar-chamber, "for defacing a church window in or near Saliſbury, be-"cauſe there was an image in it of God the Father; all "which is contrary to the ſtatute of the 3d and 4th of "*Edward* VI. and the injunctions of queen *Elizabeth*, which "enjoin *all pictures, paintings, images, and other monuments "of idolatry and ſuperſtition to be deſtroyed, ſo as that there "remain no memory of them in walls, glaſs windows, or elſe-"where, within any church or houſe.*"*

The archbiſhop anſwered in general, that crucifixes and images in churches were not ſimply unlawful; that they were in uſe in *Conſtantine*'s time, and long before, and therefore there could be no popery in them. *Tertullian* ſays, they had the picture of Chriſt engraven on their *chalice* in form of a ſhepherd carrying home a loſt ſheep; and even Mr. *Calvin* allows an hiſtorical uſe of images, *Inſtit.* l. 1, cap. 11, ſect. 12. *Neque tamen ea ſuperſtitione teneor ut nullas prorſus imagines ferendas cenſeam, ſed quia ſculptura & pictura, Dei dona ſunt, purum & legitimum utriuſque uſum requiro.* The archbiſhop appealed likewiſe to the homilies, p. 64, 65, for an hiſtorical uſe of images; but if it ſhould be granted (ſays he) that they are condemned by the homilies, yet certainly one may ſubſcribe to the homilies as containing a godly and wholeſome doctrine, neceſſary for thoſe times, without approving every paſſage or ſentence, or ſuppoſing it neceſſary for all times. I do not approve of images of God the father, though ſome will juſtify them from *Dan.* vii. 22, but as for the images of things viſible, they are of uſe, not only for the beautifying and adorning the places of divine worſhip, but for admonition and inſtruction; and can be an offence to none but ſuch as would have God ſerved ſlovenly and meanly under a pretence of avoiding ſuperſtition.†

As to the particulars, the archbiſhop allowed his repairing the windows of his chapel at Lambeth, and making out the

* Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 157, 462, &c.

† Laud's Hiſt. p. 311. Prynne, p. 462, 463, 479. hiſtory

hiſtory as well as he could, but not from the Roman miſſal, ſince he did not know the particulars were in it, but from the fragments of what remained in the windows ſince the reformation; but if they had been originally painted by his order, as in the caſe of the new chapel at Weſtminſter, he knows no crime in it.† The image of the virgin *Mary* in Oxford was ſet up by biſhop *Owen*, and there is no evidence that I countenanced the ſetting it up, nor that any complaint was made to me of any abuſe of it.* As to Mr. *Sherfield*'s caſe, one of the witneſſes ſays, it was the picture of an old man with a budget by his ſide pulling out *Adam* and *Eve*, it is not therefore certain that it was the image of God the father; but if it was, yet Mr. *Sherfield* ought not to have defaced it but by command of authority, though it had been an idol of *Jupiter*; the orders of the veſtry, which Mr. *Sherfield* pleads, being nothing at all without the biſhop of the dioceſe.§ The ſtatute of *Edward* VI. has nothing to do with images in glaſs-windows, the words of the ſtatute are, *any images of ſtone, timber, alabaſter, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, taken out of any church, &c. ſhall be deſtroyed.* So here is not a word of glaſs-windows, nor images in them.

The managers for the commons replied, that it was notoriouſly falſe, that the primitive chriſtians approved of images, for *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Irenæus*, and all the ancient fathers, agree that they had none in their churches.‡ *Lactantius* ſays, there can be no religion in a place where any image is. *Epiphanius* rent in pieces an image painted on cloth, which he found in a church, out of holy indignation. All the ancient councils are againſt images in churches; and many godly emperors caſt them out, after they began to be in uſe in latter times, as our own homilies expreſsly declare, *Peril of idolatry*, part ii. p. 38. As for *Tertullian*, all that can be proved from him is, that thoſe hereticks againſt whom he wrote had ſuch a *chalice*, not that the orthodox chriſtians allowed of it. *Calvin* only ſays, that he is not ſo ſuperſtitious as to think it altogether unlawful to make images of men or beaſts for a civil uſe, becauſe painting is

† Prynne, p. 462. * Laud's Hiſtory, p. 329. § Ibid. p. 434.
‡ Prynne, p. 463, 464, 465.

the gift of God. But he affirms, in the very next ſection, that there were no images in *churches* for five hundred years after Chriſt; and ſays expreſsly, that they were not in uſe till the chriſtian religion was corrupted and depraved. He then adds, that he accounts it unlawful and wicked to paint the image of God, becauſe he has forbidden it. But the homilies are ſo expreſs that they wonder the archbiſhop can mention them without bluſhing; as well as his not knowing that the paintings were according to the maſs-book, when his own maſs-book is marked in thoſe places with his own hand.§ The images in thoſe windows were broken and demoliſhed at the reformation, by virtue of our ſtatutes, homilies, and injunctions, and remained as monuments of our indignation againſt Romiſh idolatry, till the archbiſhop repaired them. The managers obſerved further, that the archbiſhop had confeſſed the particulars of this part of their charge, and had only excuſed himſelf as to the univerſity of Oxford, though they conceive it impoſſible he could be ignorant of thoſe innovations, being chancellor and viſitor, and having entertained the king, queen, and elector *Palatine*, there, for ſeveral days. As for Mr. *Sherfield*'s caſe, they apprehend the authority of the veſtry was ſufficient in a place exempt from the juriſdiction of the biſhop, as St. Edmund's church was. And the managers are ſtill of opinion, that the ſtatute of *Edward* VI. extends to images in glaſs-windows; and that which confirms them in it is, that the injunctions of queen *Elizabeth*, made in purſuance of this law, extend in direct terms to images in glaſs-windows; and the practice of thoſe times in defacing them, infallibly proves it.

(2.) Another popiſh innovation charged on the archbiſhop was, "*his ſuperſtitious manner of conſecrating chapels, churches, and church-yards;* they inſtanced in Creed-church, of which the reader has had an account before; and in St. Giles's in the fields, which, being fallen to decay, was in part re-edified and finiſhed in biſhop *Mountaine*'s time, divine ſervice, and adminiſtration of ſacraments having been performed in it three or four years before his death; but no ſooner was the archbiſhop tranſlated to the

§ Peril of Idol. p. 41, 42, 43.

"ſee

"ſee of London, than he interdicted the church, and ſhut "up the doors for ſeveral weeks, till he had re-conſecrated "it, after the manner of Creed-church, to the very great "coſt and charge of the pariſh, and contrary to the judg-"ment of biſhop *Parker*, and our firſt reformers."§

"They objected further, his *conſecrating of altars* with all "their furniture, as *pattens*, *chalices*, *altar-cloths*, &c. even "to the knife that was to cut the ſacramental bread; and "his *dedicating the churches* to certain ſaints, together with "his promoting annual revels, or feaſts of dedication, on "the *Lord's-day*, in ſeveral parts of the country, whereby "that *holy day* was profaned, and the people encouraged in "ſuperſtition and ignorance.*

The archbiſhop anſwered to the *conſecration of churches*, that the practice was as ancient as *Moſes*, who conſecrated the tabernacle, with all its veſſels and ornaments; that the temple was afterwards conſecrated by king *Solomon*; that as ſoon as chriſtian churches began to be built, in the reign of *Conſtantine* the great, they were conſecrated, as *Euſebius* teſtifies concerning the church of Tyre, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *l.* 10, *cap.* 3, and ſo it has continued down to the preſent time. Beſides, if churches were not conſecrated, they would not be *holy*; nor does archbiſhop *Parker* ſpeak againſt conſecrations in general, but againſt popiſh conſecrations, which mine were not (ſays the archbiſhop) for I had them from biſhop *Andrews*.†

As to the manner of *conſecrating* Creed-church, St. Giles's, &c. his *grace* confeſſed, that when he came to the church door, that paſſage in the pſalms was read, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, even lift them up, ye everlaſting doors, that the King of glory may come in;*‡ that he kneeled and bowed at his entrance into the church, as *Moſes* and *Aaron* did at the door of the tabernacle; that he declared the place *holy*, and made uſe of a prayer like one in the Roman pontifical; that afterwards he pronounced divers curſes on ſuch as ſhould

§ Prynne, p. 113, 114, 497.

† Laud's Hiſtory, p. 339, 340. Prynne, p. 115.

‡ The archbiſhop alledged, that this place of ſcripture had been anciently uſed in conſecrations; and that it referred not to the *biſhop*, but to the true King of glory. Dr. *Grey*. Ed.

profane

profane it, but denied his throwing duſt into the air, in which he ſaid, the witneſſes had forſworn themſelves, for the Roman pontifical does not preſcribe throwing *duſt* into the air, but *aſhes;* and he conceives there is no harm, much leſs treaſon in it.‡ The practice of giving the names of *angels* and *ſaints* to churches at their dedication, for diſtinction ſake, and for the honour of their memories, (ſays his *grace*) has been very ancient, as appears in St. *Auſtin*, and divers others of the fathers; but the *dedication*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, is only to God; nor is the obſerving the annual feaſts of dedication leſs ancient; the feaſt of the dedication of the Temple was obſerved in our Saviour's time, and though, no doubt, it was abuſed by ſome among the Jews, yet our Saviour honoured it with his preſence. Judge *Richardſon*, indeed, had made an order in his circuit, for putting down theſe *wakes*, but he was obliged to revoke it by authority, and under favour (ſays the archbiſhop) I am of opinion that the *feaſts* ought not to be put down for ſome abuſes, any more than all vines ought to be rooted up becauſe ſome will be drunk with the juice of them.* The *feaſts* are convenient for keeping up hoſpitality and good neighbourhood; nor can there be a more proper time for obſerving them than on *Sundays*, after divine ſervice is ended.

And as the conſecrating of churches, and dedicating them to God, has been of ancient uſage, ſo has the conſecration of altars and their furniture, and ſuch conſecrations are neceſſary, for elſe the Lord's table could not be called *holy*, nor the veſſels belonging to it *holy*, as they uſually are; yea, there is an holineſs in the altar which ſanctifies the gift, which it could not do, except itſelf were holy; if there be no dedication of theſe things to God, no ſeparation of them from common uſe, then there can be no ſuch thing as ſacrilege, or difference between an *holy table* and a common one.† And as to the form of conſecrating theſe things, I had them not from the Roman pontifical, but from biſhop *Andrews*.

The managers for the commons replied, that if the temple was conſecrated, it was by the *king himſelf*, and not by the *high-prieſt*; and if the *tabernacle* was conſecrated, it was by *Moſes* the civil *magiſtrate*, and not by *Aaron* the *high-prieſt*;

‡ Prynne, p. 498. * Laud's Hiſt. p. 269. † Ibid. p. 313.

but

but we read of no other conſecrating the tabernacle and its utenſils, but anointing them with oil, for which *Moſes* had an expreſs command; nor of any other conſecrating the temple, but of *Solomon*'s making an excellent prayer in the *outward court*, not in the *temple itſelf*, and of his hallowing the middle court by offerings and peace-offerings; and it is obſervable that the *cloud* and *glory* of the Lord filled the temple, ſo as the prieſts could not ſtand to miniſter before *Solomon* made his prayer, which ſome call his *conſecration*. But if it ſhould be allowed that the temple was conſecrated in an extraordinary manner, we have no mention either in ſcripture or Jewiſh writers of the conſecration of their *ſynagogues*, to which our churches properly ſucceed.* And after all, it is no concluſive way of arguing, to derive a chriſtian inſtitution from the practice of the Jewiſh church, becauſe many of their ordinances were temporary, ceremonial, and aboliſhed by the coming of Chriſt.

From the beginning of chriſtianity, we have no credible authority for conſecrating churches for three hundred years.‖ *Euſebius*, in his life of *Conſtantine the great*, indeed mentions his conſecrating a temple that he built over our Saviour's ſepulchre at Jeruſalem; but how? with prayers, diſputations, preaching, and expoſition of ſcripture, as he expreſsly defines it, *cap.* 45. Here were no proceſſions, no knocking at the doors by the biſhop, crying, *Open, ye everlaſting doors;* no caſting duſt or aſhes into the air, and pronouncing the ground *holy;* no reverencing towards the altar, nor a great many other inventions of latter ages; no, theſe were not known in the chriſtian church till the very darkeſt times of popery; nay, in thoſe very dark times, we are told by *Otho* the pope's legate, in his Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, that in the reign of king *Henry* III. there were not only divers pariſh churches but ſome cathedrals in England, which had been uſed for many years, and yet never conſecrated by a biſhop. But it is plain to a demonſtration, that the archbiſhop's method of conſecrating churches is a modern popiſh invention; for it is agreed by *Gratian*, *Platina*, the Centuriators, and others, that pope *Hyginus*, *Gelaſius*, *Silveſter*, *Felix*, and *Gregory*, were the firſt inventors and promoters of

* Prynne, p. 115, 499, &c. ‖ Ibid. p. 501.

it;

it; and it is no where to be found but in the Roman pontifical, publiſhed by command of pope *Clement* VIII. *de Eccleſiæ Dedicatione*, p. 209, 280, for which reaſons it was exploded and condemned by our firſt reformers, and particularly by biſhop *Pilkington* in his comment upon *Haggai*, ch. i. ver. 7, 8, and archbiſhop *Parker*, who in his *Antiq. Britan.* expreſsly condemns the archbiſhop's method of conſecration as popiſh and ſuperſtitious, p. 85, 86, 87.†

But the archbiſhop ſays, if churches are not conſecrated they cannot be *holy*, whereas many places that were never conſecrated are ſtiled *holy*, as the *moſt holy place*, and the *holy city Jeruſalem*; and our homilies ſay, that the church is called *holy*, not of itſelf, but becauſe God's people reſorting thither are *holy*, and exerciſe themſelves in holy things; and it is evident that *ſanctification* when applied to places, is nothing elſe but a ſeparating them from common uſe to a religious and ſacred one, which may be done without the ſuperſtitious method above-mentioned; and though the archbiſhop avers he had not his form of conſecration from the Roman pontifical, he acknowledges he had it from biſhop *Andrews*, who could have it no where elſe.§

As for conſecrating *altars*, *pattens*, *chalices*, *altar-cloths*, and other altar-furniture; their original is no higher than the Roman miſſal and pontifical, in both which there are particular chapters and ſet forms of prayer for this purpoſe; but to imagine that theſe veſſels may not be reputed *holy*, though ſeparated to an *holy uſe*, unleſs thus conſecrated, is without any foundation in reaſon or ſcripture, and contrary to the practice of the church of England, and the opinion of our firſt reformers.*

To the archbiſhop's account of *feaſts* of *dedication* we anſwer as before, that an example out of the Jewiſh *law* is no rule for the chriſtian church. *Ezra* kept a feaſt at the dedication of the temple, when it was rebuilt, and offered a great many burnt-offerings, *Ezra* vi. 16, 17, but it was not made an annual ſolemnity; for the *feaſt of dedication* mentioned *John* x. 22, was not of the dedication of the temple, but of the *altars*, inſtituted by *Judas Maccabæus*, to be kept annually by the ſpace of eight days, 1 *Mac.* iv. 56, 59,

† Prynne, p. 115—117. § Ibid. p. 502. * Ibid. p. 65, &c. 467, 470.

which

which being of no divine inſtitution, but kept only by the ſuperſtitious Jews, not by Chriſt or his apoſtles, (who are only ſaid to be at Jeruſalem at that time) can be no precedent for our modern conſecrations.‖

Pope *Felix* and *Gregory* are the firſt that decreed the annual obſervation of the *dedication of churches* ſince our Saviour's time, which were obſerved in England under the names of *wakes* or *revels*, but were the occaſion of ſo much idleneſs and debauchery, that king *Henry* VIII. *ann.* 1536, reſtrained them all to the firſt *Sunday* in October, not to be kept on any other day; and afterwards, by the ſtatute 5 and 6 *Edward* VI. *cap.* 3, of holy days, they were totally aboliſhed. But theſe *feaſts* being revived again by degrees, in ſundry places of this realm, and particularly in Somerſetſhire, judge *Richardſon*, when he was on the circuit, at the requeſt of the juſtices of the peace for the county, publiſhed an order for ſuppreſſing them; but was obliged the next year as publickly to revoke it, and to declare ſuch recreations to be lawful; and as a further puniſhment on the judge, the archbiſhop obtained his removal from that circuit. It is very certain, that at theſe *revels* there were a great many diſorders; as drunkenneſs, quarrelling, fornication, and murder, it is therefore very unlikely they ſhould anſwer any good purpoſe, and how fit they were to ſucceed the publick devotions of the Lord's day, we ſhall leave to your lordſhips' conſideration.

(3.) The managers charged the archbiſhop further, "with "giving orders to Sir *Nath. Brent*, his vicar-general, to en- "join the churchwardens of all pariſh churches within his "dioceſe, that *they ſhould remove the communion table from* "*the middle of the chapel to the upper end, and place it in* "*form of an altar, cloſe to the wall, with the ends north and* "*ſouth, and encompaſs it with rails*, according to the model "of cathedrals. They objected likewiſe to *his furniſhing* "*the altar in his own chapel, and the king's at Whitehall,* "*with baſins, candleſticks, tapers, and other ſilver veſſels*, not "uſed in his predeceſſor's time; and to the *credentia* or ſide- "table, in conformity to the Roman *ceremonial*, on which

‖ Prynne, p. 128.

"the

"the elements were to be placed on a clean linen cloth be-
"fore they were brought to the altar to be conſecrated;
"and to the hanging over the altar a piece of *arras* with
"a large crucifix."§

The archbiſhop anſwered, that the placing the communion-table at the eaſt end of the chancel, was commanded by queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions, which ſay, that the holy table ſhall be ſet in the place where the altar ſtood, which, all who are acquainted with antiquity know, was at the eaſt end of the chancel, with the ends north and ſouth, cloſe to the wall, and thus they were uſually placed both in this and other churches of Chriſtendom; the innovation therefore was theirs who departed from the injunctions, and not mine who have kept to them. Beſides, *altars*, both name and thing, were in uſe in the primitive churches long before popery began; yea, they are to be found both in the Old and New Teſtament; and that there can be no popery in railing them in, I have proved in my ſpeech in the ſtar-chamber. However, I aver, that I gave no orders nor directions to Sir *Nath. Brent*, my vicar-general, neither by letter nor otherwiſe, to remove or rail in communion-tables in all pariſh churches; and I deſire Sir *Nath.* may be called to teſtify the truth upon his oath. Sir *Nath.* being ſworn, the archbiſhop aſked him upon his oath, whether he had ever given him ſuch orders? To which he replied, *My lords, upon the oath I have taken, I received an expreſs direction and command from the archbiſhop himſelf to do what I did of this kind, otherwiſe I durſt never have done it.** The archbiſhop inſiſting that he never gave him ſuch orders, and wondering he ſhould be ſo unworthy as to affirm it upon oath, Sir *Nath.* produced the following letter under the archbiſhop's own hand, directed to himſelf at Maidſtone.

"SIR,

"I require you to command the communion-table at
"Maidſtone to be placed at the eaſt, or upper end of the
"chancel, and there railed in, and that the communicants
"there come up to the rail to receive the bleſſed ſacrament;

§ Prynne, p. 62, 91, &c. * Laud's Hiſt. p. 310.

"*and*

" *and the like you are required to do in all churches, and in* " *all other places where you viſit metropolitically.*

" W. CANT."

To which the archbiſhop, being out of countenance, made no other reply, but that he had forgot it.*

As to the furniture upon the altar, he added, that it was no other than was uſed in the king's chapel at Whitehall before his time, and was both neceſſary and decent; as is likewiſe the *credentia*, or ſide-table, the form of which he took from biſhop *Andrews*'s model; and the piece of *arras* that was hung up over the altar in paſſion week, he apprehended was very proper for the place and occaſion, ſuch repreſentations being approved by the Lutherans, and even by *Calvin* himſelf, as had been already ſhewn.

The managers replied to the antiquity of *altars*, that though the name is often mentioned in ſcripture, yet it is never applied to the *Lord's table*; but *altars* and *prieſts* are put in oppoſition to the Lord's table and miniſters of the New Teſtament, 1 *Cor.* ix. 13, 14. Chriſt himſelf celebrated the ſacrament at a table, not at an altar, and he calls it a ſupper, not a ſacrifice; nor can it be pretended by any law or canon of the church of England, that it is called an altar more than once, ſtat. 1 *Edw.* VI. cap. 1, which ſtatute was repealed within three years, and another made, in which the word *altar* is changed into *table*. It is evident from the unanimous ſuffrage of moſt of the fathers that lived within three hundred years after Chriſt, and by our moſt learned reformers, that for above two hundred and fifty years after Chriſt, there were no altars in churches, but only tables; pope *Sixtus* II. being the firſt that introduced them;‖ and the canons of the popiſh council of Aix, 1583, being the only ones that can be produced for railing them in; one of which preſcribes thus, *unumquodque altare ſepiatur omnino ſepto ferreo, vel lapideo, vel ligneo.*† Let every altar be encompaſſed with a rail of iron, ſtone, or wood. The text, *Heb.* xiii. 10. *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which ſerve the tabernacle*, is certainly meant of *Chriſt himſelf*, and not of the *altar of wood or ſtone*, as our pro-

* Prynne, p. 89. ‖ Prynne, p. 480, 481. † Prynne, p. 62.

teſtant

teſtant writers have proved at large; agreeably to which all altars in churches were commanded to be taken away and removed, as ſuperſtitious and popiſh, by publick laws and injunctions at the reformation, and *tables* were ſet up in their ſtead, which continued till the archbiſhop was pleaſed to turn them again into *altars*.

But the archbiſhop is pleaſed to maintain, *that the queen's injunctions preſcribe the communion table to be ſet in the place where the altar ſtood, and that this was anciently at the eaſt end of the choir;* whereas we affirm, that he is not able to produce one precedent or authority in all antiquity for this aſſertion; on the contrary, we are able to demonſtrate to your lordſhips, that *altars* and *Lord's tables*, amongſt Jews and *chriſtians*, ſtood anciently in the midſt of their churches or *choirs*;* where the people might ſit, ſtand, and go conveniently round them. So it was certainly in the Jewiſh church, as every one allows; and it was ſo in the chriſtian church, till the very darkeſt times of popery, when private maſſes were introduced.† *Euſebius*, *Dionyſius Areopagita*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Athanaſius*, *Auguſtine*, &c. affirm, that the table of the Lord ſtood *in the middle of the chancel*, ſo that they might compaſs it about; nay, *Durandus*, a popiſh writer, informs us, that when a biſhop conſecrates a *new altar*, he muſt go round about it ſeven times; by which it is evident it could not ſtand againſt a wall; but our moſt eminent writers againſt popery, as *Bucer*, biſhop *Jewel*, biſhop *Babington*, biſhop *Morton*, and archbiſhop *Williams*, have proved this ſo evidently, that there is no room to call it in queſtion; and we are able to produce ſeveral authorities from venerable *Bede*, St. *Auſtin* the firſt archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and others, that they ſtood thus in England in their times.

Nor do queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions in the leaſt favour the archbiſhop's practice, of fixing the communion-table to the eaſt wall with rails about it, for they order *the table to*

* *Choir* or *chorus* has its denomination from the multitude ſtanding round about the altar [*in modum coronæ*] in the form of a ring or circle. In the ancient liturgies they prayed for all thoſe that ſtood round about the altar.—The prieſts and deacons ſtood round about the altar when they officiated, and ſo did the biſhops when they conſecrated it.

† Prynne, p. 482, 484. Vide Biſhop Williams's Life, p. 109.

be removed when the ſacrament is to be diſtributed, and placed in ſuch ſort within the chancel, as whereby the miniſter may be more conveniently heard of the communicants, and the communicants may more conveniently, and in greater numbers, communicate with him. Now, if it be to be removed at the time of communion, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe it to be fixed to the wall, and encompaſſed with rails. Beſides, the rubrick of the common-prayer-book, and the eighty-ſecond canon of 1603, appoint the communion table to be placed in the body of the church, where the chancel is too ſmall, or near the middle of the chancel, where it is large enough; and thus they generally ſtood in all churches, chapels, and in Lambeth chapel itſelf till the archbiſhop's time, which puts the matter out of queſtion.* And if it be remembered, that the ſaying of private maſſes brought in this ſituation of altars into the church of Rome, contrary to all antiquity, the archbiſhop's imitating them in this particular muſt certainly be a popiſh innovation.

The furniture upon the altar, which the archbiſhop pleads for, is exactly copied from the Roman pontifical and the popiſh council of Aix, and is condemned by our homilies and queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions, which cenſure, condemn, and aboliſh as ſuperſtitious, ethnical, and popiſh, all candleſticks, trendals, rolls of wax, and ſetting up of tapers, as tending to idolatry and ſuperſtition, *injunct.* 2, 23, 25. Therefore, inſtead of conforming to the chapel at Whitehall, he ought, as dean of that chapel, to have reformed it to our laws, homilies, and injunctions.

The like may be ſaid of the *credentia* [or ſide-table] which is taken expreſsly out of the Roman *ceremonial and pontifical*, and is uſed amongſt the papiſts only in their moſt ſolemn maſſes. It was never heard of in any proteſtant church, nor in the church of England, till the archbiſhop's time; and as for the ſtale pretext, of his having it from biſhop *Andrews*; if it be true, we are certain *that biſhop* could have it no where elſe but from the Roman *miſſal.*‖

The *arras* hangings, with the picture of Chriſt at his laſt ſupper, with a crucifix, are no leſs popiſh than the former, being enjoined by the Roman *ceremoniale*, *Ed. Par.* 1633,

* Prynne, p. 467, 481. ‖ Ibid. p. 63, 468.

lib.

lib. 1. *c.* 12, p. 69, 70, in theſe words, *Quod ſi altare parieti adhæreat, applicari poterit ipſi parieti ſupra altare pannus aliquis cæteris nobilior & ſpecioſior, ubi intextæ ſint D. N. Jeſu Chriſti aut glorioſæ virginis, vel ſanctorum imagines.* "If the "altar be fixed to the wall, let there be ſome hangings more "noble and beautiful than the reſt, faſtened upon the wall "over the altar, in which are wrought the images of Chriſt, "the bleſſed virgin, or the ſaints." Beſides, theſe things being condemned by our ſtatutes, homilies, and injunctions, as we have already proved, ought not certainly to have been introduced by a prelate, *who challenges all that is between heaven and hell, juſtly to tax him in any one particular ſavouring of popiſh ſuperſtition or idolatry.*

"Another innovation charged on the archbiſhop, was "his introducing divers ſuperſtitions into divine worſhip, "*as bowing towards the altar, bowing at the name of* JESUS, "*enjoining people to do reverence at their entrance into church,* "*reading the ſecond ſervice at the communion table, ſtanding* "*up at the* GLORIA PATRI,† *and introducing the uſe of copes* "*and church muſick.* They objected further, his repairing "old crucifixes, his new ſtatutes of the univerſity of Oxford, "among which, ſome were arbitrary, and others were ſu-"perſtitious; of the former ſort, are the impoſing new "oaths; the ſtatute of *bannition*; referring ſome miſde-"meanors to arbitrary penalties, and obliging ſtudents to "go to priſon on the vice-chancellor's or proctor's com-"mand. Of the latter ſort, are *bowing to the altar, ſinging* "*the litany, and reading Latin prayers in Lent;* together "with the abovementioned ſuperſtitions in the manner of "divine worſhip."*

The archbiſhop anſwered, that bowing in divine worſhip was practiſed among the Jews, 2 Chron. xxix. 29, and the pſalmiſt ſays, *O come, let us worſhip, and bow down, let us*

† "It is obſervable," remarks Mrs. *Macaulay*, "that the moſt ob-"noxious of thoſe ceremonies which *Laud* ſo childiſhly inſiſted on, were "eſtabliſhed at the Reſtoration, and have been ever ſince regularly prac-"tiſed in the church; and that many of his moſt offenſive meaſures have "been adopted by revolution miniſters, ſuch as the nominating clergymen "to be juſtices of peace, with reſtraints laid on marriage." Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 135, the note. ED.

* Prynne, p. 72, &c.

kneel

kneel before the Lord our maker, Pſal. xcv. 6, that it was uſual in queen *Elizabeth*'s time; and that the *knights of the garter* were obliged to this practice by the orders of their chapter. Beſides, the altar is the chief place of God's reſidence on earth, for there it is, *this is my body;* whereas in the pulpit it is only, *this is my word.* And ſhall I bow to men in each houſe of parliament, and not bow to God in his houſe whither I come to worſhip him? Surely I muſt worſhip God, and bow to him, though neither altar nor communion-table be in the church.‖

Bowing at the name of JESUS is preſcribed in direct terms by queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions, No. 12, and by the 18th canon of our church; and though ſtanding up at the *Gloria Patri* is not preſcribed by any canon of the church, it is nevertheleſs of great antiquity; nor is the reading the ſecond ſervice at the communion-table an innovation, it being the conſtant practice in cathedrals, and warranted by the rubrick.

The uſe of copes is preſcribed by the 24th canon of 1603, which ſays, *That in all cathedrals, and collegiate churches, the communion ſhall be adminiſtered on principal feaſt days, ſometimes by the biſhop if preſent, ſometimes by the dean, and ſometimes by the canon or prebendary, the principal miniſter uſing a decent cope;* ſo that here is no innovation, any more than in the uſe of *organs*, which our church has generally approved, and made uſe of.

As to the ſtatutes of the univerſity of Oxford, it is honour more than enough for me, that I have finiſhed and ſettled them; nor did I any thing in them but by the conſent of the convocation; and as to the particulars, there is nothing but what is agreeable to their charters, and the ancient cuſtom and uſage of the univerſity.§

The managers replied, that *bowing to the altar* is popiſh, ſuperſtitious, and idolatrous, being preſcribed only by popiſh canons, and introduced on purpoſe to ſupport the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which the archbiſhop's practice ſeems very much to countenance, when at his coming up to the altar to conſecrate the bread, he makes three low bows, and at his going away three more, giving this reaſon for it, *quia*

‖ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 313, 361. § Ibid. p. 304.

hoc

hoc eſt corpus meum, becauſe, *this is my body*; whereas he does not bow to the pulpit, becauſe a greater reverence is due to the *body* than to the *word of the Lord*.† Beſides, it has no foundation in antiquity, nor has it been approved by any proteſtant writers, except the archbiſhop's creatures, ſuch as Dr. *Heylin*, *Pocklington*, &c. and has been condemned by the beſt writers, as popiſh and ſuperſtitious. The black book of the knights of the garter at Windſor, is a ſorry precedent for a proteſtant archbiſhop to follow, being made in the darkeſt times of popery, viz. in the reign of *Henry* V. and if they bow *Deo & altari*, to God and to his altar, as the archbiſhop in the ſtar-chamber is of opinion chriſtians ought to do, we cannot but think it both popiſh and idolatrous. His paſſages of ſcripture are nothing to the purpoſe, for *kneeling before the Lord our maker*, has no relation to bowing to the altar; nor is there any canon or injunction of the church to ſupport the practice.

The archbiſhop confeſſes, that there is neither canon nor injunction for ſtanding up at the *gloria patri*, which muſt therefore be an innovation, and is of no greater antiquity than the office of the maſs, for it is derived from the *ordo Romanus*, as appears from the works of *Caſſander*, p. 98.* And though bowing at the name of JESUS be mentioned in the canons, yet theſe canons are not binding, not being confirmed by parliament,‖ eſpecially ſince the homilies, the common-prayer-book, the articles of religion, and the book of ordination, which are the only authentic rules of the church, make no mention of it; nor was it ever introduced before the time of pope *Gregory* X. who firſt preſcribed it; and from the councils of *Baſil*, *Sennes*, and *Auguſta*, it was afterwards inſerted in the Roman *ceremoniale*; beſides, our beſt proteſtant writers have condemned the practice.

Reading the ſecond ſervice at the altar, when there is no communion, is contrary to the canons of 1571, and 1603, contrary to the queen's injunctions, the homilies, the rubrick

† Prynne, p. 63, 64, 474, 477, 487. * Prynne, p. 64.

‖ Dr. *Grey* contends here, that the canons of a convocation duly licenſed by the king, when confirmed by royal authority, are properly the eccleſiaſtical laws of the church of England, and are as binding as the ſtatutes of parliament. ED.

in

in the common-prayer-book, and was never practiſed in pariſh-churches till of late, though uſed in ſome cathedrals, where the rubrick enjoins the communion to be adminiſtered every Sunday in the year, which being omitted, the *ſecond ſervice* at the table was left to ſupply it. The Lord's table was ordained only to adminiſter the ſacrament, but the epiſtle and goſpel, which are the chief parts of the ſecond ſervice, are appointed to be read with the two leſſons in the *reading pew*.§

As for COPES, neither the common-prayer-book, nor book of ordination, nor homilies confirmed by parliament, nor queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions in her firſt year, make any mention of them, though they are evidently derived from the popiſh wardrobe, and the laſt common-prayer-book of king *Edward* VI. expreſsly prohibits them.* The 24th canon of 1603, enjoins only the *chief miniſter* to wear a cope at the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, whereas the archbiſhop preſcribed them to be worn by others beſides the chief miniſter, and as well when the ſacrament was not adminiſtered as when it was. But, as we obſerved before, thoſe canons not being confirmed by parliament, expired with king *James*, and therefore can be no warrant for their preſent uſe. Nor is the uſe of *muſick in churches*, or chaunting of prayers, of any great antiquity, being firſt introduced by pope *Vitalian*, *A. D.* 666, and encouraged only by popiſh prelates.‖

And though the archbiſhop pleads, that the ſtatutes of Oxford are agreeable to ancient cuſtom and uſage, we affirm they contain ſundry innovations, not only with regard to the liberty of the ſubject, but with regard to religion, for Latin *prayers* were formerly ſaid only on *Aſh-Wedneſdays* before the *bachelors of arts*, whereas now none others are to be ſaid throughout all Lent; the ſtatute for ſinging in ſolemn proceſſions was made in time of popery, and renewed in theſe ſtatutes to keep up the practice of ſuch ſuperſtitious perambulations; and though the archbiſhop with his wonted aſſurance wonders what theſe things have to do with treaſon, we apprehend, that if they appear ſo many proofs of a de-

§ Prynne, p. 492. * Ibid. p. 64, 479, 480. ‖ Ibid. p. 65.

ſign *to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion of the church of England,** *they will be judged ſo in the higheſt degree.*†

Further they charged the archbiſhop with adviſing the king "*to publiſh his declaration for the uſe of ſports on the* "*Lord's day*, in order to ſuppreſs afternoon ſermons; with "obliging the clergy of his dioceſe to read it in their pul- "pits, and puniſhing thoſe that refuſed."‖

The archbiſhop anſwered, that he had the king's warrant for printing the *book of ſports*; that there is no proof that it was by his procurement, nor that it was done on purpoſe to take away *afternoon ſermons*, ſince theſe recreations are not allowed till they are over; beſides, the declaration allows only *lawful* recreations, which is no more than is practiſed at Geneva, though for his own part *he always obſerved ſtrictly the Lord's day*. What he enjoined about the reading the declaration was by his majeſty's command, and he did not puniſh above three or four for not reading it.‡

The commons replied, that it was evident, by the archbiſhop's letter to the biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, that the *declaration* was printed by his procurement, the warrant for printing it being written all with his own hand, and without date, and therefore might probably be obtained afterwards;§ moreover, ſome of the recreations mentioned in it are *unlawful* on the Lord's day, according to the opinion of *fa-*

* Mrs. *Macaulay* thinks, that to the charge of endeavouring to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion, and to ſet up popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, the archbiſhop was particularly ſtrong in his defence, and the allegations to ſupport the charge were particularly vague and trifling. "The truth is, as that author obſerves, "thoſe ſuperſtitious ceremonies which he with ſo "much blind zeal had endeavoured to revive, and which were ſo juſtly ri- "diculed and abhorred by the more enlightened proteſtants, were the diſ- "cipline of the firſt reformers in this country, and had the ſanction both "of the civil and eccleſiaſtical power: reformation had begun in England "at the wrong end; it was firſt adopted and modelled by government, in- "ſtead of being forced upon government by the general ſenſe of the "people; and thus, to further the ambitious views of the monarch, and "to gratify the pride of the prelacy, a great part of the myſtery of popery "was retained in the doctrine, and a great part of the puppet-ſhews of the "papiſts in the diſcipline, of the church of England." Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 135. Ed.

† Prynne, p. 478. ‖ Ibid. p. 128, 154, 382.

‡ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 343, 344. § Prynne, p. 505.

thers,

thers, *councils*, and *imperial laws*; and though *Calvin* differs from our proteſtant writers about the morality of the ſabbath, yet he expreſsly condemns dancing and paſtimes on that day. As for his *grace*'s own ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's day, it is an averment without truth, for he ſat conſtantly at the council-table on that day; and it was his ordinary practice to go to bowls in the ſummer time, and uſe other recreations upon it; nor is it probable, that the archbiſhop would have puniſhed conſcientious miniſters for not reading the book of ſports, if the thing had been diſagreeable to his practice, eſpecially when there is no warrant at all in the declaration that miniſters ſhould publiſh it, or be puniſhed for refuſing it; and that he puniſhed no more, was not owing to his clemency, who gave command to ſuſpend all that refuſed, but to the clergy's compliance; for ſo zealous was this archbiſhop and ſome of his brethren in this affair, that it was inſerted as an article of enquiry in their viſitations, *whether the king's declaration for ſports has been read and publiſhed by the miniſter?* And defaulters were to be preſented upon oath. Now we appeal to the whole chriſtian world, whether ever it has been known, that any who have been called *fathers of the church*, have taken ſo much pains to have the Lord's day prophaned, as firſt to adviſe the king to publiſh a declaration to warrant it, then to enjoin the clergy to read it in their pulpits, and to ſuſpend, ſequeſter, and deprive, all whoſe conſciences would not allow them to comply, and this not only contrary to the laws of God, but to the laws of the land.

The reader will, no doubt, remark upon this part of the archbiſhop's trial, that thoſe rites and ceremonies which have bred ſuch ill blood, and been contended for with ſo much fierceneſs, as to diſturb the peace of the church, and divide its communion, have no foundation in ſcripture, or primitive antiquity, taking their riſe for the moſt part in the darkeſt and moſt corrupt times of the papacy. I ſpeak not here of ſuch rites as are eſtabliſhed by law, as the *croſs in baptiſm*, and *kneeling* at the *communion*, &c. becauſe the commons could not charge theſe on the archbiſhop as criminal. And it will be obſerved further, that when men claim a right to

introduce ceremonies for decency of worſhip, and impoſe them upon the people, there can be no bounds to a fruitful invention. Archbiſhop *Laud* would, no doubt, by degrees, have introduced all the follies of the Roman church; and admitting his authority to impoſe rites and ceremonies not mentioned in ſcripture, it is not eaſy to give a reaſon why fifty ſhould not be enjoined as well as five.

The managers went on next to the *ſecond branch of their charge*, to prove the archbiſhop's deſign to ſubvert the proteſtant religion, BY COUNTENANCING AND ENCOURAGING SUNDRY DOCTRINAL ERRORS IN FAVOUR OF ARMINIANISM§ AND POPERY.

And here they charged him, *firſt*, "with being the great "patron of that part of the clergy who had declared themſelves in favour of theſe errors, and with procuring their "advancement to the higheſt ſtations in the church, even "though they were under cenſure of parliament, as Dr. "*Manwaring*, *Montague*, &c. They averred, that the beſt "preferments in his majeſty's gift, ever ſince the archbiſhop's "adminiſtration in 1627, had by his advice been beſtowed "on perſons of the ſame principles; and that he had adviſed the king to publiſh a declaration, prohibiting the "clergy to preach on the *five controverted points*, by virtue

§ The reader has ſeen, in the preceding part of this reign, and in that of *James* I. how arminianiſm became connected with the politicks of the time. There is no natural, or neceſſary union between arminianiſm and deſpotiſm. And at the ſame time that the court in England protected and patroniſed the Arminians, and in return received from them a ſanction to its arbitrary views; the reverſe took place in Holland: where the Arminians, favoured by the magiſtrates of the ſtates, oppoſed the aſpiring deſigns of the ſtadtholder *Maurice*; and the Calviniſts, on the contrary, who were there called Gomariſts, eſpouſed his intereſt, and ſeconded his ambitious and arbitrary meaſures againſt the liberty of their country. Theſe have continued the dominant party to this day: and the moſt violent of them have not only the ſway in the church, but their favour is courted by the prince, who finds his intereſt advanced by a connection with them. In this inſtance the Dutch calviniſts, while they maintain all the rigour of his theological ſyſtem, have greatly and ignominouſly deviated from the political principles of their illuſtrious founder; whoſe character as a legiſlator, more than as a divine, diſplayed the ſtrength of his genius; and whoſe wiſe edicts were dictated by genuine patriotiſm and the ſpirit of liberty. Appendix to the xiith vol. of the Monthly Review enlarged, p. 523, and Roſſeau's Social Compact, p. 112, note. ED.

"of

"of which the mouths of the orthodox preachers were "ſtopped, and ſome that ventured to tranſgreſs the king's "declaration were puniſhed in the high commiſſion, when "their adverſaries were left at large to ſpread their opinions "at their pleaſure."

The archbiſhop anſwered, that he had not defended any points of *arminianiſm*, tho' he heartily wiſhed, for the peace of chriſtendom, that theſe differences were not purſued with ſuch heat and animoſity.* He confeſſed that he had been taxed in a declaration of the houſe of commons as a favourer of *arminians*, but without proof, and he took it as a very great ſlander. Nor had he, to the beſt of his remembrance, advanced any ſuch to eccleſiaſtical livings; if they proved ſo afterwards it was more than he could foreſee; but he had preferred divers orthodox miniſters, againſt whom there was no exception. He denied that he had any hand in the preferment of Dr. *Manwaring* or *Montague*, who were under cenſure of parliament, nor is the *pocket-book* a ſufficient proof of it; he was of opinion, that *Neal*, *Lindſey*, *Wren*, *Bancroft*, *Curle*, and others mentioned in the charge, were worthy men, and every way qualified for their preferments, though it does not appear he had any hand in beſtowing them. As for the king's declaration prohibiting the clergy to preach the *five points*, it was his majeſty's own, and not his; and ſince the publiſhing of it he had endeavoured to carry it with an equal hand, and to puniſh the tranſgreſſors of it on one ſide as well as the other.‡

The commons replied that they wondered at the archbiſhop's aſſurance in denying his endeavours to promote *arminianiſm* in the church; that the remonſtrance of the commons was a ſufficient evidence of his guilt, being confirmed by many proofs, though his anſwer to it proved ſo full of bitterneſs and faucineſs, as throwing ſcandal on the whole repreſentative body of the nation.†

As to the particulars, they ſay, that his preferring Mr. *Downham* and *Taylor*, orthodox men, to ſome benefices, was only a blind to cover his advancing ſo many popiſhly affected clergymen. It is known to all the world that *Mon-*

* Laud's Hiſt. p. 352. Prynne, p. 529. ‡ Prynne, p. 508.
† Prynne, p. 529.

tague

tague and *Manwaring* were his creatures; the pocket-book ſays, that his majeſty's royal aſſent to their preferment was ſigned by order of this prelate, (when only biſhop of *London*,) and himſelf was the perſon that conſecrated them. It would be too long to go into particulars, but every body knows, that the diſpoſal of all, or moſt of the biſhopricks, deanries, and conſiderable benefices ſince the year 1627, have been under the direction of this archbiſhop; and what ſort of perſons have been preferred is apparent to all men, by the preſent diſtracted condition of the church and univerſities.

The king's declaration for prohibiting preaching on the five controverted points, was an artifice of the archbiſhop's to introduce the *arminian* errors, by preventing orthodox miniſters from awakening the minds of people againſt them. And whereas he avers, that he has carried it with an even hand, and could bring witneſſes from Oxford to prove it, we challenge him to name one ſcholar or miniſter that was ever impriſoned, deprived, ſilenced, proſecuted in the high commiſſion, or caſt out of favour on this account; there was indeed one *Rainsford* an *arminian*, who, in the year 1632, was obliged publickly to confeſs his error in diſobeying his majeſty's declaration, and that was all his puniſhment; whereas great numbers of the other ſide have been perſecuted, ſo as to be forced to abandon their native country, at a time when the moſt notorious and declared *arminians* were advanced to the beſt preferments in the church, as *Montague* made a biſhop, *Harſnet* an archbiſhop, *Lindſey* promoted to two biſhopricks; *Potter* to a deanry, and *Duppa* to a deanry and biſhoprick, and made tutor to the prince, &c.*

The managers objected further to the archbiſhop, "that "having obtained the ſole licenſing of the preſs, by a de- "claration of the ſtar-chamber in the year 1637, he had "prohibited the reprinting ſundry orthodox books formerly "printed, and ſold by authority, as the Geneva *Bible* with "notes, *Gellibrand's Proteſtant Almanack*, in which the "popiſh ſaints were left out of the kalendar, and proteſtant "martyrs put in their places; that his chaplains had refuſed "to licenſe the *confeſſion of faith* of the *Palatine* churches, "*Fox*'s book of martyrs, biſhop *Jewel*'s works, ſome part

* Prynne, p. 172, 511.

"of

" of Dr. *Willet*'s, and the *Hiſtory of the Gun-Powder-Trea-*
" *ſon*, as was atteſted by the clerks of Stationer's-Hall, and
" this reaſon given for the refuſal, that we were not now
" ſo angry with the papiſts as formerly, and therefore it was
" not proper to exaſperate them, there being a deſign on
" foot to win them by mildneſs. That the archbiſhop had
" ſuppreſſed ſundry new books written againſt *arminianiſm*
" and *popery*, and had caſtrated others, expunging ſuch paſ-
" ſages as reflected upon the ſuperſtition and idolatry of that
" church;"† a large catalogue of which the commons pro-
duced; many authors appeared in maintenance of this part of the charge, and among others, Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Clarke*, Dr. *Jones*, Mr. *Ward*, &c.‖ It was ſaid in particular, " that
" he had expunged divers paſſages, which bore hard upon
" the papiſts, out of the collection of publick prayers for a
" general faſt againſt the plague; and that in the prayer-
" book appointed by authority for the 5th of Nov. inſtead
" of *root out that babyloniſh and antichriſtian ſect, whoſe re-*
" *ligion is rebellion, whoſe faith is faction, and whoſe prac-*
" *tice is murdering of ſoul and body;* he had altered that
" paſſage, and artfully turned it againſt the puritans, thus,
" *Root out the antichriſtian ſect of them, who turn religion*
" *into rebellion, and faith into faction.*"

" And as the archbiſhop had caſtrated ſome books, be-
" cauſe they refuted the doctrines he would countenance;
" ſo he gave full licence to others, wherein the groſſeſt
" points of *arminianiſm* and *popery* were openly aſſerted;
" as *Coſins*'s hours of prayer, *Sales*'s introduction to a de-
" vout life, *Chriſt*'s epiſtle to a devout ſoul, and others, in
" which the following doctrines were maintained, (1.) The
" neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, and the power of prieſts
" to forgive ſins. (2.) The lawfulneſs and benefit of popiſh
" penance, as wearing hair-cloth, and other corporal pu-
" niſhments. (3.) Abſolute ſubmiſſion to the commands of
" prieſts as directors of conſcience. (4.) That in the ſacra-
" ment, the body and blood of Chriſt is a true and proper
" ſacrifice; that the natural body and blood of Chriſt is
" really and ſubſtantially preſent in the euchariſt; and that
" there can be no true ſacrament or conſecration of it

† Prynne, p. 179, 180, 182, &c. ‖ Ibid. p. 254, 255, 257, 258, &c.

" where

"where there is no altar. (5.) That crucifixes, images, and "pictures, may be lawfully ſet up in churches, and ought "not to be removed. (6.) That the pope is not antichriſt. "(7.) That there are venial ſins. (8.) That there is a "purgatory or limbus patrum. (9.) That the reliques of "ſaints are to be preſerved and reverenced. (10.) That "the Virgin *Mary* and ſaints are to be invoked and prayed "to. (11.) That the church of Rome is the mother "church, and never erred in fundamentals. (12.) That "there are written traditions of equal authority with the "word of God."‖ To which were added, ſundry articles of *arminian* doctrine, as of free-will, total and final apoſtacy from grace; examples of which the managers produced from the ſeveral authors.

And as a further encouragement to popery, they objected his *grace*'s "conniving at the importation of popiſh books, "and reſtoring them to the owners when ſeized by the "ſearchers, contrary to the ſtatute of 3 *Jacob.* I. by which "means many thouſands of them were diſperſed over the "whole kingdom; whereas he gave the ſtricteſt commands "to his officers to ſeize all imported Bibles with notes, and "all books againſt arminian and popiſh innovations. All "which put together amount to no leſs than a demonſtra-"tion of the archbiſhop's deſign to ſubvert our eſtabliſhed re-"ligion, by introducing doctrinal arminianiſm and popery."†

The archbiſhop anſwered, that the decree of the ſtar-chamber for regulating the preſs was the act of the whole court, and not his; that the *ſtationers* themſelves gave him thanks for it; and he is ſtill of opinion, that it was both a neceſſary and uſeful act, being deſigned to ſuppreſs ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and mutinous books.‡ As to the particulars, he replied, that the Geneva *Bible* was only tolerated, not allowed by authority, and deſerved to be ſuppreſſed for the marginal note on *Exod.* i. 17, which allows diſobedience to the king's command. *Gellibrand*'s almanack had left out all the ſaints and apoſtles, and put in thoſe named by Mr. *Fox*, and therefore deſerved to be cenſured. As to the book of martyrs, it was an abridgment of that book I oppoſed (ſays his grace), leſt the book itſelf ſhould be brought into

‖ Prynne, p. 188, 202. † Prynne, p. 349. ‡ Laud's Hiſt. p. 350.

diſuſe,

diſuſe, and leſt any thing material ſhould be left out. But the licenſing of books was left in general to my chaplains, for an archbiſhop had better grind, than take that work into his own hands; and whereas it has been inferred, that what is done by my chaplain muſt be taken as my act, I conceive no man can by law be puniſhed criminally for his ſervant's fact, unleſs it be proved that he had a hand in it.

The like anſwer the archbiſhop gave to the caſtrating and licenſing books,—his chaplains did it; and ſince it was not proved they did it by his expreſs command, they muſt anſwer for it. He admits, that he altered the prayers for the 5th of Nov. and for the *general faſt* by his majeſty's command; and he is of opinion the expreſſions were too harſh, and therefore ought to be changed.

He denied that he ever connived at the importation of popiſh books; and if any ſuch were reſtored to the owners, it was by order of the high commiſſion, and therefore he is not anſwerable for it.

The commons replied, that the decree for regulating the preſs was procured by him with a deſign to enlarge his juriſdiction; and though ſome things in it might deſerve the thanks of the *ſtationers*, they complained loudly that books formerly printed *by authority*, might not be reprinted without a new licence from himſelf.§——As to particulars, they affirm that the Geneva *Bible* was printed by authority of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James*, *cum privilegio*; and in the 15th *Jacob.* there was an impreſſion by the king's own printer, notwithſtanding the note upon *Exodus*, which is warranted both by fathers and canoniſts. *Gellibrand*'s almanack was certainly no offence, and therefore did not deſerve that the author ſhould be tried before the high commiſſion; and if the queen and the papiſts were offended at it, it was to be liked never the worſe by all good proteſtants. The archbiſhop is pleaſed, indeed, to caſt the whole blame of the preſs on his *chaplains*; but we are of opinion (ſay the managers) that the archbiſhop is anſwerable for what his chaplains do in this caſe; the truſt of licenſing books being originally inveſted in him, his chaplains being his deputies, he muſt anſwer for them at his peril. When the

§ Prynne, p. 515.

archbiſhop

archbiſhop of *York* in the reign of *Edward* I. was queſtioned in parliament, for excommunicating two ſervants of the biſhop of *Durham*, employed in the king's ſervice, the archbiſhop threw the blame on his commiſſary, who was the perſon that excommunicated them; but it was then reſolved in parliament, that the commiſſary's act was his own, and he was fined four thouſand marks to the king. Now the *commiſſary* was an officer eſtabliſhed by law; but the archbiſhop's chaplains are not officers by law, and therefore dare not licenſe any thing without his privity and command.

Beſides, it is apparent theſe books were caſtrated by the archbiſhop's approbation, for otherwiſe he would have puniſhed the licenſers, printers, and publiſhers, as he always did when information was given of any new books publiſhed againſt the late innovations. His *grace* has forgot his refuſing to licenſe the *Palatine Confeſſion of Faith*, which is his peculiar happineſs when he can make no anſwer; and it looks a little undutiful in him to caſt the alteration of the prayers for Nov. 5, on the king, when every body knows by whom the king's conſcience was directed.‖

And whereas the archbiſhop denies his conniving at the importation of popiſh books, he does not ſo much as alledge that he ordered ſuch books to be ſeized as he ought to have done; he confeſſes that ſuch books as were ſeized, had been reſtored by order of the high commiſſion, whereas it had been ſworn to be done by his own order; but if it had not, yet he being preſident of that court ought to have croſſed thoſe orders, *that court* not daring to have made any ſuch reſtitutions without his conſent; ſo that we cannot but be of opinion that the whole of this charge, which ſhews a manifeſt partiality on the ſide of *arminianiſm* and *popery*, and the ſtrongeſt and moſt artificial attempts to propagate theſe errors in the nation, ſtill remains in its full ſtrength.

The managers went on to charge the archbiſhop with his "ſevere proſecution of thoſe clergymen, who had dared to "preach againſt the dangerous increaſe of *arminianiſm* and "*popery*, or the late innovations; they inſtanced in Mr. "*Chauncy*, Mr. *Workman*, Mr. *Davenport*, and others; ſome

* Prynne, p. 522.

"of

"of whom were puniſhed in the high commiſſion for not "railing in the communion-table, and for preaching againſt "images; and when Mr. *Davenport* fled to New-England "to avoid the ſtorm, the archbiſhop ſaid, *his arm ſhould* "*reach him there.* They objected further, *his ſuppreſſing* "*afternoon ſermons on the Lord's day*, and the laudable de- "ſign of buying in impropriations, which was deſigned for "the encouraging ſuch lecturers."*

The archbiſhop anſwered, that the cenſures paſſed on the miniſters abovementioned, was the act of the high commiſſion and not his; and he confeſſes their ſentences appeared juſt and reaſonable, in as much as the paſſages that occaſioned them, were againſt the laudable ceremonies of the church, againſt the king's declaration, tending to infuſe into the minds of people groundleſs fears and jealouſies of popery, and to caſt aſperſions on the governors of the church; that therefore, if he did ſay, *his arm ſhould reach* Mr. Davenport *in New-England*, he ſees no harm in it, for there is no reaſon that the plantations ſhould ſecure offenders againſt the church of England, from the edge of the law; and he meddled with none except ſuch as were *puritanical*, *factious*, *ſchiſmatical*, and enemies to the good orders of the church.§

As to the *ſuppreſſing afternoon ſermons*, the inſtructions for turning them into catechizing was before his time, and he could not but approve of the deſign, as a proper expedient for preſerving peace between miniſters and people, the lecturers being for the moſt part factious, and the occaſion of great contentions in the pariſhes where they preached.‡

He confeſſed, that he overthrew the deſign of buying up impropriations, and thanked God he had deſtroyed it, becauſe he conceived it a plot againſt the church, for if it had ſucceeded, more clergymen would have depended on theſe *feoffees* than on the king, and on all the peers and biſhops beſide; but he proceeded againſt them according to law, and if the ſentence was not juſt, it muſt be the *judges'* fault and not his.

The commons replied, that it was notorious to all men how cruel he had been towards all thoſe who had dared to

* Prynne, p. 361, 362, &c. § Laud's Hiſt. p. 332, 348.

‡ Prynne, p. 537.

make

make a ſtand againſt his proceedings. They put him in mind of *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Baſtwick*, and of great numbers whom he had forced into Holland, and into the plantations of America, to avoid the ruin of themſelves and families; yea, ſo implacable was this prelate, that he would neither ſuffer them to live in the land nor out of it, an embargo being laid on all miniſters going to New-England; and if any ſuch got over clandeſtinely, he threatened *his arm ſhould reach them there.* In vain does he ſhelter his ſevere proceedings under the authority of the court, for if this plea be admitted, no corrupt judges or counſellors can be brought to juſtice for the moſt arbitrary proceedings; but in reality, *the act of the court is the act of every particular perſon that gives his vote for it, and every individual member is accountable.* Many inſtances of this might be produced; but there has been one very lately, in the caſe of *ſhip-money*, which is freſh in the memory of all men; and we do aver, that the ſermons or books, for which the above-mentioned perſons ſuffered ſo ſeverely, were neither factious nor ſeditious, but neceſſary for theſe times, wherein the proteſtant religion runs ſo very low, and ſuperſtition and popery are coming in like a flood.*

As to the inſtructions for *ſuppreſſing afternoon ſermons*, whenſoever they were drawn up, it is evident he was the man that put them in execution, and levelled them againſt thoſe conſcientious perſons who ſcrupled reading the prayers in their *ſurplice* and *hood*, or taking a living with cure of ſouls, all ſuch perſons, how orthodox ſoever in doctrine, or how diligent ſoever in their callings, and pious in their lives, being reputed factious, ſchiſmatical, and unworthy of the leaſt employment in the church.†

As to the *impropriations*, there was no deſign in the feoffees to render the clergy independent on the biſhops, for none were preſented but conformable men, nor did any preach but ſuch as were licenſed by the biſhop; indeed the deſign being to encourage the preaching of the word of God, the *feoffees* were careful to employ ſuch perſons as would not be idle; and when they perceived the archbiſhop was bent

* Prynne, p. 335, &c. † Ibid. p. 370, 537, 538.

on

on their ruin, Mr. *White* went to his *grace*, and promiſed to rectify any thing that was amiſs, if the thing itſelf might ſtand. But he was determined to deſtroy it, and by his mighty influence obtained a decree, that the money ſhould be paid into the king's *exchequer*, by which an end was put to one of the moſt charitable deſigns for the good of the church, that has been formed theſe many years.*

The laſt charge of the managers was "his grace's open "attempts to reconcile the church of England with the "church of Rome, as appears, *firſt*, by the papal titles "he ſuffered the univerſities to give him in their letters, as "*ſanctitas veſtra*, your holineſs; *ſanctiſſime pater*, moſt holy "father; *ſpiritus ſancti effuſiſſime plenus*, full of the holy "ghoſt; *ſummus pontifex, optimus maximuſque in terris*, &c. "agreeably to this he aſſumed to himſelf the title of PATRI-"ARCH, or pope of Great-Britain, *alterius orbus papa*; "which gave the Romaniſts ſuch an opinion of him, that "they offered him twice a cardinal's hat; though, as things "then ſtood, he did not think it prudent to receive it.‖ But "Sir *H. Mildmay*, and Sir *N. Brent* ſwore, that both at "Rome and elſewhere, he was reputed a papiſt in his heart;† "which opinion was not a little confirmed, (1.) By his for-"bidding the clergy to pray for the converſion of the queen "to the proteſtant faith. (2.) By his owning the church "of Rome to be a true church; by denying the pope to "be antichriſt, and wiſhing a reconciliation with her; and "affirming that ſhe never erred in fundamendals, no, not in "the worſt of times. (3.) By his ſowing diſcord between "the church of England and foreign proteſtants, not only "by taking away the privileges and immunities of the French "and Dutch *churches* in theſe kingdoms, but by denying "their miniſters to be true miniſters, and their churches "true churches. (4.) By maintaining an intimate corre-"ſpondence with the pope's nuncio and with divers prieſts "and jeſuits, conniving at the liberties they took in the "Clink, and elſewhere, and threatening thoſe purſuivants "who were diligent in apprehending them; to all which

* Prynne, p. 537. ‖ Prynne, p. 441. † Prynne, p. 409, &c.

"they

" they added, the influence the archbiſhop had in marrying " the king to a papiſt, and his concealment of a late plot to " reduce theſe kingdoms to popery and ſlavery."†

To this long charge the archbiſhop gave ſome general anſwers, in ſatyrical and provoking language: My lords, (ſays he) I am charged with an endeavour to reconcile the church of England to the church of Rome; I ſhall recite the ſum of the evidence, and of the arguments to prove it. (1.) I have reduced ſeveral perſons from popery, whom I have named in my ſpeech; *ergo*, I have endeavoured to bring in popery. (2.) I have made a canon againſt popery, and an oath to abjure it; *ergo*, I have endeavoured to introduce it. (3.) I have been twice offered a cardinalſhip and refuſed it, becauſe I would not be ſubject to the pope; *ergo*, I have endeavoured to ſubject the church of England to him. (4.) I wrote a book againſt popery; *ergo*, I am inclinable to it. (5.) I have been in danger of my life from a popiſh plot; *ergo*, I cheriſhed it, and endeavoured to accompliſh it. (6.) I endeavoured to reconcile the *lutherans* and *calviniſts*; *ergo*, I laboured to bring in popery.*

To the particulars he replied, that whatever papal power he had aſſumed, he aſſumed it not in his own right, as the popes did, but from the king. That the ſtile of *holineſs* was given to St. *Auguſtine*, and others, and therefore not peculiar to the pope; why then ſhould ſo grave a man as Mr. *Brown* (ſays he) diſparage his own nation, as if it were impoſſible for an Engliſh biſhop to deſerve as good a title as another? As for the other titles, they muſt be taken as compliments for my having deſerved well of the univerſity; but after all, it is one thing to aſſume *papal titles*, and another to aſſume papal power. As to the title of *patriarch, or pope of the other world*; it is the title that *Anſelm* ſays belongs to the archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, and not ſo great an one as St. *Jerom* gave to St. *Auguſtine*, when he wrote to him with this title, *Beatiſſimo papæ Auguſtino*. I confeſs I have been offered a cardinal's hat, but refuſed it, ſaying, *I could not accept it till Rome was otherwiſe than it now is.*

† Prynne, p. 539.

* Laud's Hiſt. p. 285, 286, 325, &c. Prynne, p. 543. Laud's Hiſt. p. 418, 419.

If,

If, after this, others will repute me a papiſt, I can't help it,§ I hope I ſhall not be anſwerable for their uncharitableneſs. Sir *Henry Mildmay* will witneſs how much I am hated and ſpoken againſt at Rome. It does not appear that I forbad miniſters praying for the queen's converſion; but when I was told the queen was prayed for in a factious and ſeditious manner, I referred the matter to my viſitors, and do acknowledge that Mr. *Jones* was puniſhed in the high commiſſion on this account.‖

To the objection, of the church of Rome's being a *true church*, I confeſs myſelf of that opinion, and do ſtill believe, that ſhe never erred in fundamentals, for the foundations of the chriſtian religion are in the articles of the creed, and ſhe denies none of them; and it would be ſad if ſhe ſhould, for *it is through her that the biſhops of the church of England, who have the honour to be capable of deriving their calling from St.* Peter, *muſt deduce their ſucceſſion.** She is therefore a true church, though not an *orthodox one;* our religion and theirs is one in eſſentials, and people may be ſaved in either. It has not been proved, that I deny the pope to be antichriſt, though many learned men have denied it; nor do I conceive that our homilies affirm it; and if they did, I don't conceive myſelf bound to believe every phraſe that is in them. I confeſs, I have often wiſhed a reconciliation between the churches of England and Rome in a juſt and chriſtian way; and was in hopes in due time to effect it; but a reconciliation without truth and piety I never deſired.†

To the objection of the foreign proteſtant churches, I deny that I have endeavoured to ſow diſcord between them, but I have endeavoured to unite the *calviniſts* and *lutherans*; nor have I abſolutely unchurched them. I ſay indeed, in

§ It may be pertinent to obſerve here, that, though *Laud* did not approve the doctrinal articles of the church of Rome, "it is poſſible that "one who diſlikes many points of the Romiſh faith, may yet be very fond "of introducing her tyrannical government, and, in order to it, of amuſing "the poor laity with the long train of her gaudy and myſterious ceremo-"nies; that while they ſtand fondly gazing at this lure, and are buſied "about impertinencies, they may the more eaſily be circumvented in irre-"coverable bondage by men of deeper but more miſchievous deſigns."
Memoirs of Hollis, vol. ii. p. 578. Ed.

‖ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 383. * Ibid. p. 392. † Prynne, p. 556.

my

my book againſt *Fiſher*, according to St. *Jerom*, *No biſhop, no church;* and that none but a biſhop can ordain, except in caſes of inevitable neceſſity; and whether that be the caſe with the foreign churches, the world muſt judge.‖ The judgment of the church of England is, that church government by biſhops is unalterable, for the preface to the book of ordination ſays, that from the apoſtles' time there have been three orders of miniſters in the church, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons; now if biſhops are the apoſtles' ſucceſſors, and have continued in the church above ſixteen hundred years, what authority have any chriſtian ſtates to deprive them of that right which Chriſt has given them? As to the French and Dutch *churches* in this kingdom, I did not queſtion them for their ancient privileges, but for their new encroachments, for it was not the deſign of the queen [*Elizabeth*] to harbour them, unleſs they conformed to the Engliſh liturgy; now I inſiſted on this only with reſpect to thoſe who were of the ſecond deſcent, and born in England; and if all ſuch had been obliged to go to their pariſh churches as they ought, they would not have done the church of England ſo much harm as they have ſince done.§

To the fourth objection I anſwer, that I had no intimate correſpondence with prieſts or jeſuits, nor entertained them at my table, knowing them to be ſuch. I never put my hand to the releaſing any prieſt out of priſon, nor have I connived at the liberties they aſſumed; the witneſſes who pretended to prove this are either mean perſons, or ſtrongly prejudiced; and to moſt of the facts there is but one witneſs. As to the *nuncios* from Rome, it was not in my power to hinder their coming, the king having condeſcended to it, at the earneſt requeſt of the queen; nor had I any particular intimacy with them whilſt they were here; nor do I remember my checking the *purſuivants* in doing their duty. But if it could be ſuppoſed that I ſaid, *I will have nothing to do with any prieſt-catching knaves*, I hope the words are not treaſon; nor is it any offence not to be a perſecutor, or not to give ill language to jeſuits; and I do affirm, that I never *perſecuted* any orthodox miniſters or *puritans*, though I may have *perſecuted* ſome for their ſchiſms and miſdemeanors.*

‖ Laud's Hiſt. p. 374. Prynne, p. 540. § Ibid. p. 378.

* Laud's Hiſt. p. 394.

As

As to the king's marrying, it is not proved that I had any hand in it, though I acknowledge the duke of *Buckingham* did me the honour to make me his confeſſor. Nor did I conceal the late plot to bring in popery, but diſcovered it to the king as ſoon as I had intelligence of it; for the truth of which I appeal not only to my letters, but to the earl of *Northumberland* here preſent; who ſtood up, and ſaid, he remembered no ſuch thing.

The commons replied to the archbiſhop's general defence, that he had been fighting with his own ſhadow, for they never objected thoſe things to him for the purpoſes which he mentions; they never objected his reducing any from popery, but that many were hardened in it by his means. Nor did they object the canons or oath to prove him guilty of introducing popery, but to quite different purpoſes. So that the archbiſhop in theſe, and the other particulars abovementioned, has given us a ſpecimen of his ſophiſtry and jeſuitiſm, transforming his own defence into our charge and evidence, and making our objections ſtand as proofs of a fact, which they were not in the leaſt intended to ſupport.*

To the particulars they replied, that the titles he had aſſumed were peculiar to the papacy; that they were never aſſumed by any proteſtant archbiſhop before himſelf; nay, that in the times of popery there are hardly any examples of their being given to Engliſh biſhops, and that it is blaſphemy to give the title of *holineſs* in the abſtract to any but God himſelf; the archbiſhop therefore ought, in his anſwers to the letters of the univerſity, to have checked them, whereas he does not ſo much as mention theſe exorbitancies, nor find the leaſt fault with them. And though there be a difference between papal title and papal power, yet certainly his claiming the title of *alterius orbis papa*, pope of the other world, is a demonſtration that he was graſping at the ſame power in Great-Britain, as the pope had in Italy; and though, for prudent reaſons, he refuſed the cardinal's hat when it was offered, yet when he had made his terms, and accompliſhed that reconciliation between the two churches that he was contriving, no doubt he would have had his reward. Sir *Henry Mildmay* being ſummoned, at the archbiſhop's

* Prynne, p. 543.

requeſt, to give in evidence, how much he was hated and ſpoke againſt at Rome, ſwore that when he was at Rome ſome of the jeſuitical faction ſpoke againſt the archbiſhop, becauſe they apprehended he aimed at too great an eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction for himſelf; but the ſeculars commended and applauded him, becauſe of the near approaches he made to their church, and ſhewed himſelf favourable to their party. The like evidence was given by Mr. *Challoner*, and others.‖

And whereas the archbiſhop had ſaid, that it was not proved, that he forbid miniſters to pray for the queen's converſion, the managers produced Mr. *Hugh Radcliffe*, of St. Martin's, Ludgate, who ſwore that Sir *Nath. Brent*, his vicar-general, at a viſitation at Bow church, gave in charge to the clergy in his hearing, theſe words, *Whereas divers of you, in your prayers before ſermon, uſed to pray for the queen's converſion, you are to do ſo no more, for the queen does not doubt of her converſion.** And both before and after, the archbiſhop himſelf cauſed Mr. *Bernard*, Mr. *Peters*, and Mr. *Jones*, to be proſecuted in the high commiſſion on this account.† The archbiſhop having ſaid, that he never put his hand to the releaſing any prieſt out of priſon, the managers produced a warrant under his own hand, dated Jan. 31, 1633, for the releaſe of *William Walgrave*, depoſed to be a dangerous ſeducing prieſt, in theſe words:

"THESE are to will and command you, to ſet at full "liberty the perſon of *William Walgrave*, formerly com- "mitted to your cuſtody, and for your ſo doing this ſhall "be your ſufficient warrant.

"*W. Cant.*
"*R. Ebor.*"

But the archbiſhop's memory frequently failed him on ſuch occaſions.

His *grace* confeſſes the church of Rome to be a *true church*, whereas we aver her to be a falſe and antichriſtian one, for ſhe has no ſure foundation, no true head, no ordinances, ſacraments, or worſhip, no true miniſtry, nor government of Chriſt's inſtitution; ſhe yields no true ſubjection to Chriſt's laws, word, or ſpirit, but is overſpread with dam-

‖ Prynne, p. 413. * Ibid. p. 418. † Ibid. p. 444.

nable

nable errors in doctrine, and corruptions in manners and worſhip, and is therefore defined by our homilies to be a *falſe church*. Muſt ſhe not err in fundamentals, when ſhe affirms the church to be built on *Peter*, not upon Chriſt, and reſolves our faith into the church, and not into the ſcriptures? when ſhe deifies the *Virgin Mary*, and other ſaints, by giving them divine worſhip, and obliges us to adore the conſecrated bread in the ſacrament as the very body and blood of Chriſt; when ſhe denies the cup to the laity, obliges people to pray in an unknown tongue, and ſets up a new head of the church inſtead of Chriſt, with the keys of the kingdom of heaven at his girdle? What are theſe but fundamental errors, which nullify the church that maintains them? The religion of the church of Rome and ours is not one and the ſame, for theirs is no chriſtian religion, but a heap of ſuperſtition and idolatry; and his affirming ſalvation may be had in that church, is contrary to the opinion of our beſt proteſtant writers, who make her damnable errors the foundation of our ſeparation from her. And though the archbiſhop makes light of his not believing the pope to be *antichriſt*, we do aver, that our ſtatutes and homilies do either in direct or equivalent expreſſions define him to be *antichriſt*, and particularly in the ſubſidy act, 3 *Jac.* penned by the convocation.

But can any thing more fully demonſtrate the archbiſhop's deſign to reconcile the church of England with Rome, than his own confeſſion? He ſays, he has laboured this matter with a faithful and ſingle heart, *Reply to Fiſher*, p. 388, though not to the prejudice of truth and piety. But it muſt be obſerved, that the archbiſhop's deſign was not to bring over the church of Rome to us, but to carry us over to them; and what large advances he has made that way, appears by his ſetting up altars, crucifixes, images, and other innovations. What advance has the church of Rome made towards us? why, none at all; nor is it poſſible ſhe ſhould, till ſhe lays aſide her infallibility. The pretence, therefore, of the church of Rome's meeting us half way, was a mere *blind* to deceive the people of England, till he had carried them wholly over into her territories.

§ Prynne, p. 552, &c.

The archbiſhop has denied his endeavours to ſow diſcord among foreign proteſtants, and aſſerted his endeavours to reconcile the *lutherans* and *calviniſts*, though he has produced no evidence of it; but his late behaviour towards the Scots, on the account of their having no biſhops, and to the foreign ſettlements among ourſelves, is a ſufficient proof of the contrary. The maxim that he cites from St. *Jerom*, *No biſhop, no church*, is a plain perverting of his ſenſe, for his words are, *Ubi non eſt ſacerdos, non eſt eccleſia*; but it is well known that, according to St. *Jerom*, biſhops and preſbyters are one and the ſame in juriſdiction and office, and preſbyters have the power of ordination as well as biſhops; and therefore this is a concluſion of the archbiſhop's framing, which, if it be true, muſt neceſſarily unchurch all the foreign reformed churches, and render all the ordinations of their miniſters invalid, which is a ſufficient evidence of his enmity to them.*

As to the French and Dutch churches, who were ſettled by charter in the reign of king *Edward* VI. Mr. *Bulteel*'s book, of the manifold troubles of thoſe churches by this archbiſhop's proſecutions, evidently proves, that he invaded and diminiſhed their ancient immunities and privileges in all parts; and that he was ſo far from being their friend, that they accounted him their greateſt enemy.

To the fourth objection, relating to the archbiſhop's correſpondence with popiſh prieſts, we reply, that the archbiſhop's intimacy with Sir *Toby Mathew*, the moſt active jeſuit in the kingdom, has been fully proved; that he was ſometimes with him in his barge, ſometimes in his coach, ſometimes in private with him in his garden, and frequently at his table.† The like has been proved of *Sancta Clara*, St. *Giles Leander*, *Smith*, and *Price*, and we cannot but wonder at his denying that he knew them to be prieſts, when the evidence of his knowledge of ſome of them has been produced under his own hand; and the witneſſes for the others were no meaner perſons than the lords of the council, and the high commiſſioners, (among which was himſelf) employed to apprehend prieſts and delinquents; from whence we conclude, that all the archbiſhop's prede-

* Prynne, p. 541. † Prynne, p. 448, 456, 559, 561.

ceſſors,

ceſſors, ſince the reformation, had not half the intimacy with popiſh prieſts and jeſuits as himſelf, and his harbouring ſome of them that were native Engliſhmen, is within the ſtatutes of 23 *Eliz.* cap. 1, and 27 *Eliz.* cap. 2. It is very certain, that the liberty the jeſuits have enjoyed in priſon, and elſewhere, was owing to his connivance; and though the archbiſhop is ſo happy as not to remember his checking the officers for their diligence in apprehending popiſh prieſts, yet his diſtinction between not *perſecuting* papiſts, and *proſecuting* puritans, beſides the quibble, is an unanſwerable argument of his affection to the one beyond the other.‖

The managers produced ſix or eight witneſſes, to prove the archbiſhop's diſcountenancing and threatening ſuch as were active in apprehending prieſts and jeſuits. And though he would waſh his hands of the affair of the pope's nuncio, reſiding here in character, and holding an intimate correſpondence with the court, becauſe himſelf did not appear in it, yet it is evident, that ſecretary *Windebank*, who was the archbiſhop's creature and confident, held an avowed correſpondence with them. If he had no concern in this affair, ſhould he not, out of regard to the proteſtant religion, and church of England, even to the hazard of his archbiſhoprick, have made ſome open proteſtation, when *Gregorio Panzani* reſided here in character two years; *Gregory Con*, a Scot, for three years and two months; and laſt of all, count *Roſetti*, till driven away by the preſent parliament.*

It has been ſufficiently proved, that the archbiſhop was concerned in the Spaniſh and French matches, and in the inſtructions given to the prince at his going to Spain, to ſatisfy the pope's nuncio about king *James*'s having declared the pope to be *antichriſt*; for the duke of *Buckingham* was the prince's director, and himſelf acknowledged that he was the duke's confeſſor.

And as to the late plots of *Habernfield*, we have owned, in our evidences, that at firſt he diſcovered it to the king, becauſe he imagined it to be a plot of the *puritans*, but when he found the parties engaged in it to be papiſts, and among others, ſecretary *Windebank* and Sir *Toby Mathew* his own creatures, he then concealed his papers, called it a ſham plot,

‖ Prynne, p. 458, 448. * Ibid. p. 446.

and

and brow-beat the informers, whereas he ought at leaſt to have laid it before the parliament, that they might have ſifted it to the bran. But that it was a real plot, his own Diary, together with our latter diſcoveries, fully prove; and his concealment of it, we conceive to be an high and treaſonable offence, tending to ſubvert the proteſtant religion, and ſubject us to the church of Rome.‖

Thus, we humbly conceive, we have made a ſatisfactory reply to all the archbiſhop's anſwers, and have fully made good the whole of our charge, namely, that *the archbiſhop has traiterouſly endeavoured to deſtroy our civil liberties, and to introduce tyranny and arbitrary power;* and, *ſecondly*, that *he has endeavoured to ſubvert the proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed by law in theſe kingdoms, and to ſubject us to the church of Rome;* wherefore we do, in the name of all the commons of England, pray judgment againſt him as a traytor.

Before the archbiſhop withdrew from the bar, he moved the lords, that conſidering the length of his trial,* and the diſtance of time between the ſeveral days of hearing, they would allow him a day that he might ſet before their lordſhips in one view, the whole of the commons' charge, and his defence; to which they condeſcended, and appointed Sept. 2, which was five weeks from the laſt day of his trial.‖ When the archbiſhop appeared at the bar, he began with a moving addreſs, beſeeching their lordſhips to conſider his calling, his age, his long impriſonment, his ſufferings, his patience, and the ſequeſtration of his eſtate. He then complained, (1.) Of the uncertainty and generality of the commons' charge. (2.) Of the ſhort time that was allowed him for his anſwer. (3.) That he had been ſifted to the

‖ Prynne, p. 564, &c.

* It had been drawn out through more than three months, and he had been often, when ſummoned before the lords, ſent back unheard. This had, needleſsly, expoſed him to the ſcorns and revilings of the people, and to an expence which he could ill bear; for he never appeared but it coſt him ſix or ſeven pounds per day. His eſtate and goods had been ſequeſtered; and it was not till towards the end of his trial, and after repeated ſolicitations, that the commons allowed him two hundred pounds to ſupport his neceſſary expences. Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 138, note. Ed.

‖ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 412, 419.

bran,

bran, and had his papers taken from him. (4.) That the things he had taken moſt pains in, were for the publick good, and done at his own great expence, as the repair of St. Paul's, and the ſtatutes of Oxford. (5.) That many of the witneſſes were ſectaries and ſchiſmaticks, whereas, by the canon law, *no ſchiſmatick ſhould be heard againſt his biſhop.* He complained alſo of the number of witneſſes produced againſt him, which were above one hundred and fifty; whereas the civil law ſays, that the judges ſhould moderate things ſo as no man ſhould be oppreſſed with the multitude of witneſſes. (6.) That he had been charged with paſſionate and haſty words, which he hopes their lordſhips will pardon as human frailties. (7.) That other men's actions had been laid to his charge, as thoſe of his chaplains, and the actions of the high commiſſion and ſtar chamber, which, he inſiſts, cannot by any law be put upon him, it being a known rule, *Refertur ad univerſos quod publicè fit per majorem partem.* He then went over the particular charges above-mentioned, and concluded with a requeſt, that when the commons had replied to the facts, his council might be heard as to matters of law. The commons replied to the archbiſhop's ſpeech, Sept. 11, and the ſame day his council delivered in theſe two queries, (1.) *Whether in all, or any of the articles charged againſt the archbiſhop, there be contained any treaſon by the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom?* (2.) *Whether the impeachment and articles did contain ſuch certainties and particularities as are required by law in caſes of treaſon?** The lords ſent down the *queries* to the commons, who, after they had referred them to a committee of lawyers, agreed that the archbiſhop's council might be heard to the *firſt query*, but not to the ſecond. Accordingly, October 11, the archbiſhop being preſent at the bar, Mr. *Herne* propoſed to argue theſe two general queſtions.†

(1.) "Whether there be at this day any other treaſon "than what is enacted by the ſtatute 25th *Edward* III. *cap.* 2, "or enacted by ſome other ſubſequent ſtatute?"

(2.) "Whether any of the matters, in any of the arti- "cles charged againſt the archbiſhop, contain any of the

* Laud's Hiſtory, p. 422. † Ibid. p. 423.

treaſons

" treaſons declared by that law, or enacted by any ſubſe-
" quent law?"

And for the clearing of both theſe he humbly inſiſted, that an " *Endeavour to ſubvert the laws, the proteſtant re-*
" *ligion, and the rights of parliament, which are the three*
" *general charges to which all the particulars alledged againſt*
" *the archbiſhop may be reduced, is not treaſon within the*
" *ſtatute of* 25 Edward III. *nor any other particular ſtatute.*"*

In maintenance of this propoſition, he contended, *firſt*, " that the particulars alledged againſt the archbiſhop were
" not within the *letter* of the ſtatute of the 25th *Edward*
" III. and then argued, that the ſtatutes of this land ought
" not to be conſtrued by *equity* or *inference*, becauſe they
" are declarative laws, and were deſigned for the ſecurity
" of the ſubject in his life, liberty, and eſtate; and becauſe
" ſince the time of *Henry* IV. no judgment has been given
" in parliament for any treaſon not expreſsly contained, or
" declared, in that or ſome other ſtatute, but by *bill*; from
" whence it will follow, that the particulars charged againſt
" the archbiſhop, being only an *endeavour to ſubvert fun-*
" *damental laws*, are of ſo great latitude and uncertainty,
" that every action not warranted by law may be extended
" to treaſon, though there is no particular ſtatute to make
" it ſo. If it be replied, that the ſtatute of 25 *Edward* III.
" takes notice of *compaſſing or imagining*, we anſwer, it con-
" fines it to the death of the king; but an *endeavour to*
" *ſubvert the laws of the realm* is no determinate crime by
" the laws of England, but has been eſteemed an aggrava-
" tion of a crime, and has been uſually joined as the reſult
" of ſome other offence below treaſon."§

" The like may be obſerved to the ſecond charge, of *en-*
" *deavouring to ſubvert religion*; it is not treaſon by the letter
" of any law eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, for the ſtatute of
" 1 *Edward* VI. *cap.* 12, makes it but felony to attempt an
" alteration of religion by force, which is the worſt kind
" of attempt.‖

" As to the third charge, of *endeavouring to ſubvert the*
" *rights of parliament.* We inſiſt on the ſame reply that

* Laud's Hiſtory, p. 424, 425. § Ibid. p. 427. ‖ Ibid. p. 429.

" was

" was made under the firſt head. We allow that by the " ſtatute of 5 *Jac. cap.* 4, it is provided that if any man " ſhall put in practice to reconcile any of his majeſty's ſub- " jects to the pope or ſee of Rome, it ſhall be deemed " *treaſon*; but we conceive this does not reach the arch- " biſhop, becauſe (1.) He is charged only with an *endea-* " *vour*, whereas in the ſtatute it is *putting in practice.* (2.) " Becauſe the archbiſhop is charged with reconciling the " church of England with the church of Rome, whereas " in the ſtatute it is reconciling any of his majeſty's ſub- " jects to the ſee of Rome; now reconciling *with*, may as " well be conſtrued a reducing Rome to England, as Eng- " land to Rome.

" Thus, ſays Mr. *Hearn*, we have endeavoured to make " it appear, that none of the matters in any of the articles " charged, are treaſon within the letter of the law; indeed " the crimes, as they are laid in the charge, are many and " great, but their number cannot make them exceed their " nature; and if they be but crimes and miſdemeanors apart, " below treaſon, they cannot be made treaſon by putting " them together."†

Theſe arguments of the archbiſhop's council ſtaggered the houſe of *lords*, nor could the managers for the commons ſatisfy them in their reply; they had no doubts about the truth of the facts, but *whether any of them were treaſon by the laws of the land?**—this the *judges* very much queſtioned, and

† Laud's Hiſtory, p. 430.

* We cannot allow ourſelves to withhold here from our reader the juſt and important remarks of a late biographer of the archbiſhop. " It ap- " pears a great defect in the laws of a free and limited government, that " an attempt to ſubvert the conſtitution and mode of government, ſhould " not be judicially deemed a capital offence, puniſhable as ſuch. For, in a " juſt and political ſenſe, the man who endeavours to enſlave his country- " men, to deprive them of their natural and legal rights and privileges, " and inſtead of a free conſtitution of government, to introduce one that " is arbitrary and deſpotick; ſuch a man is undoubtedly guilty of as high " a crime, and is as much a traitor to his country, as he who attempts to " deprive the prince of the crown, and ought to be puniſhed with equal " ſeverity." Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 286. Nay, it may be added, that the ſeverity of the puniſhment ought to be regulated by the more hei- nous guilt, which attaches itſelf to the former than to the latter conduct; by the latter conduct the blow is aimed at the rights and proſperity of one perſon,

and therefore the lords deferred giving judgment, till the commons thought fit to take another method to obtain it.

Various are the accounts of the archbiſhop's behaviour on his trial; his friends and admirers flatter him beyond meaſure, and ſaid he perfectly triumphed over his accuſers; and his *grace* ſeems to be of the ſame mind, when he tells us, that *all men magnified his anſwer to the houſe of commons, but he forbore to ſet down in what language, becauſe it was high.*† Mr. *Prynne* allows, that "he made as full, as gal-"lant, and pithy a defence, and ſpake as much for himſelf, "as was poſſible for the wit of man to invent; and that "with ſo much art, ſophiſtry, vivacity, oratory, audacity, "and confidence, without the leaſt bluſh, or acknowledg-"ment of guilt in any thing, as argued him rather obſtinate "than innocent, impudent than penitent, and a far better "orator and ſophiſter than proteſtant or chriſtian."‖ But then he imputes his boldneſs to the king's pardon, which he had in his pocket.

Biſhop *Burnet* is of opinion, that "in moſt of the par-"ticulars the archbiſhop made but frivolous excuſes; as, "that he was but *one of many*,* who either in council, ſtar-"chamber, or high commiſſion, voted illegal things. Now "though this was true, yet a *chief miniſter*, and one in high "favour, determines the reſt ſo much, that they are little "better than machines acted by him. On other occaſions "he ſays, the thing was proved but by one witneſs. Now

perſon, or at moſt of one family only; but the former conduct robs millions of their rights, and involves, in its effects, generations to come. Nor does it leſſen the guilt, if men, inſtead of being the agents of prerogative, are the tools of influence; if, inſtead of being awed into a ſubſerviency to the views of deſpotiſm, they are bought over to meaſures inimical to the liberties of the people. Ed.

† Laud's Hiſtory, p. 441. ‖ Prynne, p. 462.

* To what biſhop *Burnet* obſerves on this plea, it is pertinent to add the remarks of a late writer: "that if it were admitted, it would always be "impracticable to bring a wicked miniſter of ſtate to juſtice, for any pro-"ceedings in the privy council, to which the reſt concurred; and that it "would not be thought a proper juſtification of criminals of an inferior "order, in any court of juſtice, if they were to alledge, that there were "other perſons accomplices in the crimes with which they were accuſed." Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 285. Ed.

how

" how ſtrong ſoever this defence may be in law, it is of no " force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing be true, it " is no matter how full or defective the proof is."†

The archbiſhop himſelf has informed us of his great patience under the hard uſage he met with at his trial; but his Diary furniſhes too many examples to the contrary, for it appears from thence, that he ſometimes gave the witneſſes very rude language at the bar, inſinuating to the court, that many of them were perjured; that their evidence was the effect of malice, envy, and a thirſt after his blood. Sometimes he threatened them with the judgments of God, and once he was going to bind his ſin upon one of them, not to be forgiven till he aſked pardon; but he recovered himſelf. He is pleaſed ſometimes to obſerve, that his crimes were proved only by *one witnėſs*;§ and yet at laſt he complains that he was oppreſſed with numbers, no leſs than one hundred and fifty,‡ and calls them " a pack of ſuch witneſſes, as were " never produced againſt any man of his place and calling; " *purſuivants, meſſengers, pillory-men, bawds;* and ſuch as " had ſhifted their religion to and again."‖ And yet there were among them, men of the beſt faſhion and quality in the kingdom, as Sir *H. Vane*, ſen. Sir *H. Mildmay*, Sir *Wm. Balfore*, Sir *Nath. Brent*, vicar-general; ſundry aldermen of the city of London, and many excellent divines, as Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Haywood* the archbiſhop's chaplain, Mr. *Dell* his ſecretary, Mr. *Oſbaldiſton*, and others of an equal if not ſuperior character. When his *grace* was checked at the bar for reflecting upon the witneſſes, and put in mind by the managers that ſome of them were aldermen, ſome gentlemen, and ſome men of quality, he replied ſmartly, " *That is* " *nothing, there is not an active ſeparatiſt in England but his* " *hand is againſt me; both gentlemen, aldermen, and men of* " *all conditions, are ſeparated from the church of England;* " *and I would to God ſome of my judges were not.*"*

† Hiſtory of his Life, p. 50, or p. 68, edition in 12mo. at Edinburgh.

§ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 237.

‡ He alſo charged *Prynne* with keeping a ſchool of inſtruction for the witneſſes, and tampering with them in a moſt ſhameful manner. Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 137, note. Ed.

‖ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 417. * Ibid. p. 434.

After

After this it can hardly be expected, that the *managers for the commons* ſhould eſcape his *grace*'s cenſure; it muſt be admitted, that in the courſe of their arguments they made uſe of ſome harſh expreſſions, which nothing but the character they ſuſtained could excuſe;† but it was no argument of the archbiſhop's patience and diſcretion, to fight them at their own weapons. The managers were, ſerjeant *Maynard*, one of the ableſt lawyers of his *age*; he lived to be the father of his profeſſion; and when the prince of ORANGE [afterwards king WILLIAM III.] complimented him upon his having outlived all his brethren of the law, he made this handſome reply, that if it had not been for the wonderful REVOLUTION that his highneſs had brought about, he ſhould have outlived the law itſelf. He managed the firſt part of the evidence March 13th, 16th, 18th, and 28th. "This "gentleman (ſays the archbiſhop) pleaded, though ſtrongly, "yet fairly, againſt me."*

Serjeant *Wild* was the ſon of ſerjeant *George Wild*, of Droitwich in Worceſterſhire; he was afterwards reader of the Inner-Temple, a great lawyer and of unblemiſhed morals. After the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. he was made lord chief baron, and eſteemed a grave and venerable judge.§ He

† "Like true lawyers," ſays Mrs. Macaulay, "they played their parts "in baiting the unhappy priſoner with the moſt acrimonious and inſulting "language; like true lawyers, they took all the unfair advantages which "their offices and other opportunities procured them; and like true law-"yers, they put a forced and unwarrantable conſtruction on all the facts which "they cited againſt him." Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 137, 8vo. ED.

* Laud's Hiſtory, p. 330.

§ The character of ſerjeant *Wild* is impeached, and the above account of his preferment is ſhewn to be inaccurate, by Dr. *Grey*. He was made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, (ſee *Whitlocke*'s Memorials, p. 337,) 12th October, 1648. In the protectorate of *Cromwell* he retired, and did not act. During the Rump parliament he was reſtored to the Exchequer. After king *Charles* II. returned, he lived nine years in a retired condition. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 808. On the authority of *Wood*, Dr. *Grey* charges him with having received 1000l. out of the privy purſe at Derby-houſe, for the condemnation of Captain *Burley*, at Wincheſter, for cauſing a drum to beat up for God and king *Charles*, in the iſle of Wight, in order to reſcue his captive king. The reader will judge what credit is due to this charge, when he is informed, that Capt. *Burley* was convicted, ſentenced and executed, according both to *Wood* and *Whitlocke*, [Memorials, p. 290,]

He managed that part of the evidence which concerned religion, May 20, 27, June 6, 11, 17, 20, and 27, July 20, and 24, but "this gentleman, ſays the archbiſhop, though "he had language good enough ſometimes, he had little "or no ſenſe. I had a character given me before of him, "which I forbear to expreſs, but by his proceedings with "me I found it exactly true."‖

Samuel Brownе, eſq; was an able and grave lawyer. In the reign of king *Charles* II. he was knighted and made lord chief juſtice of the common pleas; he ſummed up the whole evidence at the lords' bar. "His behaviour towards "the archbiſhop was decent and civil, but his pleadings "(according to his *grace*) very unfair."†

Robert Nicolas, eſq; preſſed the archbiſhop very hard, and therefore no wonder that he was diſpleaſed with him. The archbiſhop allows that he had ſome ſenſe, but extream

p. 290,] in 1647, ſome months before ſerjeant *Wild* was made a judge. Another charge brought againſt him, from lord *Clarendon* and *Wood*, is, that he received another 1000l. for the acquittance of major *Rolph*, who had a deſign to murder or poiſon the king. That the reader may form his judgment on this charge, we will ſtate the proceedings on the affair of major Rolph, as they are chronologically given by *Whitlocke*.—1648, June 23. A charge by *Oſborne* againſt Col. *Hammond* and Capt. *Rolfe*, was ordered to be printed. July 11, a letter was received from Col. *Hammond*, deſiring that *Oſborne*'s charge againſt Mr. *Rolfe* may come to a ſpeedy hearing, it reflecting ſo highly upon the army and upon him; and being an *horrid ſcandal*, whereof he clears his own innocency and the officers of the army and Mr. *Rolfe*. Accommodations were ordered for Mr. *Rolfe*. Auguſt 1, Major *Rolfe* was bailed. Auguſt 12, At a conference with the lords about Mr. *Rolfe*, the commons alledged, that Mr. *Rolfe* was committed by their lordſhips without any cauſe in the warrant, and they found reaſon to clear him. Aug. 31, The grand jury, at Southampton, found the bill againſt Major *Rolfe*, *ignoramus*. Sept. 9, There was an order for 150l. for Mr. *Rolfe* for his injuſt impriſonment. Memoirs, p. 310. All theſe tranſactions appear to have taken place independently of ſerjeant *Wild*, and before he was preferred to be a judge. To theſe particulars it may be added, that the king himſelf acquitted Col. *Hammond*, involved in the ſame accuſation with *Rolfe*, and profeſſed a perfect confidence in him as a man of honour and truſt. Memoirs, p. 315. The ſtreſs, which lord *Clarendon*, and after him Mr. *Eachard* and Dr. *Grey*, have laid on this charge againſt ſerjeant *Wild*, will apologiſe for ſo minute an inveſtigation of a matter, not eſſentially connected with the general truth of Mr. *Neal*'s Hiſtory. ED.

‖ Laud's Hiſt. p. 330, 320. † Ibid. p. 390.

virulent

virulent and foul language. He managed the ſecond and fourth branches of the evidence, April 16, May 14, July 29. This gentleman happening to call the archbiſhop *pander to the whore of Babylon*; the archbiſhop bids him remember, "that one of his zealous witneſſes againſt the whore of "Babylon got all his means by being a *pander* to other "lewd women, and was not long ſince taken in bed with "one of his wife's maids. Good Mr. *Nicolas* (ſays he) do "not diſpenſe with all whores but the whore of Babylon!"‖

As for Mr. *Hill* the other manager, he is called *Conſul Bibulus*, becauſe he ſaid nothing. Upon the whole the archbiſhop is of opinion, that the managers for the commons ſought his blood, "and made falſe conſtructions, for "which (ſays he) I am confident they ſhall anſwer at ano-"ther bar, and for ſomething elſe in theſe proceedings."§

Such was the unhappy ſpirit of this prelate, who, "though "he had ſeen the violent effects of his ill counſels, and had "been ſo long ſhut up, and ſo much at leiſure to reflect "upon what had paſſed in the hurry of paſſion, and in the "exaltation of his proſperity, yet (as biſhop *Burnet* ob-"ſerves) he does not in any one part of his Diary acknow-"ledge his own errors, nor mix any wiſe or pious reflec-"tions upon the unhappy ſteps he had made." It was, no doubt, a great mortification to his ſpirit, to be expoſed to the people, and to wait ſometimes an hour or two before he was called to the bar; but as for his charity, and patience under his ſufferings, I muſt leave it with the reader to form his own judgment.

While the proceedings againſt the archbiſhop were at a ſtand, by reaſon of the lords being diſſatisfied, *whether the facts proved againſt him were treaſon by ſtatute law;* the citizens of London aſſembled, and preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, October 28th, ſigned with a great number of hands, praying for ſpeedy juſtice againſt delin-

‖ Laud's Hiſtory, p. 390. § Ibid. p. 271.

§ It was greatly againſt the archbiſhop, that the management of the trial was aſſigned to Prynne, a man of four and auſtere principles; whom *Laud* had made his enemy by the ſevere ſentence of the ſtar-chamber; and who, by his behaviour on this occaſion, ſhewed, that he remembered and reſented the ſhare *Laud* had in inflicting his paſt ſufferings. Ed.

quents,

quents, and particularly againſt the archbiſhop; which was no doubt an artful contrivance of his enemies. The commons, to prevent all further delays, determined not to preſs the lords for judgment upon the trial, but ordered a bill of attainder to be brought in; and when it had been twice read, the archbiſhop was brought to the bar of the houſe of commons, to hear the evidence on which it proceeded, and to make what further defence he thought proper. Mr. *Browne* ſummed up the charge Nov. 2, and the archbiſhop had nine days given him to prepare his defence. Nov. 11, he ſpoke for himſelf ſome hours at the bar of the houſe of commons, and Mr. *Browne* replied before the archbiſhop withdrew; after which the bill of attainder paſſed the houſe the very ſame day with but one diſſenting voice, and that not upon the ſubſtance of the charge, but upon the manner of proceeding. The bill being ſent up to the lords, they made an order Dec. 4, *That all books, writings, &c. concerning the archbiſhop's trial, ſhould be brought in to the clerk of the parliament*, which being done, they examined over again, all the heads and principal parts of the evidence, and voted each particular as they went forward; ſo tender were they of the life of this prelate, and ſo careful to maintain the honour and juſtice of their proceedings. When they had gone through the whole, they voted him guilty of all facts charged againſt him, in three branches, namely, *guilty of endeavouring to ſubvert the laws*;——*of endeavouring to overthrow the proteſtant religion*,——*and the rights of parliaments*. After this they ſent a meſſage to the commons, to deſire them to anſwer the argument of the archbiſhop's council, as to the point of law, which they accordingly did at a conference Jan. 2, when ſerjeant *Wild*, Mr. *Browne*, and Mr. *Nicolas*, having given the reaſons of the commons for their attainder, the lords were ſatisfied, and Jan. 4, paſſed the bill,* whereby it was ordained, that he ſhould ſuffer death as in caſes of high treaſon. To ſtop the conſequence of this attainder, the archbiſhop produced the king's pardon

* Dr. *Grey* will not allow this decree of the commons to be called "a "bill." It was, in his opinion, an ordinance only, and that an imperfect one; becauſe it was not ſupported by the royal aſſent, and therefore, he ſays, had no legal force at all. ED.

under

under the *great ſeal*, ſigned April 19, 12th *Car.* but it was over-ruled by both houſes, 1. Becauſe it was granted before conviction. And 2. If it had been ſubſequent, yet in the preſent caſe of treaſon they argued, that the king could not pardon a judgment of parliament, eſpecially as the nation was in a ſtate of war; for if the king's pardon was a protection, not a deſerter, nor a ſpy, nor an incendiary of any kind againſt the parliament, would have ſuffered in his life or liberty.*

All the favour therefore the archbiſhop could obtain, was, upon his petition, to have his ſentence altered from hanging to being beheaded on Tower-Hill, which was appointed to be on Friday, Jan. 10, when the archbiſhop being conducted to the ſcaffold, attended by his chaplain Dr. *Stern*, and Mr. *Marſhal* and *Palmer*, ſent by the parliament,† read his laſt ſpeech to the people,‡ which was a ſort of ſermon from *Heb.* xii. 2. *Let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus, the author and finiſher of our faith, who, for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the throne of God.* In which he acknowledges himſelf to have been a great ſinner; but having ranſacked every corner of his heart, he thanks God, that he has not found any of his ſins deſerving death by any of the known laws of the kingdom, though he does not charge his judges, becauſe they are to proceed according to evidence.——He thanks God that he is as quiet within as ever he was in his life, and

* Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 117.

† It marks a virulent and bitter ſpirit in the conduct of this execution, that of the three clergymen, whoſe conſolatory attendance and ſervice at his exit *Laud* petitioned for, but one was allowed him; and this under the reſtraint of the inſpection of two miniſters appointed by parliament. Macaulay's Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 144. Ed.

‡ "In this very performance," obſerves Mrs. Macaulay, "which was "executed with great art of compoſition, and likewiſe in his remarks on "the charge which the Scots brought againſt him, he plainly ſhews that "his adverſity had not altered his opinions, nor corrected any one of his "moſt miſchievous prejudices; and that, had accident re-eſtabliſhed him "in his former plenitude of power, he would have run to the end of his "days, the ſame perſecuting courſe for which he now ſuffered." Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 140. Ed.

hopes

hopes that his cauſe in heaven will look of another colour than it does here. It is clamoured againſt me (ſays he) that I deſigned to bring in popery, but I pray God that the pope does not come in, by means of theſe ſectaries which clamour ſo much againſt me. As for the *king*, he aſſured the world, that he was as ſound a proteſtant as any man in the kingdom, and would venture as freely for it. He complains of the citizens for gathering hands to petitions, and particularly againſt himſelf, whereby they were bringing the guilt of innocent blood upon themſelves and their city. He laments the ruins of the hierarchy, and concludes with declaring himſelf a true proteſtant, according to the church of England eſtabliſhed by law, and takes it upon his death, that *he never endeavoured the ſubverſion of the laws of the realm, nor any change of the proteſtant religion into popiſh ſuperſtition; nor was he an enemy to parliaments.*

In his laſt prayer he deſires that God would give him patience to die for his honour, for the king's happineſs, and the church of England. He then prays for the preſervation of the king in his juſt rights; for the parliament in their ancient and juſt power; for the church, that it may be ſettled in truth and peace, and in its patrimony; and for the people, that they may enjoy their ancient laws, and other liberties; and then, having forgiven his enemies, he concluded with the Lord's prayer. After which he gave his paper to Dr. *Stern*, ſaying, Doctor, I give you this, to ſhew your fellow chaplains, that they may ſee how I am gone out of the world, and God's bleſſing and his mercy be upon them. When the ſcaffold was cleared, he pulled off his doublet, and ſaid, *God's will be done, I am willing to go out of the world; no man can be more willing to ſend me out.* Then turning to the executioner he gave him ſome money, and bid him do his office in mercy; he then kneeled down, and after a ſhort prayer, laid his head on the block, and ſaid, *Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit;* which being the ſign, the executioner did his office at one blow.‖ The archbiſhop's corpſe was put into

‖ Mrs. *Macaulay*'s reflections on this event appear to carry weight and pertinence with them. "As the juſtice of the country had been ſomething "ſatisfied by the death of the criminal *Strafford*, it would have done ho-

into a coffin, and by the permiſſion of parliament buried in Barkin church, with the ſervice of the church read over him. The inſcription upon the coffin was this, *In hac ciſtula conduntur Exuviæ* Gulielmi Laud, *archiepiſcopi* Cantuarienſis, *qui ſecuri percuſſus immortalitatem adiit, die* x° Januarii, *ætatis ſuæ* 72, *archiepiſcopatus* xii. But after the reſtoration, his body was removed to Oxford, and depoſited with great ſolemnity in a brick vault, according to his laſt will and teſtament, near the altar of the chapel of St. John Baptiſt college, July 24, 1663.

Thus died Dr. WILLIAM LAUD, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; ſome time chancellor of the Univerſities of Oxford and Dublin, one of the commiſſioners of his majeſty's exchequer, and privy counſellor to the king, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and twelfth of his archiepiſcopal tranſlation. He was of low ſtature, and a ruddy countenance; his natural temper was ſevere and uncourtly, his ſpirit active and reſtleſs, which puſhed him on to the moſt hazardous enterprizes. His conduct was raſh and precipitate, for, according to Dr. *Heylin*, he attempted more alterations in the church in one year, than a prudent man would have done in a great many. His counſels in *ſtate affairs* were high and arbitrary, for he was at the head of all the illegal projects, of ſhip-money, loans, monopolies, ſtar-chamber fines, &c. which were the ruin of the king and conſtitution.

" nour to the parliament to have left this aged prelate the example of their " mercy, rather than to have made him the monument of their juſtice. " Perpetual impriſonment, with no more than a decent maintenance, and " the deprivation of his archiepiſcopal function, (which of courſe followed " the aboliſhment of that kind of church government) would have taken " away his abilities of doing farther miſchief; and the preſent proſperous " ſtate of the parliament affairs rendered his death a circumſtance of no im- " portance to the public. It is plain that he fell a ſacrifice to the intole- " rant principle of the preſbyterians, a ſect who breathed as fiery a ſpirit of " perſecution as himſelf. It is farther to be obſerved of this prelate, that " he is the only individual of that high office in the church of England " (*Cranmer*, the martyr, excepted) who ever ſuffered death, by the hands " of the executioner; though the turbulent ambition of his order have diſ- " turbed the peace of ſociety from the firſt period of the church power to " the preſent day." Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 143, 44. ED.

His

His maxims in the church were no leſs ſevere, for he ſharpened the ſpiritual ſword, and drew it againſt all ſorts of offenders, intending (as lord *Clarendon* expreſſes it) that the diſcipline of the church ſhould be felt as well as ſpoken of. There had not been ſuch a crowd of buſineſs in *the high commiſſion court* ſince the reformation, nor ſo many large fines impoſed, as under the prelate's adminiſtration, with little or no abatement, becauſe they were aſſigned to the repair of St. Paul's, which gave occaſion to an unlucky proverb, that the *church was repaired with the ſins of the people.*

As to the archbiſhop's religion, he declared himſelf, upon the ſcaffold, a proteſtant, according to the conſtitution of the church of England, but with more charity to the church of Rome than to the foreign proteſtants; and though he was an avowed enemy to ſectaries and fanaticks of all ſorts, yet he had a great deal of ſuperſtition in his *make*, as appears from thoſe paſſages in his diary, in which he takes notice of his dreams, of the falling down of pictures, of the bleeding of his noſe, of auſpicious and inauſpicious days of the year, and of the poſition of the ſtars; a variety of which may be collected out of that performance.

His Grace muſt be allowed to have had a conſiderable ſhare of knowledge, and to have been a learned man, though he was more a man of buſineſs than of letters.* He was a great benefactor to the college in which he was educated, enriching it with a variety of valuable manuſcripts,† beſides five

* "Juſt the contrary:" ſays biſhop *Warburton*. "He did not under-"ſtand buſineſs at all, as fully appears from the hiſtorian's account of his "civil adminiſtration, and was a great maſter of religious controverſy." Mr. Hume, ſpeaking of *Laud*'s learning and morals, expreſſes himſelf in the following manner: "This man was virtuous, if ſeverity of manners "alone, and abſtinence from pleaſure, could deſerve that name. He was "learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praiſe."
Hiſtory of Great-Britain, vol. v. p. 193. ED.

† Theſe manuſcripts, which he had purchaſed at a prodigious expence, were in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Ægyptian, Æthiopian, Armenian, Arabic, Perſian, Turkiſh, Ruſſian, Chineſe, Japaneſe, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Saxon, Engliſh, and Iriſh. The archbiſhop alſo founded an Arabic lecture in the Univerſity of Oxford, which began to be read in 1636. He obtained the advowſon of the living of St. Lawrence in Reading for St. John's college. He procured a charter for Reading, and founded, and endowed

five hundred pounds in money.§ He gave eight hundred pounds to the repair of the cathedral of St. Paul, and ſundry other legacies of the like nature. But with all his accompliſhments he was a cruel perſecutor, as long as he was in power, and the chief incendiary in the war between the king and parliament, the calamities of which are in a great meaſure chargeable upon him. "That which gave me the "ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt him (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) is, "that, in his Diary, after he had ſeen the ill effects of his "violent counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut up, and ſo long "at leiſure to reflect on what had paſſed in the hurry of "paſſion, in the exaltation of his proſperity, he does not in "any one part of that great work acknowledge his own "errors, nor mix any wiſe or ſerious reflections on the ill "uſage he met with, or the unhappy ſteps he had made." The biſhop adds withal,* "that he was a learned, ſincere, "and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in "his private deportment, but hot and indiſcreet, eagerly "purſuing ſuch matters as were either very inconſiderable "or miſchievous; ſuch as ſettling the communion table by "the eaſt wall of the church, bowing to it, and calling it an "*altar*, ſuppreſſing the *walloon* privileges, breaking of lec-"tures, and encouraging of ſports on the Lord's-day, &c. "His ſeverity in the ſtar chamber, and in the high commiſ-"ſion court; but above all, his violent, and indeed inex-"cuſable injuſtice, in the proſecution of biſhop *Williams*, "were ſuch viſible blemiſhes, that nothing but the putting "him to death in ſo unjuſt a manner could have raiſed his "character. His Diary repreſents him as an abject fawner "upon the duke of *Buckingham*, and as a ſuperſtitious re-"garder of dreams;† his defence of himſelf, written with ſo "much

dowed with 200l. per annum, an hoſpital in that town. Oxford owed alſo to his influence a large charter, confirming its ancient and inveſting it with new privileges. It is but juſtice due to his memory to record, to the honour of *Laud*, theſe acts of munificence and publick utility.

Goadby's Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 289, 90. ED.

§ Diary, p. 56.

* Hiſtory of his Life, vol. i. p. 49, 50, or Scotch edit. p. 68.

† "His ſuperſtitions," ſays Mrs. *Macaulay*, "were as contemptible as "thoſe that belonged to the weakeſt of women." His Diary fell into the hands

"much care when he was in the Tower, is a very mean per-
"formance; and his friends have really leſſened him; *Heylin*
"by writing his life, and *Wharton* by publiſhing his vindica-
"tion of himſelf." Mr. *Rapin* adds, "Let the archbiſhop's
"favourers ſay what they pleaſe, he was one of the chief au-
"thors of the troubles that afflicted England; 1ſt, By ſup-
"porting with all his might the principles of that arbitrary
"power which the court ſtrove for ſeveral years to eſta-
"bliſh. 2dly, By uſing too much ſtrictneſs and rigidneſs
"in the obſervance of trifles in divine ſervice, and in com-
"pelling every body to conform themſelves thereto."† To which I would beg leave to add, that ſince nothing relating to the doctrine or diſcipline of the church of England eſtabliſhed by law was objected to him at his trial, but only certain innovations in the church, without or contrary to law, I cannot conceive with what propriety of language his friends and admirers have canonized him as the *bleſſed martyr of the church of England.*‡

The

hands of *Prynne*, in the ſearch of the archbiſhop's papers, and was publiſhed by him during his trial. This his *grace* complained of, as done to abaſh and diſgrace him. The publication of it, certainly, did not tend to ſoften the prejudices againſt him, or to raiſe him in the opinion of the publick. It was done by an order of a committee of the houſe of commons. ED.

† Rapin, vol. i. p. 507, folio.

‡ Dr. *Grey* calls Mr. *Neal*'s delineation of archbiſhop *Laud*'s character, "a long invective," and oppoſes to it lord *Clarendon*'s character of this prelate. Facts will ſhew, who has drawn it with truth: and by facts we may decide concerning a more recent delineation of it by the pen of Mrs. *Macaulay*. "*Laud*, a ſuperſtitious churchman, who had ſtudied little elſe "than canon law and the doating opinions of the Fathers, was entirely "ignorant of the utility, equity, and beauty of civil and religious liberty; "was himſelf impoſed on before he endeavoured to impoſe on others; and "became a zealous inſtrument of tyranny, even for conſcience ſake. The "principles of religion, on which he uniformly acted, were as noxious to "the peace of ſociety, as were the principles of the papiſts; the ſame want "of charity, the ſame exerciſe of cruelty, the ſame arrogance of dominion, "were common to both. Utterly unacquainted with the ſimplicity, cha-"rity, and meekneſs of the goſpel, his character was void of humility and "forgiveneſs; nor had he other rules to judge of men's deſervings, but as "they were more or leſs attached to the power of the church. Upon the "whole, his character ſerves as an eminent example, to ſhew that extenſive "learning and abilities are not incompatible with a narrow judgment; and "that in all the catalogue of human frailties, there are none which more

"corrupt

The laſt, and moſt memorable tranſaction of this year, was the treaty of Uxbridge. His majeſty had ſent the two houſes ſundry propoſitions for peace laſt ſummer, which took them up a great deal of time to form into propoſitions for his majeſty's aſſent. The commiſſioners were two lords, four commoners, and thoſe of the Scots commiſſioners; they arrived at Oxford Nov. 26, but though the king had given them a ſafe conduct, Mr. *Whitlocke* obſerves, they met with very rude treatment from the populace, who ſaluted them as they paſſed along the ſtreets with the names of *traitors*, *rogues*, and *rebels*, throwing ſtones and dirt into their coaches; when they came to their inn, they were inſulted by the ſoldiers, ſo that they were obliged to ſhut up the doors till the king ordered them a guard. When they delivered their propoſitions, his majeſty received them coldly;* and becauſe they were only to receive his anſwer, told them, *a letter-carrier might have done as well.*† Next day his majeſty gave them his anſwer in writing ſealed up; and when they deſired to ſee it, he replied with a frown, *what is it to you, who are but to carry what I ſend; if I will ſend the ſong of* Robin Hood, *or* Little John, *you muſt carry it.* But at length they obtained a copy, which

" corrupt the heart, or deprave the underſtanding, than the follies of re-
" ligion." Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 134, 142,3. Were it neceſſary for the editor of Mr. *Neal* to ſubjoin his ideas of *Laud*'s character, he would be inclined to give it in three words; as formed of SUPERSTITION, TYRANNY, and INTOLERANCE. ED.

* This, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, is not expreſsly ſaid by *Whitlocke*; whoſe words are, " The next day they (*i. e.* the commiſſioners) had acceſs to his
" majeſty, who uſed them civilly, and gave to every one of them his hand
" to kiſs; but he ſeemed to ſhew more diſdain to the Scots commiſſioners
" than to any others of their company." On the evening of the ſame day, as *Hollis* and *Whitlocke* were paying a viſit to the earl of *Lindſey*, the king came into the chamber, and treated *thoſe gentlemen* with extraordinary reſpect, entered into a free converſation with them, and aſked *their* advice as *friends*. Memorials, p. 108. *Ruſhworth* ſays, that " the king received the com-
" miſſioners very obligingly, but ſeemed *more to ſlight* the Scots commiſ-
" ſioners than any of the reſt," vol. v. p. 841. Even here, though the language of *Ruſhworth* is more deſcriptive of a courteous and complaiſant reception, than is that of *Whitlocke*, there is yet an intimation of ſomething in the king's manner to all the commiſſioners, that indicated coldneſs and indifference, and it juſtifies Mr. *Neal*'s repreſentation of it. ED.

† Whitlocke, p. 106, 107, 109, 110.

was

was only to desire a safe conduct for the duke of *Lenox* and earl of *Southampton* to come to London with his majesty's answer; but the letter not being directed to the parliament of England, the houses would not consent but upon that condition. The king's council advised him to yield, which did not prevail, till his majesty had found out an evasion, and entered it upon record in the council-books, as appears by his letter to the queen, dated Jan. 2, in which he says, "That his *calling* them a parliament did not imply "his *acknowledging* them as such; upon which construction, "and no other (says he)* I called them, as it is registered in "the council-books, and if there had been but two of my "opinion (says the king) I would not have done it."‖ In another intercepted letter to the queen, he tells her, "he could "not prevail with his parliament at Oxford to vote those at "Westminster no parliament, but assures her he would not "make peace without *her approbation*, nor go one jot be-"yond the paper she sent him."§ In another the king informs the queen, "that the parliament were sending him "propositions for peace, which, IF SHE LIKES, he thinks may "be the best way for settlement as things stand;" so that the fate of England was to be determined by the queen and her

* Whitlocke, p. 277.

‖ Dr. *Grey* aims, here, to impeach not the accuracy only, but the veracity of Mr. *Neal*; whose account of the matter does, indeed, seem to imply, that the king was at length prevailed on to *direct* his answer to the parliament at Westminster: whereas Dr. *Grey* shews, from *Rapin* and *Rushworth*, that his majesty put no direction at all on it, and the commissioners accepted it without a direction; and that therefore the charge of evasion against the king was without ground. But Dr. *Grey* contents himself with a partial account and view of this matter, and does not apprise his reader, that *Rapin* also mentions the expedient by which the king reconciled to himself a compliance with the requisition of the parliament: the fact, in its full extent, was, that the commissioners, though they objected to the form and the want of direction to the king's message; yet did deliver it to the parliament at Westminster, and was thanked for their services. But then the like exceptions were made by both houses, and it was resolved not to grant the safe conduct it asked, nor to receive his majesty's answer, unless he *should send to the parliament of England assembled at Westminster*. The trumpeter went away with a letter to this effect, Dec. 3, and returned on the 7th with an answer from the king, *acknowledging those* at Westminster to be the parliament. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 843, 44.

§ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 943.

popish

popiſh council. Beſides, his majeſty was unhappily elevated at this time by the diviſions at Weſtminſter, which produced the new modeling the army; and with a falſe and romantick account of the ſucceſſes of the marquis of *Montroſs* in Scotland, which were ſo magnified, that it was expected the Scots muſt immediately march back into their own country; whereas, in reality, they were not ſo conſiderable as to oblige them to draw off a ſingle regiment.

In this ſituation of affairs it was agreed, according to the propoſals of the king's commiſſioners, that there ſhould be a treaty of peace at Uxbridge, to commence Jan. 30, 1645, and to continue twenty days.

There were ſixteen commiſſioners for the king, (viz.) nine lords, ſix commoners, and one divine; twelve for the parliament, and ten for the Scots, and one divine, (viz.) Mr. *Henderſon;* the king's divine was Dr. *Steward*, who was aſſiſted by Dr. *Sheldon*, *Laney*, *Fern*, *Potter*, and *Hammond*. Aſſiſtant divines for the parliament were Mr. *Vines*, *Marſhal*, *Cheynel*, and *Chieſly*. Theſe with their retinue, to the number of one hundred and eight perſons, were included in the ſafe conduct.

The propoſitions to be treated of were *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*; each of which were to be debated three days ſucceſſively, till the twenty days were expired.

The treaty was preceded by a day of faſting and prayer on both ſides for a bleſſing, but was interrupted the very firſt day, by a ſermon preached occaſionally in the church of Uxbridge by Mr. *Love*, then preacher to the garriſon of Windſor, wherein he had ſaid, that they [his majeſty's commiſſioners] *came thither with hearts full of blood, and that there was as great a diſtance between this treaty and peace, as between heaven and hell.* The commiſſioners having complained of him next day, the parliament commiſſioners laid it before the two houſes, who ſent for him to London, where he gave this account of the affair; that the people being under a diſappointment at their lecture, he was deſired unexpectedly to give them a ſermon; which was the ſame he had preached at Windſor the day before.* He admits, that he cautioned the people not to have too great a dependance upon the

* Dugdale's Treaty of Uxbridge, p. 764.

treaty,

treaty, becauſe, "whilſt our enemies (ſays he) go on in "their wicked practices, and we keep to our principles, we "may as ſoon make fire and water to agree; and, I had al- "moſt ſaid, reconcile heaven and hell, as their ſpirits and "ours. They muſt grow better, or we muſt grow worſe, "before it is poſſible for us to agree." He added further, "That there was a generation of men that carried blood "and revenge in their hearts againſt the well-affected in "the nation, who hated not only their bodies but their "ſouls, and in their cups would drink an health to their "damnation." Though there might be ſome truth in what the preacher ſaid, yet theſe expreſſions were unbecoming any private man in ſo nice a conjuncture; he was therefore confined to his houſe during the treaty, and then diſcharged.*

It was too evident, that neither party came to the treaty with a healing ſpirit. The king's commiſſioners were under ſuch reſtraints, that little good was to be expected from them; and the parliament commiſſioners would place no manner of confidence in his majeſty's promiſes, nor abate a tittle of the fulleſt ſecurity for themſelves and the conſtitution.‡ The king therefore, in his letter to the queen of Jan. 22, aſſures her of the utter improbability that this preſent treaty ſhould

* Dr. *Grey* oppoſes to the account, which Mr. *Neal* gives of the proceedings againſt lord *Clarendon*'s repreſentation, which ſtates only; that the commiſſioners ſeemed troubled at the charge againſt him, promiſed to examine it, and engaged that he ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; but afterwards confeſſed that they had no authority to puniſh him, but that they had cauſed him to be ſharply reprehended and ſent out of town: "This," his lordſhip adds, "was all that could be obtained, ſo unwilling were they to diſcoun- "tenance any man who was willing to ſerve them." Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 579. Dr. *Grey* remarks here, "This is lord *Claren-* "*don*'s account, who was himſelf a commiſſioner of that treaty." The remark is evidently made to intimate that Mr. *Neal*'s account is not true. It is to be regretted, that he has not, in this inſtance, referred to his authority. But it is certain, that lord *Clarendon* does not relate the whole of the commiſſioners' anſwer or conduct. The former, according to Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 865, and Dugdale, p. 765, was a promiſe "to repreſent "the complaint againſt Mr. *Love* to the parliament, who would proceed "therein according to juſtice;" and the latter, it appears by *Whitlocke*, was correſpondent to this engagement: "for the parliament, *having notice* "*of Mr. Love's ſermon from the commiſſioners*, ſent for him and referred the "buſineſs to an examination." Memorials, p. 123. Ed.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 510, folio.

produce

produce a peace, "conſidering the great and ſtrange dif-"ference, if not contrariety of grounds, that were between "the rebels' propoſitions and his; and that I cannot alter "mine, nor will they ever theirs, but by force."§

We ſhall only juſt mention the propoſitions relating to the *militia* and *Ireland*, our principal view being to religion. The king's commiſſioners propoſed to put the militia *into the hands of* TRUSTEES *for three years, half to be named by the king, and half by the parliament, and then to revert abſolutely to the crown, on pain of high treaſon.* But the parliament commiſſioners replied, that by the king's naming half the commiſſioners, the militia would be rendered inactive, and that after three years they ſhould be in a worſe condition than before the war; they therefore propoſed, that *the parliament ſhould name the commiſſioners for ſeven years, and then to be ſettled as the king and parliament ſhould agree, or* elſe *to limit their nomination to three years after the king and parliament ſhould declare the kingdom to be in a ſettled peace.*‖ It had been eaſy to form this propoſition, ſo as both parties might have complied with honour and ſafety, if they had been in earneſt for an accommodation; but his majeſty's commiſſioners could yield no further.

As to Ireland, the king's commiſſioners juſtified his majeſty's proceedings in the ceſſation, and in ſending for the rebels over to fill up his armies; and when the commiſſioners on the other ſide put them in mind of his majeſty's ſolemn promiſes to leave that affair to the parliament, and to have thoſe rebels puniſhed according to law; the others replied, "they wiſhed it was in his majeſty's power to puniſh all

§ The quotation from *Rapin*, as Dr. *Grey* intimates, is not exact, or full. The paſſage ſtands thus; "I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever "theirs, *till they be out of hope to prevail with force*, which a little "aſſiſtance, by thy means, will ſoon make them be; for I am confident, "if ever I could put them to a defenſive, (which a reaſonable ſum of "money would do) they would be eaſily brought to reaſon." Ruſhworth, vol. vii. p. 944. As the paſſage now appears at its full length, though the reader ſhould judge Mr. *Neal*'s manner of quoting it inaccurate, he will perceive that he has truly given the idea and meaning of the King: who thought of nothing but of putting the *parliament* out of hope of prevailing *by force*, by carrying againſt them a *ſuperior force*. ED.

‖ Rapin, p. 513.

"rebellion

" rebellion according as it deſerved; but ſince it was other-
" wiſe, he muſt condeſcend to treaties and to all other ex-
" pedients neceſſary to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to their
" duty and obedience."† Admirable arguments to heal diviſions and induce the parliament to put the ſword into the king's hands!§

The article of *religion* was, in the opinion of lord *Clarendon*, of leſs conſequence with many in the parliament houſe, for if they could have obtained a *ſecurity for their lives and fortunes*, he apprehends this might have been accommodated, though, conſidering the influence of the Scots, and the growing ſtrength of the preſbyterian and independant parties, it is very much to be doubted. However, this being the firſt point debated in the treaty, and a church controverſy, it will be proper to repreſent the inſtructions on both ſides. While this was upon the carpet, Dr. *Steward*, clerk of the cloſet, and a commiſſioner for the king, ſat covered without the bar, behind the commiſſioners; as did Mr. *Henderſon* behind thoſe of the parliament. The aſſiſtant divines were preſent in places appointed for them, oppoſite to each other.

His majeſty's inſtructions to his commiſſioners on the head of religion were theſe: " Here (ſays the king) the govern-
" ment of the church will be the chief queſtion, wherein
" two things are to be conſidered, *conſcience* and *policy*; for
" the *firſt*, I muſt declare, that I cannot yield to the change

† Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 592.

§ Biſhop *Warburton* treats this with contempt, calling it " a fooliſh de-
" clamation. The ſubject here was Ireland, not the militia." So Mr. *Neal* repreſents it; but the force of his remark turns on the propriety of *putting the ſword into the king's hands*; and whether the ſword was worn by the Engliſh militia or the Iriſh rebels, in either caſe it was an object of fear and jealouſy to the parliament. The reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee how the biſhop becomes advocate for the king on the charge here alledged of breaking his promiſe to leave the Iriſh war to the parliament. His anſwer, *i. e.* the king's, ſays his grace, is to this effect, and I think it very pertinent. " It is time, I made this promiſe, but it was when the parlia-
" ment was my friend, not my enemy They might be then intruſted with
" my quarrel; but it would be madneſs to think they now can. To pre-
" vent, therefore, their making a treaty with the Iriſh, and in their diſ-
" treſſes bringing over their troops againſt me, I have treated with them,
" and have brought over the troops againſt *them*." This was ſpeaking like a wiſe and able prince. Ed.

" of

" of the government by biſhops, not only becauſe I fully " concur with the moſt general opinion of chriſtians in all " ages, in epiſcopacy's being the beſt government, but like- " wiſe I hold myſelf particularly bound by the oath I took " at my coronation, not to alter the government of this " church from what I found it; and as for the church " patrimony, I cannot ſuffer any diminution or alienation of " it, it being, without peradventure, ſacrilege, and likewiſe " contrary to my coronation oath; but whatſoever ſhall be " offered for rectifying abuſes, if any have crept in, or for " the eaſe of tender conſciences, (provided the foundation " be not damaged) I am content to hear, and willing to re- " turn a gracious anſwer. Touching the *ſecond*, that is the " point of *policy*, as it is the king's duty to protect the church, " ſo the church is reciprocally bound to aſſiſt the king in " the maintenance of his juſt authority. Upon theſe views " my predeceſſors have been always careful (eſpecially ſince " the reformation) to keep the dependence of the clergy en- " tirely upon the crown, without which it will ſcarce ſet faſt " on the king's head; therefore you muſt do nothing to " change or leſſen this natural dependance."*

The commiſſioners from the two houſes of parliament at Weſtminſter, inſtead of being inſtructed to treat about a reformation of the hierarchy, were ordered to demand the paſſing of a bill for aboliſhing and taking away epiſcopal government; for confirming the ordinance for the calling and ſitting of the aſſembly of divines; that the directory for publick worſhip, and the propoſitions concerning church government, hereunto annexed, be confirmed as a part of reformation of religion and uniformity; that his majeſty take the *ſolemn league* and *covenant*, and that an act of parliament be paſſed, enjoining the taking it by all the ſubjects of the three kingdoms.†

The propoſitions annexed to theſe demands were theſe (viz.) " that the ordinary way of dividing chriſtians into " diſtinct congregations, as moſt expedient for edification, be " by the reſpective bounds of their dwellings.

" That the miniſters, and other church officers in each " particular congregation, ſhall join in the government of

* Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 945. † Dugdale, p. 766.

" the

" the church in ſuch manner as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by par-
" liament.

" That many congregations ſhall be under one preſby-
" terial government.

" That the church be governed by congregational, claſ-
" ſical, and ſynodical aſſemblies in ſuch manner as ſhall be
" eſtabliſhed by parliament.

" That ſynodical aſſemblies ſhall conſiſt both of provincial
" and national aſſemblies."

One may eaſily obſerve the diſtance between the inſtructions of the two parties; one being determined to maintain epiſcopacy, and the other no leſs reſolute for eſtabliſhing preſbytery. After ſeveral papers had paſſed between the commiſſioners, about the bill for taking away epiſcopacy, it was debated by the divines for two days together.

Mr. *Henderſon*, in a laboured ſpeech, endeavoured to ſhew the neceſſity of changing the government of the church, for the preſervation of the ſtate.——" That now the queſtion
" was not, whether the government of the church by biſhops
" was lawful, but whether it was ſo neceſſary that chriſtianity
" could not ſubſiſt without it?—That this latter poſition
" could not be maintained in the affirmative, without con-
" demning all other reformed churches in Europe.—That
" the parliament of England had found epiſcopacy a very
" inconvenient and corrupt government—that the hierarchy
" had been a publick grievance from the reformation down-
" wards—that the biſhops had always abetted popery, had
" retained many ſuperſtitious rites and cuſtoms in their
" worſhip and government; and over and above had lately
" brought in a great many novelties into the church, and
" made a nearer approach to the Roman communion, to the
" great ſcandal of the proteſtant churches of Germany,
" France, Scotland, and Holland. That the prelates had
" embroiled the Britiſh iſland, and made the two nations of
" England and Scotland fall foul upon each other.—That
" the rebellion in Ireland, and the civil war in England, may
" be charged upon them—that for theſe reaſons the par-
" liament had reſolved to change this inconvenient, miſchie-
" vous government, and ſet up another in the room of it,
" more naturally formed for the advancement of piety—that
" this

" this alteration was the beſt expedient to unite all proteſtant " churches, and extinguiſh the remains of popery—he hoped " therefore the king would concur in ſo commendable and " godly an undertaking; and conceived his majeſty's con- " ſcience could not be urged againſt ſuch a compliance, be- " cauſe he had already done it in Scotland; nor could he " believe that epiſcopacy was abſolutely neceſſary to the " ſupport of the chriſtian religion."*

Dr. *Steward*, clerk of the king's cloſet, addreſſing himſelf to the commiſſioners, replied, " he knew their lordſhips " were too well acquainted with the conſtitution of the " church of England, and the baſis upon which it ſtood, to " imagine it could be ſhaken by the force of Mr. *Henderſon*'s " rhetorick—that he was firmly of opinion, that a govern- " ment, which from the planting of chriſtianity in Eng- " land had continued without interruption; that a govern- " ment under which chriſtianity had ſpread and flouriſhed to " a remarkable degree, could have nothing vicious or anti- " chriſtian in its frame; that he expected that thoſe who " had ſworn themſelves to an abolition of this primitive " conſtitution, and came hither to perſuade their lordſhips " and his majeſty to a concurrence, would have endeavoured " to prove the unlawfulneſs of that government they preſſed " ſo ſtrongly to remove;—but though in their ſermons and " prints they gave epiſcopacy an anti-chriſtian addition, Mr. " *Henderſon* had prudently declined charging ſo deep, and " only argued from the inconveniencies of that government, " and the advantages which would be conſequent on an al- " teration. Foraſmuch as an union with the proteſtant " churches abroad was the chief reaſon for this change, the " doctor deſired to know what foreign church they deſigned " for a pattern—that he was ſure the model in the *directory* " had no great reſemblance to any foreign reformed church " —and though he would not enter upon a cenſure of thoſe " communions, yet it was well known that the moſt learned " men of thoſe churches had lamented a defect in their re- " formation; and that the want of epiſcopacy was an un- " happy circumſtance—that they had always paid a particular " reverence to the church of England, and looked on it as

* Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 584.

" the

" the moſt perfect conſtitution, upon the ſcore of its having " retained all that was venerable in antiquity—from hence " he proceeded to enlarge upon the apoſtolical inſtitution of " epiſcopacy, and endeavoured to prove, that without biſhops " the ſacerdotal character could not be conveyed, nor the " ſacraments adminiſtered to any ſignificancy.

" As to his majeſty's conſenting to put down epiſcopacy " in Scotland, he would ſay nothing, though he knew his " majeſty's preſent thoughts upon that ſubject. But he ob- " ſerved that the king was further obliged in this kingdom " than in the other; that in England he was tied by his " coronation oath to maintain the rights of the church, " and that this ſingle engagement was a reſtraint upon his " majeſty's conſcience, not to conſent to the abolition of " epiſcopacy, or the alienation of church lands."

Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Marſhal* declared it *to be falſe in fact, and a downright impoſition upon the commiſſioners, that the foreign proteſtants lamented the want of epiſcopacy, and eſteemed our conſtitution more perfect than their own.** They then ran out into a high commendation of *preſbyterial government*, as that which had the only claim to a *divine right*.† Upon which the marquis of *Hertford*§ ſpoke to this effect:

" *My Lords*,

" HERE is much ſaid concerning church government " in the general; the reverend doctors on the king's part " affirm, that epiſcopacy is *jure divino*; the reverend mini- " ſters on the other part affirm, that preſbytery is *jure* " *divino*; for my part, I think neither the one nor the

* Theſe aſſertions of Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Marſhal*, are not to be found, as Dr. *Grey* remarks, in the place to which Mr. *Neal* refers. *Ruſhworth* ſays there only in general, " that Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Marſhal* " anſwered the doctor, commending the preſbyterian way of government, " and that epiſcopacy was not ſo ſuitable to the word of God as preſbytery, " which they argued to be *jure divino*." See alſo *Whitlocke*'s Memorials, p. 123. Dr. *Grey* fills ſeveral pages with quotations from Calvin, Beza, and other foreign divines, in favour of epiſcopacy. ED.

† Ruſhworth, p. 848.

§ *Ruſhworth* and *Whitlocke* add, that the earl of *Pembroke* and many of the commiſſioners, beſides theſe two lords, were of the ſame judgment, and wiſhed, paſſing over this point, to come to the particulars. *Ruſhworth*'s Collection, vol. v. p. 849. *Whitlocke*'s Memorials, p. 123. ED.

" other,

" other,‖ nor any government whatſoever to be *jure divino*; " and I deſire we may leave this argument, and proceed to " debate on the particular propoſals."*

Dr. *Steward* deſired they might diſpute *ſyllogiſtically*, as became ſcholars, to which Mr. *Henderſon* readily agreed; in that way they proceeded about two days; the points urged by the king's doctors were ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr *Henderſon*, Mr. *Marſhal*, and Mr. *Vines*, and very learnedly replied to by his majeſty's divines, who ſeverally declared their judgments upon the apoſtolical inſtitution of epiſcopacy; but neither party were convinced or ſatisfied.

When the debate concerning religion came on a ſecond time, his majeſty's commiſſioners delivered in their anſwer to the parliament's demands in writing, with their reaſons why they could not conſent to the bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and eſtabliſhing the directory in the room of the common-prayer, nor adviſe his majeſty to take the covenant: but for the uniting and reconciling all differences in matters of religion, and procuring a bleſſed peace, they were willing to conſent,

(1.) " That freedom be left to all perſons, of what opi- " nion ſoever, in matters of ceremony, and that all the pe- " nalties of the laws and cuſtoms which enjoin thoſe cere- " monies be ſuſpended.†

(2.) " That the biſhop ſhall exerciſe no act of juriſdiction " or ordination, without the conſent of the preſbyters, who " ſhall be choſen by the clergy of each dioceſe, out of the " moſt learned and grave miniſters of the dioceſe.‡

(3.) " That the biſhop keep his conſtant reſidence in his " dioceſe, except when he ſhall be required by his majeſty " to attend him on any occaſion, and that (if he be not hin- " dered by the infirmities of old age, or ſickneſs) he preach " every Sunday in ſome church within his dioceſe.

‖ " The marquis of *Hertford*," ſays biſhop *Warburton*, " ſeems to have " read Hooker to more advantage than the king his maſter; who fancied " that great men contended for the *jus divinum* of epiſcopacy in his E. P. " in which he has been followed by many divines ſince." Ed.

* Whitlocke, p. 123. † Ruſhworth, p. 872.

‡ Dugdale, p. 780.

(4.) " That

(4.) "That the ordination of miniſters ſhall be always "in a publick and ſolemn manner, and very ſtrict rules ob- "ſerved concerning the ſufficiency, and other qualifications "of thoſe men who ſhall be received into holy orders, and "the biſhops ſhall not receive any into holy orders without "the approbation and conſent of the preſbyters, or the "major part of them.

(5.) "That a competent maintenance and proviſion be "eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, to ſuch vicarages as be- "long to biſhops, deans, and chapters, out of the impro- "priations, and according to the value of thoſe impropria- "tions of the ſeveral pariſhes.

(6.) "That for time to come no man ſhall be capable of "two parſonages or vicarages, with cure of ſouls.

(7.) "That towards ſettling the publick peace, one hun- "dred thouſand pounds ſhall be raiſed by act of parliament "out of the eſtates of biſhops, deans, and chapters, in ſuch "manner as ſhall be thought fit by the king and two houſes "of parliament, without the alienation of any of the ſaid "lands.

(8.) "That the juriſdiction in cauſes teſtamentary, deci- "mal, matrimonial, be ſettled in ſuch manner as ſhall ſeem "moſt convenient by the king and two houſes of parliament.

(9.) "That one or more acts of parliament be paſſed for "regulating of viſitations, and againſt immoderate fees in "eccleſiaſtical courts, and abuſes by frivolous excommuni- "cation, and all other abuſes in the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical "juriſdiction, in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed upon by the "king and both houſes of parliament.

"And if your lordſhips ſhall inſiſt upon any other thing, "which your lordſhips ſhall think neceſſary for reformation, "we ſhall very willingly apply ourſelves to the conſideration "thereof." But they abſolutely refuſed their conſent to the main points, (viz.) the aboliſhing epiſcopacy, eſtabliſh- ing the directory, confirming the aſſembly of divines, and taking the covenant.

Mr. *Rapin* obſerves, upon the firſt of theſe conceſſions, that ſince the penal laws were not to be aboliſhed, but only ſuſpended, it would be in the king's power to take off the

ſuſpenſion whenſoever he pleaſed. Upon the third, fourth, and fifth, that they were ſo reaſonable and neceſſary, that it was not for the king's honour to let them be conſidered as a condeſcenſion to promote the peace; and the remainder, depending upon the joint conſent of king and parliament, after a peace, it would always be in the king's breaſt to give or withhold his aſſent, as he thought fit.*

The commiſſioners for the parliament replied to theſe conceſſions, that they were ſo many new propoſitions, wholly different from what they had propoſed, that they contained little or nothing but what they were already in poſſeſſion of by the laws of the land; that they were no way ſatisfactory to their deſires, nor *conſiſting with that reformation to which both nations are obliged by the* ſolemn league *and* covenant; therefore they can give no other anſwer to them, but inſiſt to deſire their lordſhips, that the bill may be paſſed, and their other demands concerning religion granted.§ The parliament commiſſioners, in their laſt papers, ſay, that all objections in favour of the *preſent hierarchy*, ariſing from conſcience, law, or reaſon, being fully anſwered, they muſt now preſs for a determinate anſwer to their propoſition concerning religion.

The king's commiſſioners deny, that their objections againſt paſſing the bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy have been anſwered, or that they had received any ſatisfaction in thoſe particulars, and therefore cannot conſent to it.

The parliament commiſſioners add, that after ſo many days debate, and their making it appear, how great an hindrance epiſcopal government is, and has been to a perfect reformation, and to the growth of religion; and how prejudicial it has been to the *ſtate*, they hoped their lordſhips would have been ready to anſwer their expectations.‖

The king's commiſſioners replied, "It is evident, and we "conceive conſented to on all ſides, that epiſcopacy has con- "tinued from the apoſtles' time, by a continued ſucceſſion, "in the church of Chriſt, without intermiſſion or interrup- "tion, and is therefore *jure divino*."

The parliament commiſſioners anſwer, "So far were we "from conſenting that epiſcopacy has continued from the

* Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 512,13. § Dugdale, p. 783. ‖ Ibid. p. 787.

apoſtles'

"apoſtles' time, by a continued ſucceſſion, that the contrary "was made evident to your lordſhips, and the *unlawfulneſs* "of it fully proved."†

The king's commiſſioners replied, that they conceived the ſucceſſion of epiſcopacy from the apoſtles was conſented to on all ſides, and did not remember that the unlawfulneſs of it had been aſſerted and proved.§ However, they apprehend all the inconveniences of that government are remedied by the alterations which they had offered. Nor had the parliament commiſſioners given them a view in particular of the government they would ſubſtitute in place of the preſent; if therefore the alterations propoſed do not ſatisfy, they deſire the matter may be ſuſpended till after the diſbanding the armies, and both king and parliament can agree in calling a national ſynod.

The above-mentioned conceſſions would ſurely have been a ſufficient foundation for peace, if they had been made twelve months ſooner, before the Scots had been called in with their *ſolemn league and covenant*, and ſufficient ſecurity had been given for their performance; but the commiſſioners hands were now tied; the parliament apprehending themſelves obliged by the *covenant* to aboliſh the hierarchy; and yet if the commiſſioners could have agreed about the *militia*, and the puniſhment of evil counſellors, the affair of religion would not, in the opinion of lord *Clarendon*, have hindered the ſucceſs of the treaty; his words are theſe: "The par- "liament took none of the points of controverſy leſs to "heart, or were leſs united in any thing than in what con- "cerned the church;‖ the Scots would have given up every "thing into the hands of the king for their beloved preſby- "tery; but many of the parliament were for peace, pro- "vided *they might have indemnity for what was paſt, and* "*ſecurity for time to come.*"‡ And were not theſe reaſonable requeſts? Why then did not the commiſſioners prevail with the king to give them ſecurity, and divide the parliament, or put an end to the war.

The laſt day of the treaty the parliament continued ſitting till nine of the clock at night, in hopes of hearing ſomething

† Dugdale, p. 788. § Ibid. p. 790, 878.

‖ Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 581. ‡ Ibid. p. 594.

from their commiſſioners, that might encourage them to prolong the treaty; but when an expreſs brought word, that the king's commiſſioners would not yield to one of their propoſitions, they broke up without doing any thing in the buſineſs. Each party laid the blame upon the other; the king's commiſſioners complained, that the parliament would not conſent to prolong the treaty;§ and the others, that after twenty days conference not one propoſition had been yielded. All ſober men, and even ſome of the king's commiſſioners, were troubled at the event; but conſidering the ſtate of the king's affairs, and his ſervile attachment to the counſels of a *popiſh queen*, it was eaſy to foreſee it could not be otherwiſe.

Biſhop *Burnet*, in the Hiſtory of his Life and Times,‖ ſays, that lord *Hollis*, who was one of the commiſſioners, told him "that the king's affairs were now at a criſis, for the "treaty of Uxbridge gave him an opportunity of making "peace with the parliament, but all was undone by the unhappy ſucceſs of the marquis of *Montroſs* at this time in "Scotland, which being magnified to the king far beyond "what it really was, prevailed with his majeſty to put ſuch "limitations on his commiſſioners, as made the whole deſign miſcarry."

Moſt of the king's commiſſioners, who were not excepted out of the article of indemnity, were for accommodating matters before they left Uxbridge. The earl of *Southampton* rode poſt from Uxbridge to Oxford, to intreat the king to yield ſomething to the neceſſity of the times; ſeveral of his council preſſed him to it on their knees; and it is ſaid his majeſty was at length prevailed with, and appointed next morning to ſign a warrant to that purpoſe, but that *Montroſs*'s romantick letter, of his conqueſt in Scotland, coming in the mean time, made the unhappy king alter his reſolution.‡ But

§ See a proof of this in Dr. Grey. Ed.

‖ Vol. i. p. 51, Edinburgh edition.

‡ Dr. *Grey* attempts to convict Mr. *Neal* of falſehood in each part of this paragraph. For the firſt part, the doctor ſays, "that, as far as he "could learn, there was not ſo much as the ſhadow of an authority."—In reply, it may be obſerved, that though Mr. *Neal* has not, as it is to be wiſhed

But there was ſomething more in the affair than this; lord *Clarendon*† is of opinion, that if the king had yielded ſome things to the demands of the parliament relating to *religion*, the *militia*, and Ireland, there were ſtill other articles in reſerve that would have broken off the treaty; in which I cannot but agree with his lordſhip; for not to mention *the giving up delinquents to the juſtice of parliament*, of which himſelf was one, there had been as yet no debate about the *Roman catholicks*, whom the parliament would not tolerate, and the king was determined not to give up, as appears from the correſpondence between himſelf and the queen at this time. In the queen's letter, Jan. 6, 1644-5, ſhe deſires his majeſty "to have a care of his honour, and not to "abandon thoſe who had ſerved him—for if you agree upon "ſtrictneſs againſt *Roman catholicks*, it will diſcourage them "from ſerving you; nor can you expect relief from any "*Roman catholick* prince—"‡ In her letter of Jan. 27, ſhe adds, "above all have a care not to abandon thoſe who "have ſerved you, as well the biſhops as the *poor catholicks*." In anſwer to which the king writes, Jan. 30, "I deſire thee

wiſhed he had, referred to his authority, yet the doctor's aſſertion is not well ſupported. For *Whitlocke* informs us, that "on the 19th of Feb. "the earl of *Southampton* and others of the king's commiſſioners went from "Uxbridge to Oxford, to the king, about the buſineſs of the treaty, to re-"ceive ſome further directions from his majeſty therein." Memorials, p. 127. As the treaty cloſed on the 22d, the reader will judge, whether Mr. *Neal*, ſpeaking of the object and expedition of this journey, had not ſo much *as the ſhadow of an authority*. With reſpect to the latter part of the paragraph concerning *Montroſs*, Dr. *Grey* will have it, that biſhop *Burnet*'s authority makes directly againſt Mr. *Neal*; and then he quotes from him as follows: "*Montroſs* wrote to the king, *that he had gone over* "*the land from* DAN *to* BEERSHEBA, and that he prayed the king to come "down in theſe words, *Come thou and take the city, leſt I take it, and it* "*be called by my name.*" This letter was written, but never ſent, for he was routed, and his papers taken before he had diſpatched the courier. Of courſe the doctor means to conclude, that the king could not be influenced to obſtruct the operation of the treaty, by a letter which was never received. But it eſcaped Dr. *Grey*'s attention, that the letter which *he* quotes was written more than a year after the treaty was broken off: and Mr. *Neal* ſpeaks, on the authority of biſhop *Burnet*, of another letter, or expreſſes received, while the treaty was pending. So that there is no contradiction in the caſe. ED.

† Vol. ii. p. 594. ‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 511, 512, folio edition.

"to

" to be confident, that I ſhall never make peace by aban-
" doning my friends." And, Feb. 15, " Be confident, that
" in making peace I ſhall ever ſhew my confidence in ad-
" hering to the biſhops, and all our friends—" March 5,
" I give thee power in my name, to declare to whom thou
" thinkeſt fit, that I will take away all the penal laws againſt
" the *Roman catholicks* in England, as ſoon as God ſhall
" make me able to do it, ſo as by their means I may have
" ſo powerful aſſiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a favour,
" and enable me to do it—"‡ As for Ireland, his majeſty had already commanded the Duke of *Ormond*, by his letter of Feb. 27, to make peace with the papiſts, coſt what it would. " If the ſuſpending *Poynings*'s act will do it, (ſays
" he) and taking away the penal laws, I ſhall not think it a
" hard bargain—When the Iriſh give me that aſſiſtance they
" have promiſed, I will conſent to the repeal by law."†

It appears from hence, that the peace which the king ſeemed ſo much to deſire was an empty ſound. The queen was afraid he might be prevailed with to yield too far; but his majeſty bids her be confident of the contrary, for *his commiſſioners would not be diſputed from their ground, which was according to the note ſhe remembers, and which he would not alter.* When the treaty was ended, he writes thus to the queen, March 13, " Now is come to paſs what I fore-
" ſaw, the fruitleſs end of this treaty—Now if I do any
" thing unhandſome to myſelf or my friends, it will be my
" own fault——I was afraid of being preſſed to make ſome
" mean overtures to renew the treaty, but now if it be re-
" newed it ſhall be to my honour and advantage."§ Such was the queen's aſcendant over the king, and his majeſty's ſervile ſubmiſſion to her imperious dictates;* the fate of three

‡ Ruſhworth, vol. v. p. 942, 944, 946, 947. † Ibid. p. 978, 979.

§ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 512, folio edition.

* We will leave with our readers biſhop *Warburton*'s remarks on this reflection of Mr. *Neal*. " Never was the obſervation, of the king's un-
" happy attachment made in a worſe place. His *honour* required him not
" to give up his friends; and his *religion*, viz. the true principles of
" chriſtianity, to take off the penal laws from peaceable papiſts; and com-
" mon humanity called upon him to favour thoſe who had ſerved him at
" the hazard of their lives and fortunes."——It may be properly added, that

three kingdoms was at her diſpoſal; no place at court or in the army muſt be diſpoſed of without her approbation; no peace muſt be made but upon her terms; the Oxford *mungrel parliament* (as his majeſty calls it) muſt be diſmiſſed with diſgrace, becauſe they voted for peace; the Iriſh proteſtants muſt be abandoned to deſtruction; and a civil war permitted to continue its ravages throughout England and Scotland, that a popiſh religion and arbitrary government might be encouraged and upheld.‖

As a farther demonſtration of this melancholy remark, his majeſty authoriſed the earl of *Glamorgan*, by a warrant under his royal ſignet, dated March 12, 1644, to conclude privately a peace with the Iriſh papiſts upon the beſt terms he could, though they were ſuch as his lieutenant the duke of *Ormond* might not well be ſeen in, nor his majeſty himſelf think fit to own publickly at preſent, engaging, upon the word of a king and a chriſtian, to ratify and perform whatſoever he ſhould grant under his hand and ſeal, on condition they would ſend over into England a body of ten thouſand men, under the command of the ſaid earl.§ The date of this

that religion, in the liberal ſenſe in which his lordſhip explains the term, required the king to take off the penal laws from peaceable *puritans* as well as papiſts. But in his majeſty's dictionary the word does not appear to have borne ſo generous and juſt a meaning. Ed.

‖ Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 364.

§ Dr. *Grey* treats this account of the earl of *Glamorgan*'s commiſſion as a fine piece of ſlander, furniſhed by a tribe of republican writers: and to confute it he produces a letter from the king to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, one from Col. *King* in Ireland, and another from ſecretary *Nicholas* to the marquis of *Ormond*. There is no occaſion here to enter into a diſcuſſion of the queſtion concerning the authority under which the earl of *Glamorgan* acted. For ſince Mr. *Neal* and Dr. *Grey* wrote, the point has been moſt carefully and ably inveſtigated by Dr. *Birch*, in "An "Inquiry into the Share which King *Charles* I. had in the Tranſactions of "the Earl of *Glamorgan*," publiſhed in 1747. And the fact has been put out of all doubt by a letter of that nobleman to the lord chancellor *Hyde*, written a few days after king *Charles* II's reſtoration, which has appeared in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 20—203, and has been republiſhed in the ſecond edition of the Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 320, under the life of Dr. *Birch*. The general fact having been aſcertained beyond all contradiction, the queſtion which offers is, how far the king acted criminally in this tranſaction. Mrs. *Macaulay* repreſents him as violating

this warrant is remarkable, as it was at a time when his majeſty's affairs were far from being deſperate; when he thought the diviſions in the parliament-houſe would quickly be their ruin, and that he had little more to do than to ſit ſtill and be reſtored upon his own terms, for which reaſon he was ſo unyielding at the treaty of Uxbridge; and yet the earl, by his majeſty's commiſſion, granted every thing to the Iriſh, even to the eſtabliſhing the *Roman catholick* religion, and putting it on a level with the proteſtant; he gave them all the churches and revenues they were poſſeſſed of ſince the rebellion, and not only exempted them from the juriſdiction of the proteſtant clergy, but allowed them juriſdiction over their ſeveral flocks, ſo that the reformed religion in that kingdom was in a manner ſold for ten thouſand Iriſh papiſts to be tranſported into England, and maintained for three years. Let the reader now judge, what proſpect there could be of a well-grounded peace by the treaty of Uxbridge! What ſecurity there was for the proteſtant religion! How little ground of reliance on the king's promiſes! and conſequently, to whoſe account the calamities of the war, and the miſery and confuſions which followed after this period, ought to be placed.

The day before the commencement of the treaty of Uxbridge, the members of the houſe of commons attended the funeral of Mr. *John White* chairman of the grand committee of religion, and publiſher of the century of ſcandalous miniſters; he was a grave lawyer (ſays lord *Clarendon*) and

lating every principle of honour and conſcience. Mr. *Hume*, on the contrary, ſpeaks of it as a very innocent tranſaction, in which the king was engaged by the moſt violent neceſſity. Dr. *Birch* conſiders it with temper, though he appears to think it not eaſily reconcileable to the idea of a good man, a good prince, or a good proteſtant. Mr. *Walpole* has ſome candid and lively reflections on it. "It requires," he obſerves, "very primitive "reſignation in a monarch to ſacrifice his crown and his life, when perſe-"cuted by ſubjects of his own ſect, rather than preſerve both by the aſſiſt-"ance of others of his ſubjects who differed from him in ceremonials or "articles of belief.—His fault was not in propoſing to bring over the Iriſh, "but in having made them neceſſary to his affairs. Every body knew, "that he wanted to do without them, all that he could have done with "them." Biographia Britannica, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 321, note. ED.

See Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 239, &c. Rapin, 330. Hiſt. Stuarts, 305.

made

made a conſiderable figure in his profeſſion. He had been one of the *feoffees* for buying in impropriations, for which he was cenſured in the ſtar-chamber. He was repreſentative in parliament for the borough of Southwark; having been a puritan from his youth, and, in the opinion of Mr. *Whitlocke*,* an honeſt, learned, and faithful ſervant of the publick, though ſomewhat ſevere at the committee for plundered miniſters. He died Jan. 29, and was buried in the Temple church with great funeral ſolemnity.§

* Memorials, p. 122.

§ Dr. *Grey*, on the authority of *Walker*, "charges Mr. *White* with "corrupt practices by the way of *bribery*; ſays that Dr. *Bruno Ryves* "called him a *fornicating Browniſt*, and that the author of Perſec Undec. "ſuggeſts much worſe againſt him; and, on the teſtimony of an anonymous "author, repreſents him as dying diſtracted, crying out, *how many clergy-"men, their wives and children he had undone; raving and condemning "himſelf at his dying hour*, for his undoing ſo *many guiltleſs miniſters*." Such repreſentations carry little weight with them againſt the teſtimony of *Clarendon* and *Whitlocke*: eſpecially, when it is conſidered that the obnoxious part, which Mr. *White* acted, would neceſſarily create many enemies; ſome of whom would invent and others eagerly credit, the moſt reproachful calumnies againſt him. Dr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Withers*, whom Dr. *Grey* never notices, have ſufficiently expoſed the partiality and credulity of Dr. *Walker*, to render his aſſertions ſuſpicious. And it ſhould not be overlooked, as a ſtrong preſumption at leaſt of the purity of Mr. *White*'s character and the integrity of his proceedings, that he appealed to the publick by his "Centuries of Scandalous Miniſters." ED.

CHAP. VI.

The Progreſs of the War. Debates in the Aſſembly about Ordination. The Power of the Keys. The divine Right of Preſbyterian Government. Committees for Comprehenſion and Toleration of the Independants.

THE king's commiſſioners had been told at the treaty of Uxbridge, that the fate of the Engliſh monarchy depended upon its ſucceſs; that if the treaty was broken off abruptly, there were a ſet of men in the houſe, who would remove the earl of *Eſſex*, and conſtitute ſuch an *army*, as might force the parliament and king to conſent to every thing they demanded, or change the government into a commonwealth; whereas, if the king would yield to the neceſſity of the times, they might preſerve the GENERAL, and not only diſappoint the deſigns of the enemies to *monarchy*, but ſoon be in circumſtances to enable his majeſty to recover all he ſhould reſign. However, the commiſſioners looked upon this as the language of deſpair, and made his majeſty believe the diviſions at Weſtminſter would ſoon replace the ſcepter in his own hands.*

The houſe of commons had been diſſatisfied with the conduct of the earls of *Eſſex* and *Mancheſter* laſt ſummer, as tending to protract the war, leſt one party ſhould eſtabliſh itſelf upon the ruins of the other; but the warmer ſpirits in the houſe, ſeeing no period of their calamities this way, apprehended a deciſive battle ought to be fought as ſoon as poſſible, for which purpoſe, after a ſolemn faſt, it was moved that all the preſent officers ſhould be diſcharged, and the army intruſted in ſuch hands as they could confine in. Dec. 9, it was reſolved, that no member of either houſe ſhould execute any office civil or military, during the preſent war; accordingly the ordinance, commonly called the SELF-

* Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 595.

DENYING

DENYING ORDINANCE, was brought in, and paſſed the commons ten days after, but was laid aſide by the lords till after the treaty of Uxbridge, when it was revived and carried with ſome little oppoſition. The earls of *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, *Warwick*, and *Denbigh*, the lord *Roberts*, *Willoughby*, and others, were diſmiſſed by this ordinance,§ and all members of the houſe of commons, except lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, who after a few months was diſpenſed with, at the requeſt of the new general. All the regiments were diſbanded, and ſuch only liſted under the new commanders as were determined to conquer or die. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was appointed general,‡ and *Oliver Cromwell*, after ſome time, lieutenant-general; the clauſe *for preſervation of the king's perſon* was left out of ſir *Thomas*'s commiſſion; nor did it run in the name of the *king and parliament*, but of the *parliament only*. The army conſiſted of twenty-one thouſand reſolute ſoldiers, and was called in contempt by the royaliſts the *new-modelled army;* but their courage quickly revenged the contempt.

Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX was a gentleman of no quick parts or elocution; but religious, faithful, valiant, and of a grave, ſober, reſolved diſpoſition; neither too great, nor too cunning to be directed by the parliament.* OLIVER CROMWELL was more bold and aſpiring; and being a ſoldier of undaunted courage and intrepidity, proved at length too powerful for his maſters. The army was more at his diſpoſal than at *Fairfax*'s, and the wonders they wrought ſprung chiefly from his counſels.

§ "Thus almoſt all thoſe men, by whoſe intereſt, power, and authority, "the war with the king had been undertaken, and without whom no op- "poſition, of any weight, could poſſibly have been raiſed, were in a ſhort "time deprived of their power and influence over their own army, and "obliged, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, to truckle before them. So little can men "ſee into futurity! ſo different are the turns things take, from what men "are apt to expect and depend on." Dr. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 118.

‡ Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s power extended to the execution of martial law and the nomination of the officers under him. The army was put ſolely under the command of one man. "What was this," it has been properly aſked, "but to put it into his power to give law to the parliament, when- "ever he thought fit." Dr. Harris, ut ſupra. ED.

* Baxter's Life, p. 48.

When

When the old regiments were broken, the chaplains, being diſcharged of courſe, returned to their cures; and as new ones were formed, the officers applied to the parliament and aſſembly for a freſh recruit; but the preſbyterian miniſters being poſſeſſed of warm benefices, were unwilling to undergo the fatigues of another campaign, or, it may be, to ſerve with men of ſuch deſperate meaſures. This fatal accident proved the ruin of the cauſe in which the parliament were engaged; for the army being deſtitute of chaplains, who might have reſtrained the irregularities of their zeal, the officers ſet up for preachers in their ſeveral regiments, depending upon a kind of miraculous aſſiſtance of the divine ſpirit, without any ſtudy or preparation; and when their imaginations were heated, they gave vent to the moſt crude and undigeſted abſurdities; nor did the evil reſt there, for from preaching at the head of their regiments, they took poſſeſſion of the country pulpits where they were quartered, till at length they ſpread the infection over the whole nation, and brought the regular miniſtry into contempt. Moſt of the common ſoldiers were religious and orderly, and when releaſed from duty ſpent their time in prayer and religious conferences, like men who carried their lives in their hands; but for want of prudent and regular inſtruction, were ſwallowed up in the depths of enthuſiaſm. Mr. *Baxter* therefore obſerves very juſtly, "It was the "*miniſters* that loſt all by forſaking the army, and betaking "themſelves to an eaſier and quieter way of life. When "the earl of *Eſſex*'s army went out, each regiment had an "able chaplain, but after Edge-Hill fight moſt of them went "home, and left the army to their own conduct." But, even after the deciſive battle of Naſeby, he admits, great numbers of the officers and ſoldiers were ſober and orthodox; and from the little good which he did whilſt among them, concludes, that if their *miniſters* would have followed his meaſures, the king, the parliament, and religion, might have been ſaved.§

The new-modelled troops were kept under the ſevereſt diſcipline, commiſſioners being appointed to take care that the country was not oppreſſed; that no ſoldiers were quar-

§ Baxter's Life, p. 51, 56.

tered

tered in any place but by appointment of the quarter-maſter; that ready money be paid for all proviſions and ammunition; every ſoldier had ſix-pence a day for his diet, and every trooper eight-pence. No inhabitants were compelled to furniſh more proviſions than they were able and willing to ſpare, under the ſevereſt penalties; whereas the royal army, having no regular pay, lived upon the plunder of thoſe places that had the misfortune to receive them.

May 30, the king took the town of Leiceſter by ſtorm, with a very great treaſure, which the country people had brought thither for ſecurity, his ſoldiers dividing the ſpoil, and treating the inhabitants in a moſt cruel and unmerciful manner; after *this* conqueſt, his majeſty wrote to the queen, that his *affairs were never in ſo hopeful a poſture ſince the rebellion.*‖ The parliament army were preparing to lay ſiege to the city of Oxford, but upon news of this diſaſter, had orders to follow the king, and hazard a battle at all events; whereupon ſir *Thomas Fairfax* petitioned the two houſes, to diſpenſe with their *ſelf-denying ordinance* with reſpect to lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, whoſe courage and counſels would be of great ſervice in the preſent criſis; *Cromwell* was accordingly diſpenſed with during pleaſure, and having joined the army with ſix hundred horſe and dragoons, they overtook the king, and gave him battle June 14, at Naſeby, about three miles from Harborough in Leiceſterſhire.

The action began about ten in the morning, and ended about three or four in the afternoon, in an abſolute defeat of the king's forces, which was owing, in a great meaſure, to the wiſe conduct and reſolution of lieutenant-general *Cromwell* on the one hand, and to the indiſcreet fury and violence of prince *Rupert* on the other. The armies were pretty equal in number, about twelve or fourteen thouſand on a ſide, but the parliament ſoldiers were better diſciplined, and fought with all the bravery and magnanimity that an enthuſiaſtick zeal could inſpire. General *Fairfax*, having his helmet beat off, rode up and down the field bare-headed; major-general *Skippon* received a wound in the beginning of the engagement, upon which being deſired to go off, he

‖ Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 143, 144.

anſwered,

anſwered, *he would not ſtir as long as a man would ſtand.* *Ireton* was run through the thigh with a pike, had his horſe killed under him, and was made a priſoner, but found means to eſcape upon the turn of the battle. The king ſhewed himſelf a courageous commander, but his ſoldiers were ſtruck with ſuch a panick, that when they were once diſordered they would never rally, whereas if their enemies were beaten from their ground they preſently returned, and kept their ranks till they received freſh inſtructions.* When prince *Rupert* had routed *Ireton*'s left wing, he loſt his advantage, firſt, by following the chace almoſt three miles, and *then* by trying to become maſter of the train of artillery, before he knew the ſucceſs of the main body; whereas, when *Cromwell* had broke the right wing of the enemy, he purſued them only a quarter of a mile, and leaving a ſmall party of horſe to prevent their rallying, returned immediately to the battle, and with his victorious troops charged the royal infantry in flank. The parliament army took above five thouſand priſoners; all the king's train of artillery, bag and baggage, with his cabinet of letters, ſome of which were afterwards publiſhed to the world; not above ſix or ſeven hundred of his men being killed, with about one hundred and fifty officers. The king, with a party of horſe, fled into Wales, and prince *Rupert* to Briſtol; but the parliament forces purſued their victory with ſuch eagerneſs, and marched with that rapidity over the whole weſt of England, to the very land's end, that in a few months all the royal forces were diſperſed, and his majeſty's garriſons ſurrendered almoſt before they were ſummoned.‖ The city of Briſtol, into which prince *Rupert* had thrown himſelf, capitulated before the beſiegers approached the walls, which provoked the king to that degree, that he commanded him by letter to depart the land, as did alſo the prince of *Wales*, for the ſecurity of his perſon; ſo that by the end of this campaign, the unhappy king was expoſed to the mercy of his enemies, and ſhut up all the winter little better than a priſoner in his garriſon of Oxford.

* Whitlocke, p. 145. Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 658.

‖ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 517, 518, folio.

To

To return to the affairs of the church. When it is recollected what great number of clergymen had deſerted to the king, or were otherwiſe diſſatisfied with the new terms of conformity, we muſt conclude it very difficult to ſupply the vacant pulpits in the country with a learned and regular clergy: one of the univerſities was entirely uſeleſs, and the young ſtudents who adhered to the parliament could not obtain ordination in a legal way, becauſe all the biſhops were in the oppoſition, and would ordain none but thoſe of their own principles, which was another cauſe of the increaſe of unqualified preachers. To put ſome ſtop to the clamours of the royaliſts, and to the miſchiefs of lay-preaching, which began to appear in the army, the parliament ordained April 26, "That no perſon ſhall be permitted to preach who is "not ordained a miniſter in this or ſome other reformed "church, except ſuch as intend the miniſtry, who ſhall be "allowed for the trial of their gifts, by thoſe that ſhall be "appointed thereunto by both houſes of parliament; and it "is earneſtly deſired, that ſir *Tho. Fairfax* take care, that "this ordinance be put in execution in the army. It is fur-"ther ordered to be ſent to the lord-mayor, and committee "of the militia in London; to the governors and com-"manders of all forts, garriſons, forces, cities and towns, "with the like injunction; and the mayor, ſheriffs, and "juſtices of the peace, are to commit all offenders to ſafe "cuſtody, and give notice to the parliament, who will take "a ſpeedy courſe for their puniſhment.*

At the ſame time the lords ſent to the *aſſembly*, to prepare a new *directory* for the *ordination of miniſters of the church in England*, without the preſence of a dioceſan biſhop. This took them up a great deal of time, by reaſon of the oppoſition it met with from the *eraſtians* and *independants*, but was at laſt accompliſhed, and paſſed into an ordinance, bearing date Nov. 8, 1645, and was to continue in force by way of trial for twelve months; on the 28th of Auguſt following, it was prolonged for three years, at the expiration of which term it was made perpetual.

The ordinance ſets forth, "That whereas the words "*preſbyter* and *biſhop* do in ſcripture ſignify the ſame func-

* Huſband's Collections, p. 645.

"tion,

"tion, though the title of *biſhop* has been, by corrupt cuſ-
"tom, appropriated to one, who has aſſumed to himſelf, in
"the matter of ordination, that which was not meet; which
"ordination, notwithſtanding being performed by him, we
"hold for ſubſtance to be valid, and not to be diſclaimed by
"any that have received it; and whereas it is manifeſt, that
"ORDINATION, that is, *an outward, ſolemn ſetting apart of*
"*perſons for the office of the miniſtry in the church by preach-*
"*ing preſbyters*, is an inſtitution of Chriſt, it is therefore or-
"dained by the lords and commons, with the advice of the
"aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, that the ſeveral and
"reſpective claſſical preſbyters within their reſpective bounds
"may examine, approve, and ordain preſbyters, according
"to the following directory,"* which I have placed in the Appendix,† and is in ſubſtance as follows:

Firſt, "The perſon to be ordained muſt apply to the
"preſbytery, with a teſtimonial of his taking the covenant,
"of his proficiency in his ſtudies," &c.

Secondly, "He is then to paſs under an examination as
"to his religion and learning, and call to the miniſtry."

Then follow rules for examination, as in the *appendix*.

"After examination he ſhall receive a publick teſtimonial
"from his examiners, which ſhall be read publickly before
"the people, and then fixed to the door of the church
"where he preaches for approbation, with liberty to any
"perſon or perſons to make exceptions.

"Upon the day of ordination a ſolemn faſt ſhall be kept
"by the congregation, when, after a ſermon, the per-
"ſon to be ordained ſhall make a publick confeſſion of his
"faith,‖ and declare his reſolutions to be diligent and con-
"ſtant

* Ruſhworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 212. † Appendix, No. ix.

‖ It deſerves to be noticed here, that the advice and orders of the Weſtminſter aſſembly are, on this point, very general; namely, "that the per-
"ſon to be ordained be aſked of his faith in Jeſus Chriſt, of his perſuaſion
"of the truth of the reformed religion according to the ſcriptures, and of
"his zeal for the truth of the goſpel and unity of the church, againſt error
"and ſchiſm." "This, I think, is an evident preſumption," obſerves a late writer, "that the majority of the aſſembly were againſt impoſing hu-
"man teſts, and making ſubſcription to their confeſſion a neceſſary term of
"communion, either to miniſters or other chriſtians." "The *religious*
"eſtabliſhment

" ſtant in the diſcharge of his paſtoral duty. After which " he ſhall be ſeparated, or ſet apart to the paſtoral office with " a ſhort prayer, and the laying on of the hands of the " miniſters preſent. After the ordination, there is to be an " exhortation to miniſter and people, and the whole *ſolemnity* " to conclude with a *pſalm* and a *prayer*.

It is further declared, " That all ordinations, according " to the former uſage of the church of England, as well as " thoſe of Scotland, and other reformed churches, ſhall be " eſteemed valid.

" A regiſter is to be kept by every preſbytery of the " names of the perſons ordained by them, of the miniſters " concerned, and of the time and place where they were " ſettled. No money or gift whatſoever ſhall be received " from the perſon ordained, or from any on his behalf, for " his ordination, or any thing relating to it, except for the " inſtruments or teſtimonials, which ſhall not exceed ten " ſhillings.

Laſtly, It is reſolved, " That all perſons ordained ac- " cording to this *directory*, ſhall be for ever reputed and " taken, to all intents and purpoſes, for lawfully, and ſuf- " ficiently authoriſed miniſters of the church of England, " and as capable of any miniſterial employment in the " church, as any other preſbyter already ordained, or here- " after to be ordained."

To give a ſhort ſpecimen of the debates upon this ordinance; when the paſſage in *Timothy*, of *laying on of the hands of the preſbytery* was voted a full warrant for preſbyters ordaining without a biſhop, Mr. *Selden*, *Lightfoot*, and ſome others, entered their diſſent, declaring, that the impoſition of hands there ſpoken of was only upon the ordination of an elder; and though elders might ordain elders, it did not neceſſarily follow they might ordain biſhops.

The *independants* maintained the right of every particular congregation to ordain its own officers; this was debated ten days; and the arguments on both ſides were afterwards publiſhed by conſent of the ſeveral parties, in a book, entitled,

" eſtabliſhment of Scotland examined, &c." printed for Cadell, 1771, p. 05. This is the more remarkable, as, in other inſtances, this ſynod ſhewed themſelves dogmatical and intolerant. ED.

*The grand Debate between Preſbytery and Independency.** At length the queſtion being put, *that it is requiſite no ſingle congregation, that can conveniently aſſociate with others, ſhould aſſume to itſelf the ſole right of ordination*, it was carried in the affirmative, the following independant miniſters entering their diſſent:

Tho. Goodwin,	*William Bridge,*
Phil. Nye,	*William Greenhill,*
Jer. Burroughs,	*William Carter.*
Sidrach Simpſon,	

It was next debated, whether ordination might precede election to a particular cure or charge; Dr. *Temple*, Mr. *Herle*, *Vines*, *Palmer*, *Whitaker*, and *Calamy*, argued for the affirmative. 1. From the ordination of *Timothy*, *Titus*, and *Apollos*, without any particular charge. 2. Becauſe it is a different thing to ordain to an office, and to appropriate the exerciſe of that office to any particular place. 3. If election muſt precede ordination, then there muſt be a new ordination upon every new election. 4. It would then follow, that a miniſter was no miniſter out of his own church or congregation. And, 5. Then a miniſter could not gather or plant churches, or baptize new converts, becauſe, according to the *independants*, there muſt firſt be a church before there can be a miniſter.†

Mr. *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Bridge*, and the reſt of the independants, replied to the foregoing reaſons, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were extraordinary officers—that it appeared to them abſurd, to ordain an officer without a province to exerciſe the office in—that they ſaw no great inconvenience in *re-ordinations*, though they did not admit the conſequence, that a perſon regularly ordained to one church, muſt be re-ordained upon every removal; but they aſſerted, that a paſtor of one particular church might preſerve his character in all places; and if there was extraordinary ſervice to be done in planting new churches, or baptizing converts, the churches might ſend out their officers, or create new ones for that purpoſe. The grand difficulty with the *independants* lay here, that ordination without election to a particular charge ſeemed

* Grand Debate, p. 185. † MS. penes me.

to

to imply a conveyance of *office-power*, which, in their opinion, was attended with all the difficulties of a lineal ſucceſſion. The debates upon this article continued ſeveral days, and iſſued at laſt in a compromiſe in theſe words; *It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that thoſe who are to be ordained miniſters, be deſigned to ſome particular church, or other miniſterial charge.* And with regard to the ceremony of *impoſition of hands*, the *independants* acquieſced in the practice, provided it was attended with an open declaration, *that it was not intended as a conveyance of office-power.*

It may ſeem abſurd to begin the reformation of the church, with an ordinance appointing *claſſical preſbyters* to ordain miniſters within their ſeveral *diſtricts*, when there was not as yet one *claſſical preſbytery* in all England; but the urgency of affairs required it; the ſcarcity of miniſters would not ſuffer a delay till the whole fabrick of preſbytery was erected;* therefore, to ſupply this defect for the preſent, the whole buſineſs was entruſted with the *aſſembly*, who voted, Dec. 24, 1645, that a committee for examination of miniſters ſhould ſit every Tueſday and Thurſday in the afternoon at two o'clock, and the members of the aſſembly ſhould attend in their turns, as they ſhall be nominated and appointed by the ſcribe, according to the order of their names in the regiſter book, five at a time, and each to attend a week.

While the point of *ordination* was depending, committees were choſen to prepare materials for a new form of diſcipline and church government; a meaſure of the greater conſequence, becauſe the old form was diſſolved, and no other as yet eſtabliſhed in its room.† Here the independants agreed with the preſbyterians, that *there was a certain form of church government laid down in the New Teſtament, which was of divine inſtitution*; but when they came to the queſtion, *what that government was?* and, *whether it was binding in all ages of the church?* both the eraſtians and independants divided againſt them. The propoſition was this, *that the ſcripture holds forth, that many particular congregations may, and by* DIVINE INSTITUTION *ought, to be under one preſbyterial government.* The debate laſted thirty days; the *eraſtians* did not except againſt the preſbyterial govern-

* Vide Appendix, No. ix. † Ibid.

ment as a *political inſtitution*, proper to be eſtabliſhed by the civil magiſtrate, but they were againſt the claim of a DIVINE RIGHT. Upon this occaſion *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, eſq; one of the lay-commiſſioners, ſtood up, and made the following ſpeech:*

" *Mr. Prolocutor*,

" I MIGHT bluſh to ſpeak in this reverend aſſembly, " upon the queſtion now in debate before you, had I not, " by the honour of being one of your members, ſeen your " candour to others, and obſerved you to be moſt capable " to give ſatisfaction to any ſcruple here, and to enable ſuch " as I am to ſatisfy objections abroad, whereof I have met " with ſome, your queſtion not being under ſecrecy.

" By *government* all men underſtand the prudent and well " ordering of perſons and affairs, that men may live well " and happily; and by the *government of the church*, the " ordering and ruling of perſons and matters having relation " to the worſhip of God, in ſpiritual matters.

" The word *preſbyter* was in great honour among the " *Jews*, being given to the members of their great ſanhe- " drim, and therefore is not now ſo properly to be attributed " to the rulers of every ſmall congregation. I am none of " thoſe, Mr. *Prolocutor*, who except againſt the preſbyterian " government; I think it has a good foundation, and has " done much good in the church of Chriſt.

" But, ſir, whether this form of government be *jure divino* " or not, may admit of ſome diſpute? and, whether it be " now requiſite for you to declare, that it is ſo?

" If the meaning be, that it is *jure divino eccleſiaſtico*, " then the queſtion will be raiſed, of the magiſtrates im- " poſing forms upon men's conſciences, for then they will " be only the magiſtrates' impoſition. But if the meaning " be *jure divino abſolutè*, it muſt then be the precept of " God, and they are in a ſad condition who are not under " this government.

" But it is objected, that no form of government is *jure* " *divino*, but that, in general, all things muſt be done de- " cently, and in order. A *government* is certainly *jure*

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 95.

" *divino*,

" *divino*, but whether preſbytery, epiſcopacy, independency, " or any other form of government be *jure divino*, or not; " that is, whether there be a præſcript, rule or command of " ſcripture, for any of thoſe forms, will not be admitted by " many as a clear thing.

" It may therefore not be unworthy your conſideration, " whether it be not more prudent at this time to forbear to " declare your judgments in this point; the truth will never- " theleſs continue the ſame.

" If this government be not *jure divino*, no opinion of " any council can make it ſo; and if it be *jure divino*, it con- " tinues ſo ſtill, though you do not declare it to be ſo.

" I therefore humbly ſubmit it to your judgments, whe- " ther it be not better at this time to avoid giving occaſion " to diſputes of this nature, and only to preſent your judg- " ment to the parliament, *that the government of the church* " *by preſbyteries is moſt agreeable to the word of God, and moſt* " *fit to be ſettled in this kingdom*; or, in what other expreſ- " ſions you may think fit to clothe your queſtion; and I hope " you may ſoon have a deſired iſſue."

Mr. *Selden* and *St. John* were of this mind; and the Reverend Mr. *Colman* was ſo zealous on this ſide, that he declaimed againſt the *divine right*, not only in the aſſembly, but in the pulpit, apprehending preſbytery would prove as arbitrary and tyrannical as prelacy, if it came in on the foot of a *divine claim*. He therefore propoſed, that the civil magiſtrate ſhould have the ſole power of the keys by way " of *interim*, till the nation was ſettled.

But the *independants* oppoſed the propoſition of the *divine right of preſbytery*, by advancing a counter *divine right* of their own ſcheme; fifteen days they took the part of opponents, and fifteen days they were upon the defenſive. To give a ſhort ſpecimen of their debates.

The chief enquiries were concerning the conſtitution and form of the firſt church of Jeruſalem; the *ſub-ordination of ſynods*, and *of lay-elders*.* Upon the firſt queſtion the independants maintained, *that the firſt church at Jeruſalem was not larger than could meet in one place*. In ſupport of

* Grand Debate, p. 13, &c.

which

which allegation, they produced ſeveral paſſages from the New Teſtament; as, *Acts* i. 15. The whole number of diſciples being about one hundred and twenty met together with one accord. And *Acts* ii. 1. They were all with one accord in one place. When they were multiplied to three thouſand, it is ſtill ſaid, they met together with one accord, and in one place: *Acts* ii. 46. When they were further increaſed, multitudes being added to them, both men and women, they ſtill met together with one accord, and in one place: *Acts* v. 12, 14. When the number of diſciples had received yet further additions, ſo that it became neceſſary to chooſe deacons to take care of the poor, the whole multitude were called together, and choſe out ſeven men from among themſelves, and ſet them before the apoſtles: *Acts* vi. 2, 5. And even after the general diſperſion of the diſciples, mentioned *Acts* viii, it is recorded, that thoſe who remained met together in one place as a church. *Acts* xv. 4, 22. Then pleaſed it the apoſtles and elders, with the WHOLE CHURCH, to ſend choſen men of their own company to Antioch. They allowed, that there was mention of a preſbytery in ſcripture, but that it was no other than the preſbytery or elders of one particular church or congregation, it being no where expreſſed, that God has ſet in the church, diſtinct ſorts of preſbyteries, ſuch as *conſiſtories*, *claſſes*, *provincial ſynods*, and *general aſſemblies*, one above another. They objected alſo to the high powers claimed by the preſbyteries, as the right of admiſſion and excluſion from the chriſtian church with pains and penalties, which, as they had no foundation in ſcripture, were not very conſiſtent with the powers of the civil magiſtrate.

By way of reply the preſbyterians maintained, *that the church of Jeruſalem was made up of more congregations than one*, as appeared from the multitude of diſciples mentioned in divers places;*—from the many apoſtles and teachers in the church of Jeruſalem, who could not exerciſe their gifts in one aſſembly;—and from the diverſity of languages mentioned *Acts* ii. and *Acts* vi. Now it being granted, that the diſciples were too numerous to aſſemble in one place, it muſt follow, that they were under one preſbyterial government,

* Grand Debate, p. 41.

becauſe

becauſe they are ſtill called one church, *Acts* viii. 1, the elders of which are often mentioned in the ſame hiſtory. The ableſt criticks in the aſſembly were divided upon this head, as Dr. *Temple*, *Lightfoot*, *Selden*, *Colman*, *Vines*, and others; but it was carried for the preſbyterians.

It was alledged, in favour of the SUBORDINATION OF SYNODS, that the ſcripture ſpeaks of an appeal from one or two brethren to the whole church, *Matth.* xviii. 15; and of the appeal of the church at Antioch to the apoſtles and elders at Jeruſalem, *Acts* xv. 2.* But the *independants* affirmed, that a ſynod of preſbyters is no where called a church; and that the appeal of the church of Antioch was only for advice, not for a judicial determination: but that, ſuppoſing the aſſembly of the apoſtles at Jeruſalem had been a ſynod, it could neither be provincial nor national in reſpect of the church at Antioch, and conſequently no proof of a ſubordination. The maſters of Jewiſh antiquities diſplayed all their learning upon this ſubject, for the Jewiſh ſanhedrim being propoſed as the model of their *chriſtian preſbytery*, it was neceſſary to enquire, what were the reſpective powers of the eccleſiaſtical and civil courts under the *law*.† Moſes having appointed, that he that would not hearken to the *prieſt*, or the judge, ſhould die, *Deut.* xvii. 12, it was inferred, in favour of church power, that the *prieſt* held one court, and the *civil magiſtrate* another; but Mr. *Selden* obſerved, that the vulgar *Latin* till within theſe forty years reads thus, *Qui non obediverit ſacerdoti ex decreto judicis morietur*. He that will not obey the *prieſt* ſhall die by the ſentence of the *judge*; and Mr. *Lightfoot* added, that when the judges of inferior courts went up to Jeruſalem by way of appeal, it was only for advice and conſultation; but when the queſtion was put, Dec. 12, for a *ſub-ordination of ſynods with* LAY-ELDERS, *as ſo many courts of judicature, with power to diſpenſe church cenſures*, it was carried in the affirmative, and inſerted in their *humble advice*, with this addition; "ſo "Chriſt has furniſhed ſome in his church (beſides miniſters "of the word) with gifts for government, and with com- "miſſion to execute the ſame, when called thereunto, who "are to join with the miniſter in the government of the

* Grand Debate, p. 115, 128, &c. † Lightfoot's Remarks, p. 17.

"church,

" church, which officers the reformed churches generally " call ELDERS."*

Thus the main foundations of the preſbyterial government were voted of DIVINE APPOINTMENT by a very great majority; but the independants entered their diſſent in writing, and complained to the world " of the unkind uſage " they met with in the aſſembly; that the papers they offered " were not read; that they were not allowed to ſtate their " own queſtions, being told they ſet themſelves induſtri- " ouſly to puzzle the cauſe, and render the cleareſt propo- " ſitions obſcure, rather than argue the truth or falſeneſs of " them—that it was not worth the aſſembly's while to ſpend " ſo much time in debating with ſo inconſiderable a number " of men;‡ they alſo declared, that the aſſembly refuſed to " debate their main propoſition, viz. *whether a divine right* " *of church government did not remain with every particular* " *congregation.*"——To all which it was replied, that the aſſembly were not conſcious they had done them any injuſtice, and as for the reſt, they were the proper judges of their own methods of proceeding.

The *eraſtians*, ſeeing how things were carried, reſerved themſelves for the houſe of commons, where they were ſure to be joined by all the patrons of the independants. The Engliſh and Scots commiſſioners being no leſs ſolicitous about the event, gave their friends notice to be early in their places, hoping to carry the queſtion before the houſe ſhould be full; but Mr. *Glyn*, perceiving their intention, ſpoke an hour to the point of JUS DIVINUM; and after him Mr. *Whitlocke* ſtood up and enlarged upon the ſame argument, till the houſe was full, when the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative; and that the propoſition of the aſſembly ſhould ſtand thus, *That it is* LAWFUL AND AGREE-

* Vide Appendix, No. ix.

‡ This is a ſpecimen of that inſolence of ſpirit, that pride and haughtineſs in numbers which a conviction of acting with the majority begets. Theſe men did not recollect, that the chriſtians themſelves at the beginning, were an inconſiderable number of men, and the diſciples of the true and faithful witneſs a " little flock." They had forgotten the gracious promiſe made to " two or three" only, gathered together in the name of Chriſt. ED.

ABLE

ABLE TO THE WORD OF GOD, *that the church be governed by congregational, claſſical, and ſynodical aſſemblies.*‖

The diſappointment of the Scots commiſſioners and their friends at the loſs of this queſtion in the houſe, is not to be expreſſed; they alarmed the citizens with the danger of the church, and prevailed with the *common-council* to petition the parliament [Nov. 15] that *the preſbyterian diſcipline might be eſtabliſhed*, AS THE DISCIPLINE OF JESUS CHRIST; but the commons anſwered with a frown, *that the citizens muſt have been miſinformed of the proceedings of the houſe, or elſe they would not have precipitated the judgment of parliament.* Not diſcouraged at this rebuke, they prevailed with the *city miniſters* to petition, who, when they came to the houſe, were told by the ſpeaker, *they need not wait for an anſwer, but go home and look to the charges of their ſeveral congregations*; and immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the riſe of theſe petitions.

The preſbyterian *miniſters*, deſpairing of ſucceſs with the commons, inſtead of yielding to the times, reſolved to apply to the houſe of lords, who received them civilly, and promiſed to take their requeſt into conſideration; but no advances being made in two months, they were out of all patience, and determined to renew their application; and to give it the greater weight, prevailed with the *lord-mayor and court of aldermen* to join with them in preſenting an addreſs which they did, Jan. 16, "For a ſpeedy ſettlement of "church-government, according to the covenant, and that "no toleration might be given to popery, prelacy, ſuperſti-"tion, hereſy, profaneneſs, or any thing contrary to ſound "doctrine, and that all private aſſemblies might be reſtrain-"ed."† The lords thanked them for their zeal, and recommended it to the city magiſtrates to ſuppreſs all ſuch unlawful aſſemblies; but the houſes were not to be moved as yet by ſuch diſagreeable importunity; however, this laid the foundation of thoſe jealouſies and miſunderſtandings between the city and parliament, which in the end proved the ruin of the preſbyterian cauſe.

But the fierceſt contention between the aſſembly and parliament aroſe upon the *power of the keys*, which the former

‖ Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 106. † Vol. Pamp. No. 34, p. 3.

had

had voted to be in the elderſhip or preſbytery, in theſe words: "The keys of the kingdom of heaven were committed to the officers of the church, by virtue whereof "they have power reſpectively to retain and remit ſins, to "ſhut the kingdom of heaven againſt the impenitent both "by the word and cenſures, and to open it to the penitent "by abſolution; and to prevent the profanation of the holy "ſacrament by notorious and obſtinate offenders, the ſaid "officers are to proceed by admonition, ſuſpenſion from the "ſacrament of the lord's-ſupper for a ſeaſon, and by excommunication from the church, according to the nature "of the crime and demerit of the perſon;*" all which power they claimed, not by the laws of the land, but JURE DIVINO, or by divine appointment.

The *independants* claimed a like power for the brotherhood of every particular congregation, but without any civil ſanctions or penalties annexed; the *eraſtians* were for laying the communion open, and referring all crimes to the civil magiſtrate. When the queſtion therefore came under conſideration in the houſe of commons, the learned Mr. *Selden* delivered his opinion againſt all ſuſpenſions and excommunications, to this effect, "that for four thouſand years there "was no law to ſuſpend perſons from religious exerciſes. "Strangers, indeed, were kept from the paſſover, but they "were pagans, and not of the Jewiſh religion. The queſtion is not now for keeping away pagans in times of chriſtianity, but proteſtants from proteſtant worſhip. No "divine can ſhew, that there is any ſuch command as this "to ſuſpend from the ſacrament. No man is kept from the "ſacrament, *eo nomine*, becauſe he is guilty of any ſin, by the "conſtitution of the reformed churches, or becauſe he has "not made ſatisfaction. Every man is a ſinner; the difference is only, that one is in private, and the other in publick. "*Dic eccleſiæ* in St. *Matthew* were the *courts of law* which "then ſat at Jeruſalem. No man can ſhew any excommunication till the popes *Victor* and *Zephorinus* (two hundred "years after Chriſt) firſt began to uſe them upon private "quarrels, whereby it appears, that excommunication is an "human invention, taken from the heathens."†

* Vide Appendix, No. ix. † Ruſhworth, p. 203.

Mr.

Mr. *Whitlocke* ſpake on the ſame ſide of the queſtion and, ſaid, "The aſſembly of divines have petitioned and adviſed "this houſe, *that in every preſbytery, or preſbyterian congre-* "*gation, the paſtors and ruling elders may have the power of* "*excommunication, and of ſuſpending ſuch as they ſhall judge* "*ignorant or ſcandalous.** By paſtors, I ſuppoſe, they mean "themſelves, and others who are or may be preachers, and "would be biſhops or overſeers of their congregations. By "ruling elders they mean a ſelect number of ſuch in every "congregation as ſhall be choſen for the execution of go- "vernment and diſcipline therein. A paſtor is one who is "to feed his ſheep; and if ſo, how improper muſt it be for "ſuch to deſire to excommunicate any, or keep them from "food; to forbid any to eat, or whomſoever they ſhall judge "unworthy, when Chriſt has ſaid, *Take, eat*, and *drink*, ye "all of it, though *Judas* was one of them. But ſome have "ſaid, it is the duty of a ſhepherd, when he ſees a ſheep "feeding upon that which will do him hurt, to chaſe him "away from that paſture; and they apply this to ſuſpending "thoſe from the ſacrament whom they fear, by eating and "drinking unworthily, may eat and drink their own damna- "tion. But it ought to be obſerved, that it is not receiv- "ing the ſacrament, but the unworthineſs of the receiver, "that brings deſtruction; and this cannot be within the "judgment of any but the perſon himſelf, who alone can "examine his own heart; nor can any one produce a com- "miſſion for another to be judge thereof. But it is ſaid, "that ruling elders are to be joined with the paſtors; now, "in ſome country villages and congregations, perhaps, they "may not be very learned, and yet the authority given them "is very great: the word *elders*, amongſt the Hebrews, "ſignified men of the greateſt power and dignity; ſo it was "among the Romans, whoſe ſenate was ſo called, from *ſenes*, "elders. The higheſt title among the French, Spaniards, "and Italians, *ſeigneur*, and *ſeigniori*, is but a corruption of "the *Latin* word *ſenior*, elder. The ſame may be obſerved "in our Engliſh corporations, where the beſt and moſt ſub- "ſtantial perſons are called aldermen or eldermen. Thus "the title of elders may be given to the chief men of every

* Whitlocke, p. 163, 164.

"preſbytery,

" preſbytery; but if the power of excommunication be given " them, they may challenge the title of elders in the higheſt " ſignification.

" Power is deſired to be given to ſuſpend from the ſacra- " ment two ſorts of perſons, the ignorant and ſcandalous; " now it is poſſible, that they who are judged to be compe- " tent in one place may be deemed ignorant in another; " however, to keep them from the ordinances is no way to " improve their knowledge. Scandalous perſons are like- " wiſe to be ſuſpended, and this is to be left to the diſcretion " of the paſtors and ruling elders; but where have they " ſuch a commiſſion? Scandalous ſinners ſhould be admo- " niſhed to forſake their evil ways, and amend their lives; " and how can this be done better, than by allowing them " to hear good ſermons, and partake of the holy ordinances? " A man may be a good phyſician, though he never cuts off " a member from his patient; and a church may be a good " church, though no member of it has ever been cut off. " I have heard many complaints of the juriſdiction of the " prelates, who were but few; now in this ordinance there " will be a great multiplication of ſpiritual men in govern- " ment, but I am of opinion, that where the temporal ſword " is ſufficient for puniſhment of offences, there will be no " need of this new diſcipline."

Though the parliament did not deem it prudent wholly to reject the ordinance for excommunication, becauſe it had been the popular complaint in the late times, *that paſtors of churches had not power to keep unworthy communicants from the Lord's table*; yet the ſpeeches of theſe learned gentlemen made ſuch an impreſſion, that they reſolved to render it ineffectual to all the purpoſes of church tyranny; accordingly, they ſent to the aſſembly, to ſpecify in writing, *what degrees of knowledge in the chriſtian religion were neceſſary to qualify perſons for the communion?* and, *what ſorts of ſcandal deſerved ſuſpenſion or excommunication?* Which, after much controverſy, they preſented to the houſes, who inſerted them in the body of their *ordinance for ſuſpenſion from the Lord's-ſupper*, dated October 20, 1645, together with certain proviſos of their own.

The

The ordinance ſets forth, that the ſeveral elderſhips within their reſpective limits, ſhall have power to ſuſpend, from the ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper, all ignorant and ſcandalous perſons, within the rules and directions hereafter mentioned, and no others.*

RULES *for ſuſpending from the ſacrament in caſe of* IGNORANCE.

" All that do not know and believe the being of a God, " and the Holy Trinity:—They that are not acquainted with " original ſin, and the fall of man:—They that do not " believe Chriſt to be God and man, and our only mediator " and redeemer;—that Chriſt and his benefits are applied " only by faith; which faith is the gift of God, and im- " plies a truſting in him, for the remiſſion of ſins, and life " everlaſting;—the neceſſity of ſincere repentance, and a " holy life, in order to ſalvation;—the nature and import- " ance of the two ſacraments, eſpecially of the Lord's " ſupper;—that the ſouls of the faithful do immediately " live with Chriſt after death; and the ſouls of the wicked " immediately go to hell;—the reſurrection of the body, " and a final judgment.

RULES *for ſuſpenſion in caſe of* SCANDAL.

" The elderſhips ſhall have power to ſuſpend from the " ſacrament all *ſcandalous perſons* hereafter mentioned, and " no others, being duly convicted by the oaths of two wit- " neſſes, or their own confeſſion; that is to ſay,

" All blaſphemers againſt God, his holy word or ſa- " craments.

" Inceſtuous perſons; adulterers; fornicators; drunkards; profane ſwearers and curſers; murderers.

" Worſhippers of images, croſſes, crucifixes, or relicks.

" All that make images of the Trinity, or of any perſon " thereof.

" All religious worſhippers of ſaints, angels, or any meer " creature.

Such as declare themſelves not to be in charity with their " neighbours.

* Ruſhworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 211.

" Such

" Such as ſhall challenge others to a duel, or that ſhall " accept ſuch challenge.

" Such as knowingly ſhall carry a challenge either by " word, meſſage, or writing.

" Such as profane the Lord's day by dancing, playing " at cards or dice, or any other game; or that ſhall on the " Lord's day uſe maſking, wakes, ſhooting, bowling, playing " at foot-ball, or ſtool-ball, wreſtling; or that ſhall reſort to " plays, interludes, fencing, bull-baiting, or bear-baiting; " or, that ſhall uſe hawking, hunting, courſing, fiſhing, or " fowling; or, that ſhall publickly expoſe any wares to ſale, " otherwiſe than is provided by the ordinance of April 6, " 1644; or, that ſhall travel on the Lord's day without rea- " ſonable cauſe.

" Such as keep known ſtews, or brothel-houſes; or, " that ſhall ſolicit the chaſtity of any perſon for himſelf, or " another.

" Such parents as give their conſent to marry their chil- " dren to papiſts; and ſuch as do themſelves marry a papiſt.

" Such as conſult for advice, witches, wizards, or for- " tune-tellers.

" Such as aſſault their parents, or any magiſtrate, miniſter, " or elder, in the execution of his office.

" Such as ſhall be legally attainted of barretry, forgery, " extortion, or bribery."

" And the ſeveral elderſhips ſhall have power to ſuſpend " all MINISTERS who ſhall be duly convicted of any of the " crimes above-mentioned from giving or receiving the " Lord's ſupper.

" Perſons ſuſpended by one congregation ſhall not be ad- " mitted to the ſacrament by another, without certificate " from that congregation of which he was a member. But " in all caſes of ſuſpenſion, if the party ſuſpended ſhall ma- " niteſt his repentance before the elderſhip by whom he " was ſuſpended, he ſhall be re-admitted to the Lord's ſup- " per, and the ſuſpenſion taken off."

But then follow the proviſoes, which ſtripped the preſbyteries of that *power of the keys* which they were reaching at.

" Provided

"Provided always, That if any perſon find himſelf aggrieved with the proceedings of the preſbytery to which he belongs, he may appeal to the claſſical elderſhip; from them to the provincial aſſembly; from them to the national; and from them TO THE PARLIAMENT.

It is further provided, "That the cognizance and examination of all capital offences ſhall be reſerved entire to the magiſtrate appointed by the laws of the kingdom, who, upon his committing the party to priſon, ſhall make a certificate to the elderſhip of the congregation to which they belonged, who may thereupon ſuſpend them from the ſacrament.

"The preſbytery or elderſhip ſhall not have cognizance of any thing relating to contracts, payments, or demands; or of any matter of conveyance, title, intereſt, or property, in lands or goods.

"No uſe ſhall be made of any confeſſion, or proof made before an elderſhip, at any trial at law of any perſon for any offence.

"And it is further ordained, that thoſe members of parliament who are members of the aſſembly of divines, or any ſeven of them, ſhall be a ſtanding committee, to conſider of ſuch other offences or ſcandals, not mentioned in this ordinance, which may be conceived to be a ſufficient cauſe of ſuſpenſion from the ſacrament, and ſhall lay them before the parliament."

By an ordinance of June 5, 1646, a diſcretionary power was lodged in a committee of lords and commons, not leſs than nine, to adjudge and determine ſcandalous offences, not formerly enumerated, and report them to the two houſes, that if they concurred with the committee they might be added to the catalogue.

By theſe proviſoes it is evident the parliament were determined not to part with the *ſpiritual ſword*, or ſubject their civil properties to the power of the church, which gave great offence to the Scots commiſſioners, and to moſt of the Engliſh preſbyterians, who declaimed againſt the ordinance, as built upon *eraſtian* principles, and depriving the church of that which it claimed by a DIVINE INSTITUTION. They allowed of appeals from one ſpiritual court to another, but declared

declared openly for the pulpit and preſs, that appeals to the parliament or civil magiſtrate, as the *dernier reſort*, were inſufferable. The parliament, obſerving their ambition of making the church independent of the ſtate, girt the laws cloſer about them, and ſubjected their determinations more immediately to the civil magiſtrate, by an ordinance dated March 14th, 1645-6, which enacts, "that an appeal ſhall "lie from the deciſions of every claſſis, to the commiſſioners "choſen by parliament out of every province, and from "them to the parliament itſelf. That if any perſon com-"mit any ſcandalous offences not mentioned in the ordi-"nance, the miniſter may forbear to adminiſter the ſacrament "to him for that time; but then he ſhall, within eight days, "certify the ſame to the commiſſioners, who ſhall ſend up "the caſe, with their opinions, to the parliament, by whoſe "determination the elderſhip ſhall abide."

This ordinance of ſuſpenſion from the ſacrament was extorted from the two houſes before the time, by the importunate ſolicitations of the city clergy; for as yet there were no claſſes or preſbyteries in any part of England, which ought to have been erected before they had determined their powers. The houſes had voted, that there ſhould be a choice of *lay-elders* throughout England and Wales, and had laid down ſome rules for this purpoſe Aug. 19, 1645; but it was the 14th of March following, before it paſſed into a law.

It was then ordained, 1. "That there be forthwith a "choice of [ruling] elders throughout the kingdom of "England and dominion of Wales.

2. "That publick notice be given of ſuch election in "every pariſh, by the miniſter of the church, a fortnight "before; and that on the Lord's day on which the choice "is to be made, a ſermon be preached ſuitable to the "occaſion.

3. "Elections ſhall be made by the congregation, or the "major part of them then aſſembled, being heads of fa-"milies, and ſuch as have taken the covenant.

4. "That certain perſons be appointed TRIERS in every "claſſis, viz. ſix miniſters and three lay-men, whereof ſeven "to be a quorum, to determine the validity of elections.

"All

" All members of parliament, and peers of the realm, to be " triers in the pariſhes wherein they live.

5. " No man to be a ruling *elder* but for one congrega- " tion, and that in the pariſh where he lives.

6. " The qualifications of a *ruling elder* are, that he be " of good underſtanding in religion, ſound in the faith, pru- " dent, diſcreet, grave, of unblameable converſation, wil- " ling to undergo the office, and in communion with the " church.

7. " All pariſhes, privilege places, exempt juriſdictions, " and all other places whatſoever, ſhall be brought under " the exerciſe of congregational, claſſical, provincial, and " national aſſemblies, except chapels within any of the king's " houſes, or the houſe of peers, which ſhall continue free " for the exerciſe of religion, according to the *Directory*, " but not otherwiſe.

8. " The province of London ſhall be divided into twelve " claſſical elderſhips, each to contain about twelve pariſhes " of the city, and parts adjacent, and theſe to be the boun- " daries of the province of London.

9. " The ſeveral counties of England and Wales ſhall " be divided into claſſical preſbyteries, by perſons to be ap- " pointed by parliament for this purpoſe, who ſhall ſettle " the boundaries of each claſſis, and certify the ſame to the " parliament for their approbation.

10. " The *preſbytery or elderſhip of every pariſh* ſhall " meet once a week; the *claſſical aſſemblies* of each pro- " vince once a month, by adjournment, in ſuch places as " may be moſt convenient; *provincial aſſemblies* ſhall meet " twice a year; *national aſſemblies* as often as they ſhall be " ſummoned by parliament, and ſhall continue ſitting as " long as the parliament ſhall direct and appoint, and not " otherwiſe.

11. " Every congregational or parochial elderſhip ſhall " ſend *two elders*, or more, not exceeding *four*, and one " miniſter, to the claſſical aſſembly; every claſſical aſſembly " within the province ſhall ſend two miniſters, and four " ruling elders at leaſt, but not to exceed nine, to the pro- " vincial aſſembly. Every provincial aſſembly ſhall appoint " two miniſters, and four ruling elders, which ſhall conſtitute

" a national aſſembly, when ſuch an one ſhall be ſummoned " by parliament."†

When this ordinance had paſſed the *commons*, it ſtuck a conſiderable time with the lords, inſomuch that the preſbyterian clergy thought it neceſſary to quicken them by a petition, May 29, under the hands of three hundred miniſters of Suffolk and Eſſex, lamenting the decay of religion, and the want of church-diſcipline, and beſeeching their lordſhips to put the finiſhing hand to the bill ſo long depending; which they did accordingly, June 6, 1646.

Thus the preſbyterian form of church-government became the national eſtabliſhment, by way of *probation*, as far as an ordinance of parliament could make it; for the preamble ſets forth, " that if upon trial it was not found ac- " ceptable, it ſhould be reverſed or amended. It declares " further, that the two houſes found it very difficult to make " their new ſettlement agree with the laws and government " of the kingdom; that therefore it could not be expected, " that a preſent rule in every particular ſhould be ſettled at " once, but that there will be need of ſupplements and ad- " ditions, and perhaps alterations, as experience ſhall bring " to light the neceſſity thereof."

The parliament apprehended they had now eſtabliſhed the plan of the preſbyterian diſcipline, though it proved not to the ſatisfaction of any one party of chriſtians; ſo hard is it to make a good ſettlement when men dig up all at once old foundations. The *preſbyterian hierarchy* was as narrow as the *prelatical*; and as it did not allow a liberty of conſcience, claiming a civil as well as eccleſiaſtical authority over men's perſons and properties, it was equally, if not more inſufferable. Biſhop *Kennet* obſerves, that the ſettling preſbytery was ſupported by the fear and love of the Scots army, and that when *they* were gone home it was better managed by the Engliſh army, who were for independency and a principle of toleration; but as things ſtood nobody was pleaſed; the epiſcopalians and independents were excluded; and becauſe the parliament would not give the ſeveral preſbyteries an abſolute power over their communicants, but reſerved

† Ruſhworth, p. 226.

the

the laſt appeal to themſelves, neither the Scots nor Engliſh preſbyterians would accept it.

When the ſcheme was laid before the Scots parliament and general aſſembly, as a plan for uniformity between the two nations, they inſiſted upon the following amendments:

(1.) "That no godly miniſter may be excluded from "being a member of claſſical, provincial, or national aſ- "ſemblies.

(2.) "That the ordinary time for the meeting of the "national aſſembly may be fixed; with a reſerve of power "to the parliament to convene them when they pleaſe, and "a liberty to the church to meet oftener on neceſſary oc- "caſions.

(3.) "That *the congregational elderſhip may have power "to judge in caſes of ſcandal not expreſſed.* This they con- "ceive cannot be conſtrued lodging an arbitrary power in "the church; whereas on the other hand, the appointing "ſuch *provincial commiſſioners* as are ſettled in the ordinance, "will occaſion diſputes, create a diſconformity between this "and other churches, and is a mixture in church-govern- "ment altogether without precedent. This buſineſs there- "fore they conceive may be better managed by *aſſemblies of "miniſters and ruling elders.*

(4.) "That the ordinance for *ordination of miniſters* may "be perpetual.

(5.) "The manner of ſubjecting church-aſſemblies to "the controul and deciſion of parliament, being very liable "to miſtakes; the exemption likewiſe of perſons of diſ- "tinction from eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and the adminiſtering "the ſacrament to ſome perſons, againſt the conſcience of "the miniſtry and elderſhips; theſe and ſome other parti- "culars, being more than they can admit, they deſire may "be altered to general ſatisfaction.

(6.) "As to the articles relating to the perpetual officers "of the church, with their reſpective functions; the order "and power of church-aſſemblies; the directions for publick "repentance or penance; the rules for excommunication "and abſolution;"* all theſe they deſire may be fixed, and

* Ruſhworth, p. 253.

ſettled purſuant to the *covenant*, and with the joint advice of the divines of both kingdoms [*i. e.* the aſſembly at Weſtminſter] long ſince offered to both houſes.

After the delivery of theſe papers by the Scots commiſſioners, and before the houſes had returned an anſwer, they were publiſhed with a preface by a private hand, which provoked the houſes to ſuch a degree, that April 14, they voted it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was done accordingly. April 17, the commons publiſhed their anſwer to the commiſſioners papers, in which they declare to the world, "that their real intentions are to ſettle "religion according to the covenant, and to maintain the "ancient and fundamental government of this kingdom. "They think it ſtrange that any ſober and modeſt men "ſhould imagine, they are unwilling to ſettle any govern-"ment in the church, after they have declared ſo fully for "the preſbyterian; have taken ſo much pains for the ſet-"tling it; have paſſed moſt of the particulars brought to "them by the aſſembly of divines, without any material al-"teration, ſave in the point of commiſſioners; and have "publiſhed ſo many ordinances for putting the ſame in ex-"ecution; *only becauſe they cannot conſent to the granting an "arbitrary and unlimited power and juriſdiction to near ten "thouſand judicatories to be erected within this kingdom, and "this demanded in ſuch a way as is not conſiſtent with the "fundamental laws and government of the ſame, and by ne-"ceſſary conſequence excluding the parliament of England from "the exerciſe of all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.* This, ſay they, "has been the great cauſe that church-government has not "been long ſince ſettled; and we have the more reaſon not "to part with this power out of the hands of the civil "magiſtrate, ſince the experience of all ages will manifeſt, "that the reformation and purity of religion, and the pre-"ſervation and protection of the people of God in this "kingdom, has, under God, been owing to the parliament's "exerciſe of this power. If then the minds of any are "diſturbed for want of the preſent ſettling of church-go-"vernment, let them apply to thoſe [miniſters] who, hav-"ing ſufficient power and direction from the houſes on that "behalf, have not as yet put the ſame in execution."

The

The Engliſh preſbyterians, having reſolved to ſtand and fall with the Scots, refuſed peremptorily to comply with the ordinance, relying upon the aſſiſtance and ſupport of that nation. Mr. *Marſhall* ſtood up in the aſſembly, March 20, and ſaid, that ſince an ordinance of parliament for church government was now publiſhed, and ſpeedily to be put in execution; and ſince there were ſome things in that ordinance which lay very hard upon his conſcience, and upon the conſciences of many of his brethren (though he bleſſed God for the zeal of the two houſes in ſettling the government of the church thus far) yet being much preſſed in ſpirit with ſome things contained therein, he moved, that a committee might be appointed to examine what things in the ordinance were contrary to their conſciences, and to prepare a petition to preſent them to the two houſes.*

A petition was accordingly drawn up, and preſented March 23, by the whole aſſembly, with Mr. *Marſhall* at their head. In this petition they aſſert the DIVINE RIGHT of the preſbyterian government, and complain of a clauſe in the late ordinance, which eſtabliſhes *an appeal from the cenſures of the church to a committee of parliament.* It was a ſanguine and daring attempt of theſe divines, who were called together only for their advice, to examine and cenſure the ordinances of parliament, and diſpute in this manner with their ſuperiors; the commons, alarmed at this petition, appointed a committee to take into conſideration the matter and manner of it, who, after ſome time, reported it as their opinion, that the aſſembly of divines in their late petition had broken the privileges of parliament, and were guilty of a PRÆMUNIRE; and whereas they inſiſted ſo peremptorily on the JUS DIVINUM of the preſbyterian government, the committee had drawn up certain queries, which they deſired the aſſembly might reſolve for their ſatisfaction; the houſe agreed to the report of the committee, and on the 30th of April ſent ſir *John Evelin*, Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and Mr. *Browne*, to the aſſembly, to acquaint them with their reſolutions. Theſe gentlemen ſet before them their raſh and imprudent conduct, and in ſeveral ſpeeches ſhewed wherein they had exceeded their province, which was, *to adviſe the*

* MS. penes me, Seſſ. 608.

houſes

houſes in ſuch points as they ſhould lay before them, but not to dictate to thoſe to whom they owed their being an aſſembly. Then they read the votes above-mentioned, and delivered in the following queſtions, with the orders of the houſe thereupon:

Queſtions propounded to the Aſſembly of Divines by the Houſe of Commons, touching the point of jus divinum *in the matters of church government.*

1. "Whether the congregational and preſbyterial elder-
"ſhips appointed by ordinance of parliament, or any other
"congregational or preſbyterial elderſhips are *jure divino*,
"and by the will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt? and,
"whether any particular church government be *jure divino?*
"and, what that government is?*

2. "Whether all the members of the ſaid elderſhips, as
"members thereof, or which of them, are *jure divino*, and
"by the will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

3. "Whether the claſſical, provincial, and national aſ-
"ſemblies, all, or any of them, and which of them, are *jure*
"*divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

4. "Whether appeals from congregational elderſhips to
"claſſical, provincial, and national aſſemblies, or any of
"them, and to which of them, are *jure divino*, and by the
"will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt? and, whether their
"POWERS upon ſuch appeals are *jure divino*, and by the
"will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

5. "Whether œcumenical aſſemblies are *jure divino?* and,
"whether there be appeals from any of the former aſſem-
"blies to the ſaid œcumenical *jure divino*, and by the will
"and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

6. "Whether by the word of God, the power of judg-
"ing and declaring what are ſuch notorious and ſcandalous
"offences, for which perſons guilty thereof are to be kept
"from the ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper, and of convening
"before them, trying, and actually ſuſpending from the
"ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper ſuch offenders, is either in
"the congregational elderſhip, preſbytery, or in any other

* Ruſhworth, p. 260.

"elderſhip,

"elderſhip, congregation, or perſons? and, whether ſuch "powers are in them only, or any of them, and in which of "them *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jeſus "Chriſt?

7. "Whether there be any certain and particular rules "expreſſed in the word of God to direct the elderſhips, or "preſbyteries, congregations, or perſons, or any of them, "in the exerciſe and execution of the powers aforeſaid, and "what are thoſe rules?

8. "Is there any thing contained in the word of God, "that the ſupreme magiſtracy in a chriſtian ſtate may not "judge and determine what are the aforeſaid notorious and "ſcandalous offences, and the manner of ſuſpenſion for the "ſame; and in what particulars concerning the premiſes is "the ſaid ſupreme magiſtracy by the word of God excluded?

9. "Whether the proviſion of commiſſioners to judge of "ſcandals not enumerated (as they are authorized by the "ordinance of parliament) be contrary to that way of go-"vernment which Chriſt has appointed in his church? and, "wherein are they ſo contrary?"

In the aſſembly's anſwer to theſe propoſitions the houſe of commons ordered, the proofs from ſcripture to be ſet down, with the ſeveral texts at large, in the expreſs words of the ſame; and that every miniſter of the aſſembly, who ſhould be preſent at the debate of any of theſe queſtions, ſhould ſubſcribe his reſpective name in the affirmative or negative, according as he gave his vote: and that thoſe who diſſented from the major part ſhould ſet down their poſitive opinions, with the expreſs texts of ſcripture upon which their opinions are grounded.

It is eaſy to diſcover the maſterly hands of Mr. *Selden* and *Whitlocke* in theſe queſtions; which were ſent to the aſſembly not with any proſpect of a ſatisfactory anſwer, but to employ, and, it may be, to divide them, till they ſaw how they were like to ſettle with the king. The houſes were afraid of being fettered with the Scots diſcipline, and yet the Scots were not to be diſguſted, becauſe they had an army in the north, to whom the king had committed the cuſtody of his perſon.

As

As ſoon as the aſſembly had heard the reſolutions of the houſe of commons above-mentioned, and the queſtions read, firſt by ſir *J. Evelin*, and then by their ſcribe, they adjourned in a very great fright till next morning, in order to conſult their brethren in the city; and then appointed a day of faſting and humiliation for themſelves, in reference to their preſent circumſtances, and ſent letters to all the members to give their attendance. The faſt was obſerved within their own walls on Wedneſday May 6, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; and committees were appointed to conſider of an anſwer to the queſtions, whoſe report we ſhall conſider under the next year.

In the mean time, we muſt go back a little, to take a view of the attempts which were making to comprehend the *independants*, or diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly within the new eſtabliſhment, or at leaſt to obtain a toleration for them;‡ the parliament had ordered, September 13, 1644, that the "committee of lords and commons appointed to treat with "the Scots commiſſioners, and the committee of divines, do "take into conſideration the differences of the opinions of "the members of the aſſembly in point of church govern-"ment, and endeavour *an union if poſſible*; and if that can-"not be accompliſhed, endeavour to find out ſome way *how* "*far tender conſciences, who cannot in all things ſubmit to the* "*ſame rule, may be borne with, according to the word of God,* "*and conſiſtent with the publick peace.*" This was called the GRAND COMMITTEE OF ACCOMMODATION, which met the firſt time, Sept. 20, and choſe a ſub-committee of ſix divines of the aſſembly, to conſider the points of difference, and to prepare materials for the conſideration of the *grand committee*; the names of theſe divines were the reverend Mr. *Marſhall*, Mr. *Herle*, Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Temple*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Nye*, who, after ſeveral conſultations among themſelves, delivered to the committee certain propoſitions, [Oct. 15, 1644] which were read by Mr. *Vines*, their chairman: the independants would have ſtated the *points in variance* between the two parties, and endeavoured a compromiſe while the diſcipline of the church was depending; but the preſbyterians inſiſted, that the new form of government ſhould firſt

‡ Papers for Accommodation, p. 1.

paſs

paſs into a law as *a ſtandard*, before the exceptions of the independants be conſidered; upon which they were adjourned by order of the houſe of commons, till the affair ſhould be determined in the aſſembly, who agreed, April 4, 1645, that *the brethren who had entered their diſſent againſt the preſbyterian government ſhould be a committee to bring in the whole frame of their government in a body, with their grounds and reaſons.** The *independants* deſired liberty to bring in their *objections* by parts, as the *preſbyterians* had done their *advices*; but this not being admitted, they deſired time to perfect their plan before any other ſcheme paſſed into a law; but the preſbyterians, without any regard to the compromiſe, by the aſſiſtance of their Scots friends, puſhed the affair to a concluſion in parliament; upon which the independants laid aſide their own *model*, and publiſhed a remonſtrance, complaining of the artful conduct of the aſſembly, and that the diſcipline of the church being fixed, it was too late to think any more of a comprehenſion. The houſe of commons having ſeen their miſtake reſumed this affair with their own hands, and by an order dated Nov. 6, 1645, revived the *committee of accommodation*, which, beſides the Scots commiſſioners, conſiſted of the following peers, viz.

Earl of *Northumberland*,
Earl of *Mancheſter*,
Lord Viſc. *Say* and *Seale*,
Lord *Wharton*, and
Lord *Howard*.

Theſe were to be met by the following members of the aſſembly, viz.

Dr. *Burges*,	Mr. *Vines*,	Mr. *Arrowſmith*,
Mr. *Marſhall*,	Mr. *Hill*,	Dr. *Smith*,
Mr. *Herle*,	Dr. *Temple*,	Mr. *Seaman*,
Mr. *Reynolds*,	Mr. *Palmer*,	Mr. *Newcomen*,
Dr. *Hoyle*,	Mr. *Tuckney*,	Mr. *Young*,
Mr. *White*,		

with the diſſenting brethren of the aſſembly,

Mr. *T. Goodwin*,	Mr. *Nye*,	Mr. *Bridge*,
Mr. *Simpſon*,	Mr. *Burroughs*,	Mr. *Drury*.

* Remonſtrance, p. 3.

The

The committee met in the *Jeruſalem chamber* Nov. 17, and would have entered upon a ſcheme for comprehenſion, but the *independants* moved only for an *indulgence* or *toleration*, obſerving, that as they had already moved in the aſſembly and elſewhere, that their ſcheme of government might be debated before the *preſbyterian* had paſſed into a law, and for this purpoſe had offered to prepare a compleat model, if they might have been indulged a few days,* and that having been over-ruled, and another form of government ſettled; they apprehended themſelves ſhut out from the eſtabliſhment, and precluded from any further attempts towards an union or comprehenſion; but ſtill they were willing to enter upon the ſecond part of the parliament's order, which was to conſider, *how far tender conſciences, who cannot in all things ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed rule, may be indulged, conſiſtent with the word of God and the publick peace.* Accordingly in their next meeting, December 4, they offered the following propoſals:

Taking for granted that both ſides ſhall agree in one confeſſion of faith, they humbly crave,

1. That their congregations may have the power of ordination within themſelves.

2. That they may not be brought under the power of claſſes, nor forced to communicate in thoſe pariſh churches where they dwell, but that they may have liberty to join with ſuch congregations as they prefer, and that ſuch congregations may have power of all church cenſures within themſelves, ſubject only to parliament; and be as ſo many *exempt*, or *privileged places.*

To the preamble the *preſbyterians* replied, that only ſuch as agreed to their confeſſion of faith and directory ſhould have the benefit of the forbearance to be agreed on, with which the committee concurred; but the independants would admit only of the affirmative, *that ſuch as agreed with them ſhould be tolerated*; and would not conſent to the negative, ſo as to ſet bounds or limits of forbearance to tender conſciences, nor make ſuch an agreement a neceſſary qualification for receiving the ſacrament.†

* Papers for Accomodation, p. 14, 24. † Ibid. p. 18, 19, 26, 27.

To

To the requeſt of the *independants*, of being exempted from the juriſdiction of their claſſes, and having a liberty of erecting ſeparate congregations, the preſbyterians replied,

1. That this implied a total ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed rule.

2. The lawfulneſs of gathering churches out of other true churches.

3. That the parliament would then deſtroy what they had ſet up.

4. That the members of independant churches would then have greater privilege than thoſe of the eſtabliſhment.

5. That this would countenance a perpetual ſchiſm. And,

6. Introduce all manner of confuſion in families.*

They therefore propoſed, that ſuch as, after conference with their pariſh miniſter, were not ſatisfied with the eſtabliſhment, ſhould not be compelled to communicate in the Lord's-ſupper, nor be liable to cenſures from claſſes or ſynods, provided they joined with the pariſh congregation where they lived, and were under the government of it in other reſpects.

The *independants* replied, that they did not intend a total ſeparation, but ſhould agree with their brethren in the moſt eſſential points; as in worſhipping according to the directory, in chooſing the ſame officers, paſtors, teachers, ruling elders, with the ſame qualifications as in the *rule*. That they ſhould require the ſame qualifications in their members as the aſſembly had adviſed, that is, *viſible ſaints, profeſſing faith in Chriſt, and obedience to him, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Chriſt and his apoſtles*;† that they ſhould practiſe the ſame church cenſures, being accountable for their conduct to their civil ſuperiors. They would alſo hold occaſional communion with the preſbyterian churches, in baptiſm and the Lord's-ſupper, communicating occaſionally with them, and receiving their members to communion as occaſion required. Their miniſters ſhould preach for each other, and in caſes of difficulty they would call in their aſſiſtance and advice; and when an *ordination* falls out, they would deſire the preſence and approbation of their miniſters with their own. Now ſurely, ſay they, this does not imply

* Papers of Accommodation, p. 20, 21. † Ibid. p. 29, 30.

a total

a total ſeparation; but if in ſome things men cannot comply with the *eſtabliſhed rule* without ſin, we think ſuch perſons ought not to live without communicating in the Lord's-ſupper all their days, rather than gather into churches where they may enjoy all ordinances without offence to their conſciences—nor ought ſuch ſeparation to be accounted *ſchiſm*, which is a name of reproach we deſire not to be branded with, when we are willing to maintain chriſtian love and communion with our neighbours, as far as our conſciences will permit.*—They add further, that if the *ſtate* is pleaſed to grant them this liberty, they will refer themſelves to the wiſdom of the legiſlature to conſider of limiting their congregations to a certain number, to be as ſo many receptacles for pious perſons of tender conſciences.†

The *preſbyterians* in their next *reply*, Dec. 23, after having blamed the *independants* for not going upon a comprehenſion, argue againſt the lawfulneſs of a *ſeparation* after this manner: "That if a pretence of conſcience be a ſuffi-"cient ground of ſeparation, men may gather impure and "corrupt churches out of purer, becauſe upon the dictate "of an erring conſcience they may diſallow that which is "pure, and ſet up that which is agreeable to their erring "conſciences; and we very much doubt (ſay they) whether "tenderneſs of conſcience in doubtful points will juſtify a "ſeparation; it may oblige men to forbear communion, but "not to ſet up a contrary practice. If a church impoſe "any thing that is ſinful, we muſt forbear to comply, yet "without ſeparation, as was the practice of the puritans in "the late times."‡—They then argue, from the conceſſions of the *independants*, that becauſe they agree with them in ſo many material points, therefore they ſhould not ſeparate. "If, ſay they, you can communicate with our church *occa-"ſionally*, once, or a ſecond and third time without ſin, we "know no reaſon why you may not do it conſtantly, and "then ſeparation will be needleſs—as for ſuch a toleration "as our brethren deſire, we apprehend it will open a door "to all ſects; and though the *independants* now plead for it, "their brethren in New-England do not allow it."‖

* Papers for Accommodation, p. 35, 36. † Ibid. p. 40.

‡ Ibid. p. 51. ‖ Ibid. p. 56.

As

As to the charge of *ſchiſm*, they admit, that difference in judgment in ſome particular points is not ſchiſm; nor does an inconformity to ſome things enjoined deſerve that name; but our brethren deſire further to ſet up *ſeparate communions*, which is a manifeſt rupture of our ſocieties into others, and is therefore a ſchiſm in the body.* This is ſetting up altar againſt altar, allowing our churches (as the independants do) to be true churches; for St. *Auſtin* ſays, *ſchiſmaticos facit non diverſa fides, ſed communionis diſrupta ſocietas*. And we conceive, it is the *cauſe* of the ſeparation that makes ſchiſm, and not the ſeparation itſelf; if then the cauſe of our brethren's ſeparation be not ſufficient, by what other name can it be called? To all which they add, that this indulgence, if granted, will be the mother of all contentions, ſtrifes, hereſies, and confuſions in the church; and contrary to their covenant, which obliges them to endeavour to their utmoſt an UNIFORMITY.

When the committee met the next time, Feb. 2, 1645-6, the *independants* replied chiefly to the point of *uniformity*, and argued, that it was not neceſſary to the peace of the churches; and ought not to extend beyond peoples light and meaſure of underſtanding, according to the apoſtolical canon, *as far as we have attained let us walk by the ſame rule*. Phil. iii. 15.† As for a mere exemption from the cenſures of the claſſes, they declared frankly they could not acquieſce in it, becauſe it would deprive them of the enjoyment of the Lord's-ſupper; and that it was very hard to urge, that becauſe they came ſo near the brethren, therefore they ſhould be obliged to a total and conſtant conformity.

The *committee* met the laſt time, March 9, when the ſubcommittee of preſbyterian divines anſwered the laſt paper of the *independants*, maintaining all their former poſitions, and concluding in this ſtrange and wonderful manner: "That "whereas their brethren ſay, that uniformity ought to be "urged no further than is agreeable to all men's conſciences, "and to their edification; it ſeems to them, as if their bre"thren not only deſired liberty of conſcience for themſelves, "but for all men, and would have us think, that we are

* Papers for Accommodation, p. 65, 73, 74. † Ibid. p. 86.

"bound

" bound by our covenant to bring the churches in the three " kingdoms to no nearer a conjunction and uniformity than is " conſiſtent with the liberty of all men's conſciences; which, " whether it be the ſenſe of the covenant, we leave with the " honourable committee."*

Hereupon the reverend Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, a divine of great candour and moderation, declared in the name of the *independants*, " that if their congregations might not be " exempted from that coercive power of the claſſes; if they " might not have liberty to govern themſelves in their own " way, as long as they behaved peaceably towards the civil " magiſtrate; they were reſolved to ſuffer, or go to ſome " other place of the world, where they might enjoy their " liberty. But while men think there is no way of peace " but by forcing all to be of the ſame mind, (ſays he) while " they think the civil ſword is an ordinance of God to de- " termine all controverſies of divinity, and that it muſt needs " be attended with fines and impriſonment to the diſobedient; " while they apprehend there is no medium between a ſtrict " uniformity, and a general confuſion of all things; while " theſe ſentiments prevail, there muſt be a baſe ſubjection of " men's conſciences to ſlavery, a ſuppreſſion of much truth, " and great diſturbances in the chriſtian world."

Thus ended the laſt committee of lords and commons, and aſſembly of divines, for *accommodation*, which adjourned to a certain day, but being then diverted by other affairs never met again. Little did the preſbyterian divines imagine, that in leſs than twenty years all their artillery would be turned againſt themſelves; that they ſhould be excluded the eſtabliſhment by an act of prelatical uniformity; that they ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of pleading for that indulgence which they now denied their brethren; and eſteem it their duty to gather churches for ſeparate worſhip out of others, which they allowed to be true ones. If the leading preſbyterians in the aſſembly and city had carried it with temper towards the *independants*, on the foot of a limited toleration, they had, in all likelihood, prevented the diſputes between the army and parliament, which were the

* Papers for Accommodation, p. 123.

ruin

ruin of both; they might then have ſaved the conſtitution, and made their own terms with the king, who was now their priſoner; but they were enamoured with the charms of *covenant uniformity*, and the DIVINE RIGHT of their preſbytery, which, after all, the parliament would not admit in its full extent. Mr. *Baxter*, who was no friend of the independants, ſays, "That the preſbyterian miniſters were ſo "little ſenſible of their own infirmities, that they would not "agree to tolerate thoſe who were not only tolerable, but "worthy inſtruments and members in the churches, pru-"dent men, who were for *union in things neceſſary*, *for* "*liberty in things unneceſſary*, *and for charity in all*; but "they could not be heard."*

Great was the reſort of the city divines to Sion college at this time, where there was a kind of ſynod every Monday, to conſult proper methods to propagate religion, and ſupport the aſſembly at Weſtminſter in their oppoſition to the toleration of ſectaries; for this purpoſe they wrote them a *letter*, dated Jan. 15, 1645-6, in which they recite the arguments of the committee, and beſeech them to oppoſe with all their might the great *Diana* of the independants,† and not

* Baxter's Life, p. 103.

† Their Diana was *toleration*, of which the miniſters at Sion college expreſſed their deteſtation and abhorrence; and the deſign of their letter was to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs, the ſin, and the miſchievous conſequences of it. "Not," ſaid they, "that we can harbour the leaſt jealouſy of your zeal, "fidelity, or induſtry, in the oppoſing and extirpating of ſuch a root of "gall and bitterneſs as *toleration* is, and will be, both in preſent and future "ages." Another inſtance of the ſame bitter ſpirit appeared in a piece publiſhed by the miniſters and elders of London, met together in a provincial aſſembly November 2, 1749, entitled "A vindication of the preſ-"byterial government and miniſtry:" in which they repreſent the doctrine of *univerſal toleration*, as contrary to godlineſs, opening a door to libertiniſm and profaneneſs, and a tenet to be rejected as *ſoul poiſon*. The miniſters of Lancaſhire publiſhed a paper in 1648, expreſſing their harmonious conſent with their brethren in London; and remonſtrate againſt toleration, as putting a *cup of poiſon* into the hand of a child, and a *ſword* into that of a madman; as letting looſe madmen with *fire-brands* in their hands, and appointing a city of refuge in *men*'s conſciences, for the *devil* to fly to; and inſtead of providing for tender conſciences, taking away all conſcience. In the ſame year, another paper was publiſhed in Warwickſhire by 43 miniſters, breathing the ſame ſpirit, and expreſſing the like ſentiments. Croſby's hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 188, 192. ED.

ſuffer

ſuffer their new eſtabliſhment to be ſtrangled in the birth by a lawleſs toleration.

The whole Scots nation was alſo commanded into the ſervice; the parliament of that kingdom wrote to the two houſes at Weſtminſter, Feb. 3, telling them, that "*it was expected* "*the honourable houſes would add the civil ſanction to what* "*the pious and learned aſſembly have adviſed*; *and I am com-* "*manded by the parliament of this kingdom, (ſays the preſi-* "*dent) to demand it, and I do in their names demand it.* "And the parliament of this kingdom is perſuaded, that the "piety and wiſdom of the honourable houſes will never ad- "mit toleration of any ſects or ſchiſms contrary to our ſo- "lemn league and covenant."* At the ſame time they appealed to the people, and publiſhed a declaration *againſt toleration of ſectaries and liberty of conſcience*; in which, after having taken notice of their great ſervices, they obſerve, that there is a party in England who are endeavouring to ſupplant the true religion, by pleading for *liberty of conſcience*, which (ſay they) is the nouriſher of all hereſies and ſchiſms. They then declare againſt all ſuch notions as are inconſiſtent with the truth of religion, and againſt opening a door to licentiouſneſs, which, to the utmoſt of their power, they will endeavour to oppoſe; and as they have all entered into one covenant, ſo to the laſt man in the kingdom they will go on in the preſervation of it. And however the parliament of England may determine in point of *toleration and liberty of conſcience*, they are reſolved not to make the leaſt ſtart, but to live and die, for the glory of God, in the entire preſervation of the truth.

Moſt of the ſermons before the houſe of commons, at their monthly faſts, ſpoke the language of *ſeverity*, and called upon the magiſtrate to draw his ſword againſt the *ſectaries*. The preſs teemed with pamphlets of the ſame nature; Mr. *Prynne* againſt *J. Goodwin* ſays, that if the parliament and ſynod eſtabliſh preſbytery, the *independants*, and all others, are bound to ſubmit, under pain of obſtinacy. Another writes, that to let men ſerve God according to the perſuaſion of their own conſciences, is to caſt out one devil that ſeven worſe may enter.

* Ruſhworth, p. 234.

But

But the cauſe of liberty was not deſtitute of advocates at this time; the *independants* pleaded for a toleration ſo far as to include themſelves and the ſober anabaptiſts, but did not put the controverſy on the moſt generous foundation; they were for tolerating all who agreed in the fundamentals of chriſtianity, but when they came to enumerate fundamentals they were ſadly embarraſſed, as all muſt be who plead the cauſe of liberty, and yet do not place the religious and civil rights of mankind on a ſeparate baſis: a man may be an orthodox believer, and yet deſerve death as a traitor to his king and country; and on the other hand, a heretick or errant non-conformiſt to the eſtabliſhed religion may be a loyal and dutiful ſubject, and deſerve the higheſt preferment his prince can beſtow.

The letter of the city divines to the aſſembly received a quick reply from a writer of more generous principles, who complains, "that the preſbyterians, not content with their "own freedom and liberty, nor with having their form of "government made the national eſtabliſhment, were graſp-"ing at as much power as the *prelates* before them had "uſurped; for this purpoſe they had obtained the privilege "of licenſing the preſs, that nothing might be written againſt "them but what they ſhould pleaſe to approve;† they were "continually ſoliciting the parliament to eſtabliſh their "church government, which they called the government of "Chriſt, with a *coercive power*; they were always buſy in "framing petitions, and engaging the magiſtrates of the city "to preſent them to the houſes; and not content with this, "they were now moving the aſſembly of divines, of whom "themſelves are a conſiderable part, to become the patrons "of oppreſſion." Our author maintains, that "*liberty of "conſcience is the natural right of every man*, though of all "parties of men thoſe deſerve leaſt the countenance of the "ſtate, who would perſecute others if it were in their pow-"er, becauſe they are enemies of the ſociety in which they "live. He that will look back on paſt times, and examine "into the true cauſes of the ſubverſion and devaſtation of "ſtates and countries, will find it owing to the tyranny of "princes, and the perſecution of prieſts. All governments

† Vol. Pamphlets, No. 52.

" therefore which underſtand their true intereſts, will en-
" deavour to ſuppreſs in every ſect, or diviſion of men, whe-
" ther papiſt, epiſcopal, preſbyterian, independant, or ana-
" baptiſt, the ſpirit of dominion and perſecution, which is
" the diſturber of mankind, and the offspring of the devil.
" But the miniſters ſay, if we tolerate one ſect we muſt tole-
" rate all; which our author admits, and adds, that they
" have as good a right to the liberty of their conſciences as
" to their clothes or eſtates; *no opinions or ſentiments of re-*
" *ligion being cognizable by the magiſtrate, any further than*
" *they are inconſiſtent with the peace of the civil government.*
" The way to put an end to diverſity of opinions is not by
" fines and impriſonments; can Bedlam, or the Fleet, open
" men's underſtandings, and reduce them from error? No
" certainly, nothing but ſound reaſon and argument can do
" it, which, it is to be feared, they are not furniſhed with,
" who have recourſe to any other weapons. *Schiſm* and
" *hereſy* are to be rooted out, not by oppreſſion, but by rea-
" ſon and debate; by the ſword of the *ſpirit*, not of the
" *fleſh*; by argument, not by blows, to which men have
" recourſe when they are beat out of the other. *Schiſm*
" and *hereſy* are words of terror thrown upon the adverſary
" by all parties of men; and perhaps, there may need an
" infallible judge to determine where the *ſchiſm* lies, before
" we venture upon extraordinary methods to extirpate it."
He adds, " that *perſecution* will breed more confuſion and
" diſturbance than *toleration*; and that their ſolemn league
" and covenant ought to bind them no farther than it is con-
" ſiſtent with the word of God. Now, that toleration, or
" liberty of conſcience, is the doctrine of *ſcripture*, is evi-
" dent, 1. From the parable of the tares and wheat grow-
" ing together till the harveſt. 2. From the apoſtle's di-
" rection, *Let every man be perſuaded in his own mind.* 3.
" That *whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* 4. From our Sa-
" viour's golden rule, *whatſoever ye would that men ſhould*
" *do to you, that do ye to them.*"——

This pamphlet was anſwered by another, entitled *Anti-Tole-ration*, in which the author endeavours to vindicate the moſt unbounded licence of perſecution; but neither the aſſem-bly nor the city divines, nor the whole Scots nation, could pre-vail

vail with the parliament to deliver the ſword into their hands. The high behaviour of the preſbyterians loſt them the affections of great numbers of people, who began to diſcover that the contention between them and the *prelates* was not for liberty but power, and that all the ſpiritual advantage they were like to reap from the war was to ſhift hands, and inſtead of epiſcopal government to ſubmit to the yoke of preſbyterial uniformity.

Lord *Clarendon* admits,* that the king endeavoured to make his advantage of theſe diviſions, by courting the *independants*, and promiſing ſome of them very valuable compenſations for any ſervices they ſhould do him; intimating, that it was impoſſible for them to expect relief in their ſcruples from perſons who pretended they were erecting the *kingdom of Chriſt*; but though the independants were enemies to the preſbyterian diſcipline, they had no confidence in the king's promiſes. Mr. *Whitlocke*‖ agrees with the noble hiſtorian, that the king was watchful to take advantage of theſe diviſions, and commanded one *Ogle* to write to Mr. *Tho. Goodwin*, and *Phil. Nye*, two of the independant miniſters, and make them large overtures, if they would oppoſe the preſbyterian government intended to be impoſed upon England by the Scots; but theſe two gentlemen very honeſtly acquainted their friends with the propoſal, which put an end to the correſpondence; all which might have convinced the preſbyterians of the neceſſity of coming to ſome terms with the diſſenters; but the king's affairs were ſo low, that they were under no apprehenſions of diſturbance from that quarter at preſent.

The aſſembly perfected nothing further this year; however, complaint being made of the obſolete verſion of the pſalms by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, the parliament deſired them to recommend ſome other to be uſed in churches; accordingly they read over Mr. *Rouſe*'s verſion, and after ſeveral amendments, ſent it up to the houſe Nov. 14, 1645, with the following recommendation: "Whereas the honourable houſe "of commons, by an order bearing date Nov. 20, 1643, have "recommended the pſalms publiſhed by Mr. *Rouſe* to the con"ſideration of the aſſembly of divines, the aſſembly has cauſed

* Vol. ii. p. 746. ‖ P. 76.

"them to be carefully peruſed, and as they are now altered "and amended do approve them, and humbly conceive they "may be uſeful and profitable to the church, if they be per-"mitted to be publickly ſung;"* accordingly they were authoriſed by the two houſes. Care was alſo taken to prevent the importation of incorrect bibles printed in Holland.†

To return to the proceedings of parliament. The committee for plundered miniſters having reported to the houſe of commons, Jan. 28, 1645, certain blaſphemies of *Paul Beſt*, who denied the Holy Trinity; the houſe ordered an ordinance to be brought in [March 28,] to puniſh him with death;‡ but ſeveral divines being appointed to confer with him, in order to convince him of his error, he confeſſed his belief of that doctrine in general terms before he was brought to his trial, and that he hoped to be ſaved thereby, but perſiſted in denying the perſonality, as a jeſuitical tenet; upon this confeſſion his trial was put off, and he was at length diſcharged.

The government of the church being now changed into a preſbyterian form, and the war almoſt at an end, the parliament reſolved to apply the revenues of the cathedrals to other publick uſes, and accordingly, Nov. 18, it was ordained, "That whereas the preſent dean and prebendaries of "Weſtminſter had deſerted their charge, and were become "delinquents to the parliament, they did therefore ordain, "that the earl of *Northumberland*, with about ten other "lords, and twenty-two commoners, ſhould be a committee; "and that any perſon, or more of them, ſhould have au-"thority to order, direct, and diſpoſe of the rents, iſſues, "and profits, belonging to the college, or collegiate church, "and to do and execute all other acts that did any way con-"cern either of them."‖ They ordained further, "that the "dean, prebendaries, and all other officers belonging either "to the college or church, who had abſented themſelves, "and were become delinquents, or had not taken the cove-"nant, ſhould be ſuſpended from their ſeveral offices and "places, and from all manner of benefit and profit ariſing "from them, or from the arrears of them, Mr. *Oſbaldeſton* "only excepted.

* MS. Seſſ. 535. † Parl. Chr. p. 319.

‡ Whitlocke, p. 196. ‖ Huſband's Collections, p. 758.

When

When the cathedral of Hereford fell into the parliament's hands, the dignitaries of that church were diſpoſſeſſed, and their lands and revenues ſeized into the hands of the committee of that county. The dignitaries of the cathedral churches of Wincheſter and Carliſle were ſerved in the ſame manner the latter end of this year, when the whole frame of the hierarchy was diſſolved.

The parliament, at the requeſt of the *aſſembly of divines*, gave ſome marks of their favour to the univerſity of Cambridge, which was reduced to ſuch neceſſitous circumſtances, by reaſon of the failure of their college rents, that they could not ſupport their ſtudents; it was therefore ordained, April 11, 1645, "That nothing contained in any ordinance "of parliament concerning levying or paying of taxes ſhould "extend to the univerſity of Cambridge, or any of the col-"leges or halls within the ſaid univerſity, nor to any of the "rents or revenues belonging to the ſaid univerſity or col-"leges, or any of them, nor to charge any maſter, fellow, "or ſcholar of any of the ſaid colleges, nor any reader, "officer, or miniſter of the ſaid univerſity or colleges, for "any ſtipend, wages, or profit ariſing, or growing due to "them, in reſpect of their places and employments in the "ſaid univerſity."§ They likewiſe confirmed all their ancient rights and privileges, and ordered the differences between the *univerſity* and *town* to be determined according to law. On the ſame day the ordinance for regulating the univerſity, and removing ſcandalous miniſters in the aſſociated counties by the earl of *Mancheſter*, mentioned in the beginning of the laſt year, was revived and continued.

On the 17th of April this year died Dr. *Dan. Featly*; he was born at Charlton in Oxfordſhire, 1581, and educated at Corpus Chriſti college, of which he was fellow; upon his leaving the univerſity he went chaplain to ſir *Thomas Symmonds*, the king's ambaſſador to the French court, where he gained reputation by his ſermons and diſputations with the papiſts.‖ When he returned home he became domeſtick

§ Huſband's Collections, p. 636, 637.

‖ There was alſo a celebrated piece from his pen, levelled againſt the baptiſts. It originated from a diſputation which he held with four of that perſuaſion in Southwark, in the month of October 1641. About two years afterwards he publiſhed an account of this debate in a book, entitled, "The "Dippers

chaplain to archbiſhop *Abbot*, and was preſented by him to the rectory of Lambeth, and in the year 1627, to that of Acton. In 1643, he was nominated of the aſſembly of divines, and ſat among them till his correſpondence with the court was diſcovered, by an intercepted letter to archbiſhop *Uſher* relating to their proceedings; upon which he was committed to lord *Peter*'s houſe for a ſpy, both his livings were ſequeſtered, and himſelf expelled the aſſembly.* The doctor was a thorough *calviniſt*, but very zealous for the hierarchy of the church; ſo that when in priſon he publiſhed the following challenge;

"WHEREAS I am certainly informed, that divers "lecturers and preachers in London do in their pulpits, in "a moſt inſolent manner, demand where they are now, that "dare ſtand up in defence of the church hierarchy, or book "of common prayer, or any ways oppoſe or impugn the new-"intended reformation both in doctrine and diſcipline of the "church of England; I do, and will maintain, by diſputation "or writing, againſt any of them, theſe three concluſions:

"Dippers Dipt; or, the Anabaptiſts duckt, and plunged over head and ears, "at a diſputation in Southwark." This title favoured of the taſte and ſpirit of the times, and is no favourable omen of the ſtrain of the work. In his dedication, he tells the reader, "that he could hardly dip his pen in any "thing but gall." The doctor wrote indeed under an irritation of ſpirits from being deprived of two livings, which he enjoyed before the unhappy differences between the king and parliament. He had the character, however, of an acute as well as vehement diſputant. He had for his fellow priſoner Mr. *Henry Denne*, educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, and ordained in 1630, by the biſhop of St. David, who ſignalized himſelf by his preaching, writing, diſputing, and ſuffering for the baptiſtical opinion. As ſoon as he came into priſon, Dr. *Featly*'s book was laid before him in his apartment; when he had read it, he offered to diſpute with the author on the arguments of it. The challenge was accepted, and they debated on the firſt ten arguments, when the doctor declined proceeding, urging that it was not ſafe for them to diſpute on the ſubject without *licence* from *government*; but he bid Mr. *Denne* write, and ſaid he would defend his own arguments. Mr. *Denne*, on this, drew up a learned and ingenious anſwer; but it does not appear that the doctor ever replied. He was eſteemed one of the greateſt ornaments of the Corpus Chriſti College: and acquitted himſelf with great applauſe in a funeral oration on the death of its celebrated maſter Dr. *Rainolds*; and in a publick exerciſe with which he entertained the archbiſhop of Spalato. Unwholſome air, bad diet, and worſe treatment, haſtened his death. Croſby's hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 152, and 303, and Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 176,7. 8vo. Ed.

* See before Chap. II.

1. "That.

1. "That the articles of religion agreed upon in the "year 1562, by both houſes of convocation, and ratified "by Queen *Elizabeth*, need no alteration at all, but only an "orthodox explication of ſome ambiguous phraſes, and a "vindication againſt falſe aſperſions.

2. "That the diſcipline of the church of England, eſta-"bliſhed by many laws, and acts of parliament, that is, the "government by biſhops (removing all innovations and "abuſes in the execution thereof) is agreeable to God's "word, and a truly ancient and apoſtolical inſtitution.

3. "That there ought to be a ſet form of publick prayer; "and that the book of common prayer (the kalendar "being reformed in point of apocryphal ſaints and chap-"ters, ſome rubricks explained, and ſome expreſſions re-"viſed, and the whole correctly printed with the pſalms, "chapters, and allegations, out of the Old and New Teſta-"ment, according to the laſt tranſlation) is the moſt com-"pleat, perfect, and exact liturgy now extant in the chriſtian "world."

The doctor was a little man, of warm paſſions, and exceedingly inflamed againſt the parliament for his impriſonment, as appears by his laſt prayer a few hours before his death, which happened at Chelſea, whither he had been removed for the benefit of the air, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age. His prayer had theſe words in it,—"Lord, ſtrike "through the reins of them that riſe againſt the church and "king, and let them be as chaff before the wind, and as "ſtubble before the fire; let them be ſcattered as partridges "on the mountains, and let the breath of the Lord con-"ſume them; but upon our gracious ſovereign and his poſ-"terity let the crown flouriſh."—A prayer not formed after the model of St. *Stephen*'s, or that of our bleſſed Saviour upon the croſs.

The writer of the life of archbiſhop *Uſher* ſays, the doctor was both orthodox and loyal; but lord *Clarendon* and Dr. *Heylin* cannot forgive his ſitting in the aſſembly, and being a witneſs againſt archbiſhop *Laud* at his trial. "Whether "he ſat in the aſſembly (ſays *Heylin*) to ſhew his parts, or "to head a party, or out of his old love to *calviniſm*, may "beſt

" beſt be gathered from ſome ſpeeches which he made and " printed; but he was there in heart before, and therefore " might afford them his body now, though poſſibly he might " be excuſed from taking the covenant as others did."*

Soon after died famous old Mr. *John Dod*, whoſe pious and remarkable ſayings are remembered to this day; he was born at Shotlidge in Cheſhire in the year 1550, and educated in Jeſus college, Cambridge, of which he was fellow.† At thirty years of age he removed to Hanwell in Oxfordſhire, where he continued preaching twice on the Lord's-day, and once on the week days for above twenty years; at the end of which he was ſuſpended for non-conformity by Dr. *Bridges*, biſhop of the dioceſe. Being driven from Hanwell he removed to Canons-Aſhby in Northamptonſhire, and lived quietly ſeveral years, till upon complaint made by biſhop *Neal* to King *James* he commanded archbiſhop *Abbot* to ſilence him. After the death of King *James*, Mr. *Dod* was allowed to preach publickly again, and ſettled at Fauſtly in the ſame county, where he remained till his death. He was a moſt humble, pious, and devout man and univerſally beloved; an excellent *Hebrician*, a plain, practical, fervent preacher, a noted caſuiſt, and charitable almoſt to a fault; his converſation was heavenly; but being a noted puritan, though he never meddled with ſtate affairs, he was ſeverely uſed by the king's cavaliers, who plundered his houſe, and would have taken away his very ſheets, if the good old man, hardly able to riſe out of his chair, had not put them under him for a cuſhion; all which he endured patiently, calling to mind one of his own maxims,‡ *ſanctified afflictions are ſpiritual promotions.*‖ He died of the ſtrangury in the 96th year of his age, and lies buried in his pariſh church at Fauſtly.

* Hiſt. Preſb. p. 464.

† Clark's Martyrol, p. 168, of the annexed lives.

‡ His name has derived celebrity from his maxims, uſually called *Dodd*'s Sayings: they having been printed in various forms; many of them, on two ſheets of paper, are ſtill be ſeen paſted on the walls of cottages. An old woman in my neighbourhood told me, ſays Mr. *Granger*, " that ſhe " ſhould have gone diſtracted for the loſs of her huſband, if ſhe had been " without Mr. *Dodd*'s Sayings in the houſe."

Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 370, 8vo. Ed.

‖ Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. p. 220.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Concluſion of the Firſt Civil War, by the King's ſurrendering his Royal Perſon to the Scots. Petitions of the Aſſembly and City Divines againſt TOLERATION, *and for the* DIVINE RIGHT *of the Preſbyterial Government, which is erected in London. Debates between the King, Mr.* Henderſon, *and the Scots Commiſſioners. His Majeſty is removed from Newcaſtle to Holmby-Houſe. Farther account of the Sectaries.*

THE king being returned to Oxford, Nov. 6, 1646, after an unfortunate campaign, in which all his armies were beaten out of the field, and diſperſed, had no other remedy left but to make peace with his ſubjects, which his friends in London encouraged him to expect he might be able to accompliſh, by the help of ſome advantage from the growing diviſions among the members, the majority of whom were inclined to an accommodation, provided the king would conſent to aboliſh epiſcopacy, and offer ſufficient aſſurances to govern for the future according to law.‡ But though his majeſty was willing to yield a little to the times, with regard to the ſecurity of the *civil* government, nothing could prevail with him to give up the *church*. Beſides, as the king's circumſtances obliged him to recede, the parliament as conquerors advanced in their demands. In the month of December, his majeſty ſent ſeveral meſſages to the parliament, to obtain a perſonal treaty at London, upon the publick faith for himſelf and a certain number of his friends, reſiding there with ſafety and honour forty days; but the parliament would by no means truſt their enemies within their own bowels, and therefore inſiſted preremptorily upon his ſigning the bills they were preparing to ſend him, as a preliminary to a well-grounded ſettlement.

‡ Rapin, p. 320.

The

The king made ſome conceſſions on his part, relating to the *militia* and *liberty of conſcience*, but very far ſhort of the demand of the two houſes, who were ſo perſuaded of his art and ability in the choice of ambiguous expreſſions, capable of a different ſenſe from what appeared at firſt ſight, that they durſt not venture to make uſe of them as the baſis of a treaty.‖ Thus the winter was waſted in fruitleſs meſſages between London and Oxford, while the unfortunate king ſpent his time muſing over his papers in a moſt diſconſolate manner, forſaken by ſome of his beſt friends, and rudely treated by others. Mr. *Locke* ſays, the uſage the king met with from his followers at Oxford made it an hard, but almoſt an even choice, to be the *parliament's* priſoner, or *their* ſlave. In his majeſty's letter to the queen he writes, "If thou knew what a life I lead in point of converſation, "I dare ſay thou wouldſt pity me." The chief officers quarrelled, and became inſupportably inſolent in the royal preſence; nor was the king himſelf without blame; for being deprived of his oracle the QUEEN, he was like a ſhip in a ſtorm without ſails or rudder. Lord *Clarendon*† therefore draws a veil over his majeſty's conduct in theſe words: "It "is not poſſible to diſcourſe of particulars with the clearneſs "that is neceſſary to ſubject them to common underſtandings, "without opening a door for ſuch reflections upon the king "himſelf, as ſeem to call both his wiſdom and ſteadineſs in "queſtion; as if he wanted the *one* to apprehend and diſ"cover, and the *other* to prevent the miſchiefs that were "evident and impending." And yet nothing could prevail with him to ſubmit to the times, or deal frankly with thoſe who alone were capable of retrieving his affairs.

The king having neither money nor forces, and the queen's reſources from abroad failing, his majeſty could not take the field in the ſpring, which gave the parliament army an eaſy conqueſt over his remaining forts and garriſons. All the *Weſt* was reduced before *Midſummer*, by the victorious army of ſir *Tho. Fairfax*; the city of Exeter ſurrendered April 9, in which one of the king's daughters, princeſs *Henrietta*, was made priſoner, but her governeſs the counteſs of *Dalkeith* found means afterwards to convey her privately into

‖ Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 215, 216. † Vol. iv. p. 626.

France.

France. Dennington-Caſtle ſurrendered April 1, Barnſtaple the 12th, and Woodſtock the 26th; upon which it was reſolved to ſtrike the finiſhing blow, by beſieging the king in his head-quarters at Oxford; upon the news of which, like a man in a fright, he left the city by night April 27, and travelled as a ſervant to Dr. *Hudſon* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, with his hair cut round to his ears, and a cloke-bag behind him to the Scots army before Newark:‡ His majeſty ſurrendered himſelf to general *Levan*, May 5, who received him with reſpect, but ſent *an expreſs* immediately to the two houſes, who were diſpleaſed at his majeſty's conduct, apprehending it calculated to prolong the war, and occaſion a difference between the two nations; which was certainly intended, as appears by the king's letter from Oxford to the duke of *Ormond*, in which he ſays, he had good ſecurity, that he and all his adherents ſhould be ſafe in their perſons, honours, and conſciences in the Scots army, *and that they would join with him, and employ their forces to obtain a happy and well-grounded peace;* whereas the Sots commiſſioners, in their letter to the houſe of peers, aver, "They had given "no aſſurance, nor made any capitulation for joining forces "with the king, or combining againſt the two houſes, or "any other private or publick agreement whatſoever, be"tween the king on one part, and the kingdom of Scot"land, their army, or any in their names, and having power "from them, on the other part;" and they called the contrary aſſertion a *damnable untruth;* and add, "that they "never expect a bleſſing from God any longer than they "continue faithful to their *covenant*."§ So that this muſt be

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 523. Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 268, 273, 274, 303, 304.

§ Dr. *Grey*, to confute theſe declarations, which Mr. *Neal* has brought forward, quotes ſeveral affidavits and aſſertions of Dr. *Hudſon*; the ſubſtance of which is, that the Scots agreed to ſecure the perſon and honour of the king; to preſs him to nothing contrary to his conſcience: to protect Mr. *Aſhburnham* and himſelf; and, if the parliament refuſed to reſtore the king, upon a meſſage from him, to his rights and prerogatives, to declare for him, and take all his friends into their protection. But the doctor omits to obſerve, that *Hudſon* ſpoke on the authority of the French agent, one *Montreville*, who negociated the buſineſs between the king and the Scots: and who, it appears, promiſed to the king more than he was empowered; and was recalled and diſgraced. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 523-4. It

is

be the artifice of *Montrevil*, the French ambaſſador, who undertook to negociate between the two parties, and drew the credulous and diſtreſſed king into that ſnare, out of which he could never eſcape.

His majeſty ſurrendering his perſon to the Scots, and ſending orders to the governors of Newark, Oxford, and all his other garriſons and forces to ſurrender and diſband, concluded the firſt civil war; upon which moſt of the officers, with prince *Rupert* and *Maurice*, retired beyond ſea; ſo that by the middle of Auguſt all the king's forces and caſtles were in the parliament's hands; Ragland-caſtle being the laſt; which was four years wanting three days, from the ſetting up the royal ſtandard at Nottingham.

Some time before the king left Oxford he had commiſſioned the marquis of *Ormond* to conclude a peace with the Iriſh papiſts, in hopes of receiving ſuccours from thence, which gave great offence to the parliament; but though his majeſty upon ſurrendering himſelf to the Scots wrote to the marquis June 11,* not to proceed; he ventured to put the finiſhing hand to the treaty, July 28, 1646, upon the following ſcandalous articles,† among others which ſurely the marquis durſt not have conſented to, without ſome private inſtructions from the king and queen.

1. "That the Roman catholicks of that kingdom ſhall "be diſcharged from taking the oath of ſupremacy.

2. "That all acts of parliament made againſt them ſhall "be repealed; that they be allowed the freedom of their "religion, and not be debarred from any of his majeſty's "graces or favours.

is more eaſy to conceive, that *Montreville* exceeded his commiſſion, as according to *Hudſon*'s confeſſion, quoted by Dr. *Grey*, the Scots would not give any thing under their hands. Ed.

* Lord *Digby* wiſhed to have it underſtood, that this letter was ſurreptitious, or a forged one from his majeſty, and moſt contrary to what he knew to be his free reſolution and unconſtrained will and pleaſure. Dr. *Grey*. Ed.

† Mr. *Neal*, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, gives only a very conciſe abridgement of theſe articles; which were thirty in number, and, as they ſtand in *Ruſhworth*, take up almoſt twelve pages in folio. But Mr. *Neal*'s view of ſome of them, though the doctor calls it *curtailing* them, is ſufficient to ſhew the tenor and ſpirit of the whole. Ed.

3. "That

3. "That all acts reflecting on the honour of the Roman "catholick religion ſince Aug. 7, 1641, be repealed.

4. "That all indictments, attainders, outlawries, &c. "againſt them, or any of them, be vacated and made void.

5. "That all impediments that may hinder their ſitting "in parliament, or being choſen burgeſſes, or knights of "the ſhire, be removed.

6. "That all incapacities impoſed upon the nation be "taken away, and that they have power to erect one or "more inns of court in or near the city of Dublin; and "that all catholicks educated there be capable of taking "their degrees without the oath of ſupremacy.

7. "That the Roman catholicks ſhall be empowered to "erect one or more univerſities, and keep free-ſchools for "the education of their youth, any law or ſtatute to the "contrary notwithſtanding.

8. "That places of command, honour, profit, and truſt, "ſhall be conferred on the Roman catholicks, without ma-"king any difference between them and proteſtants, both "in the army and in the civil government.

9. "That an act of oblivion ſhall be paſſed in the next "parliament, to extend to all the *Roman catholicks* and their "heirs, abſolving them of all treaſons and offences what-"ſoever, and particularly of the maſſacre of 1641,† ſo that "no perſons ſhall be impeached, troubled, or moleſted, for "any thing done on one ſide or the other.

10. "That the Roman catholicks ſhall continue in poſ-"ſeſſion of all thoſe cities, forts, garriſons, and towns, that "they are poſſeſſed of, till things are come to a full ſet-"tlement."*

‖ Ruſhworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 402.

† But it was provided, that ſuch barbarities, as ſhould be agreed on by the lord lieutenant, and the lord viſcount *Mountgarret*, or any five or more of them, ſhould be tried by ſuch indifferent commiſſioners as they ſhould appoint. Dr. *Grey*. Ed.

* Our author having called the preceding propoſitions "ſcandalous articles," Dr. *Grey* appeals from his ſentence to the remonſtrance of the proteſtant archbiſhops, biſhops, and inferior clergy of the kingdom of Ireland to the lord lieutenant, on the 11th and 13th of Auguſt, 1646, in which they expreſs a ſtrong and grateful ſenſe of obligation for the peace eſtabliſhed among them. But it will ſtill remain a queſtion, whether the ſentiments of theſe prelates and clergy were diſintereſted and judicious. Ed.

Was

Was this the way to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between the king and his two houſes? or could they believe, that his majeſty meant the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and the extirpation of popery in England, when his general conſented to ſuch a peace in Ireland, without any marks of his ſovereign's diſpleaſure? nay, when, after a long treaty with the parliament commiſſioners, he refuſed to deliver up the forts and garriſons into their hands, inſomuch that after ſix weeks attendance, they were obliged to return to their ſhips, and carry back the ſupplies they had brought for the garriſons,* having only publiſhed a declaration, that the parliament of England would take all the proteſtants of Ireland into their protection, and ſend over an army to carry on the war againſt the papiſts with vigour.

The king being now in the hands of the Scots, the Engliſh preſbyterians at London reſumed their courage, concluding they could not fail of a full eſtabliſhment of their diſcipline, and of bringing the parliament at Weſtminſter to their terms of uniformity; for this purpoſe they framed a bold remonſtrance in the name of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, and preſented it to the houſe May 26, complaining,† "that the reins of diſcipline were let looſe; "that particular congregations were allowed to take up

* Our author incurs here the cenſure of Dr. *Grey* for not "affording "us any authority in proof of this aſſertion." The editor confeſſes, that he cannot ſupply the omiſſion. Dr. *Grey* confronts Mr. *Neal* with large quotations from Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 53, 54, 65, 66, 73, 74, 75. But they appear not to the point for which they are produced. The purport of them is: "That the marquis of *Ormond* "reſolved not to proceed to any conjunction with the commiſſioners with- "out his majeſty's expreſs directions, for which he privately diſpatched "ſeveral expreſſes: that, in conſequence of this, the commiſſioners, not "obtaining poſſeſſion of the garriſons, returned with all their ſupplies to "their ſhips: that the marquis received his majeſty's order *not to deliver "up the garriſons, if it were poſſible to keep them under the ſame entire "obedience to his majeſty:* but *ſhould there be a neceſſity*, to put them into "the hands of the Engliſh, rather than of the Iriſh." The reſt of the quotation deſcribes the difficulties and diſtreſſes under which the marquis laboured, which drove him at laſt to make a diſadvantageous agreement with the commiſſioners. The reader will judge, whether by theſe references Mr. *Neal*'s aſſertions are not, inſtead of being confuted, eſtabliſhed. See alſo Mrs. Macaulay, vol. iv. p. 250. Note (†). ED

† Vol. Pamp. No. 34.

"what

" what form of divine ſervice they pleaſed, and that ſecta-
" ries began to ſwarm by virtue of a *toleration* granted to
" tender conſciences. They put the parliament in mind of
" their *covenant*, which obliged them to endeavour the ex-
" tirpation of popery, prelacy, ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm,
" profaneneſs, and whatſoever elſe was found contrary to
" ſound doctrine; and at the ſame time to preſerve and de-
" fend the perſon and authority of the king; they there-
" fore deſired, ſince the whole kingdom was now in a man-
" ner reduced to the obedience of the parliament, *that all*
" *ſeparate congregations may be ſuppreſſed; that all ſuch ſe-*
" *paratiſts who conform not to the publick diſcipline may be*
" *declared againſt, that no perſon diſaffected to the preſbyterial*
" *government ſet forth by parliament, may be employed in any*
" *place of publick truſt;*§ that the houſe will endeavour to
" remove all jealouſies between them and the Scots, and
" haſten their propoſitions to the king, for a ſafe and well-
" grounded peace."*

This remonſtrance was ſupported by the whole Scots nation, who acted in concert with their Engliſh brethren, as appears by a letter of thanks to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, from the general aſſembly, dated June 10, 1646, within a month after the delivery of the remonſtrance:† the letter commends their courageous appearance againſt ſects and ſectaries; their firm adherence to the covenant, and their maintaining the preſbyterial government to be the *government of Jeſus Chriſt*. It beſeeches them to go on boldly in the work they had begun, till the three kingdoms were united in one faith and worſhip. At the ſame time they directed letters to the parliament, beſeeching them alſo, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, to give to him the glory that is due to his name, by an immediate eſtabliſhing

§ Preſbyterianiſm thus diſplayed the ſame intolerance as epiſcopacy had done. " Religious tyranny," obſerves Mr. *Robinſon*, " ſubſiſts in various " degrees, as all civil tyrannies do. POPERY is the conſummation of it, " and preſbyterianiſm a weak degree of it. But the latter has in it the " eſſence of the former: and differs from it only as a kept miſtreſs differs " from a ſtreet-walker; or, as a muſquet differs from a cannon." Plan of Lectures, 5th edition, p. 38. ED.

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 212. † Ruſhworth, p. 306.

of

of all his ordinances in their full integrity and power, according to the covenant. Nor did they forget to encourage the *aſſembly* at Weſtminſter to proceed in their zeal againſt ſectaries, and to ſtand boldly for the ſcepter of Jeſus Chriſt againſt the encroachments of earthly powers. Theſe letters were printed and diſperſed over the whole kingdom.

The wiſe parliament received the lord-mayor and his brethren, with marks of great reſpect and civility; for neither the Scots nor Engliſh preſbyterians were to be diſguſted, while the *prize* was in their hands, for which both had been contending; but the majority of the commons were diſpleaſed with the remonſtrance and the high manner of enforcing it, as aiming, by an united force, to eſtabliſh a ſovereign deſpotick power in the church, with an uniformity, to which themſelves, and many of their friends, were unwilling to ſubmit; however, they diſmiſſed the petitioners with a promiſe to take the particulars into conſideration.

But the *independants* and ſectarians in the army, being alarmed at the impending ſtorm, procured a counter petition from the city with great numbers of hands, "applauding "the labours and ſucceſſes of the parliament in the cauſe "of *liberty*, and praying them to go on with managing "the affairs of the kingdom according to their wiſdoms, "and not ſuffer the free-born people of England to be en-"ſlaved upon any pretence whatſoever; nor *to ſuffer any* "*ſet of people to preſcribe to them in matters of government* "*or conſcience*, and the petitioners will ſtand by them with "their lives and fortunes." Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays, the hands of the royaliſts were in this affair, who, being beaten out of the field, reſolved now to attempt the ruin of the parliament, by ſowing diſcord among their friends.*

The houſes were embarraſſed between the contenders for *liberty* and *uniformity*, and endeavoured to avoid a deciſion, till they ſaw the effect of their treaty with the king. They kept the preſbyterians in ſuſpence, by preſſing the aſſembly for their anſwer to the queſtions relating to the *jus divinum* of preſbytery already mentioned, inſinuating that they themſelves were the obſtacles to a full ſettlement, and aſſuring them, when this point was agreed, they would concur in

* Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 308. Memorials, p. 213.

ſuch

ſuch an ordinance as they deſired. Upon this the aſſembly appointed three committees to take the *queſtions* into conſideration; but the *independants* took this opportunity to withdraw, refuſing abſolutely to be concerned in the affair.

The firſt committee was appointed to determine, *whether any particular church government was* jure divino, and to bring their proofs from ſcripture. But here they ſtumbled at the very threſhold, for the *eraſtians* divided them, and entered their diſſent, ſo that when the anſwer was laid before the aſſembly, it was not called the anſwer of the committee, but of ſome brethren of the committee; and when the queſtion was put, they withdrew from the aſſembly, and left the *high preſbyterians* to themſelves, who agreed, with only one diſſenting voice, that *Jeſus Chriſt, as king of the church, hath himſelf appointed a church government diſtinct from the civil magiſtrate.* The names of thoſe who ſubſcribed this propoſition were,

The Rev. Mr. White
Mr. Palmer
Dr. Wincop
Mr. Ley
Dr. Gouge
Mr. Walker
Mr. Sedgwick
Mr. Marſhall
Mr. Whitaker
Mr. Newcomen
Mr. Spurſtow
Mr. Delmy
Mr. Calamy
Mr. Proffet
Mr. Perne
Mr. Scuddir
Mr. Carter, ſen.
Mr. Caryl
Mr. Woodcocke
Mr. Carter, jun.
Mr. Goodwin
Mr. Nye
Mr. Greenhill
Mr. Valentine
Mr. Price
Dr. Smith

The Rev. Dr. Staunton
Dr. Hoyle
Mr. Bayly
Mr. Taylor
Mr. Young
Mr. Cawdrey
Mr. Aſh
Mr. Gibſon
Mr. Good
Mr. Vines
Mr. Seaman
Mr. Chambers
Mr. Corbet
Mr. Dury
Mr. Salway
Mr. Hardwicke
Mr. Langley
Mr. Simpſon
Mr. Conant
Mr. De la March
Mr. Byfield
Mr. Herle
Mr. De la Place
Mr. Wilſon
Mr. Reyner
Mr. Gower.

The divine who entered his diſſent was Mr. *Lightfoot*, with whom Mr. *Colman* would have joined, if he had not fallen ſick at this juncture, and died.

The diſcuſſing the remaining queſtions engaged the aſſembly from May till the latter end of July, and even then they thought it not ſafe to preſent their determinations to parliament for fear of a *præmunire*; upon which the city divines at Sion college took up the controverſy, in a treatiſe entitled, *The divine right of Church Government, by the* LONDON MINISTERS. Wherein they give a diſtinct anſwer to the ſeveral queries of the houſe of commons, and undertake to prove every branch of the preſbyterial diſcipline to be *jure divino*, and that the civil magiſtrate had no right to intermeddle with the cenſures of the church.

And to ſhew the parliament they were in earneſt, they reſolved to ſtand by each other, and not comply with the preſent eſtabliſhment, till it was delivered from the yoke of the civil magiſtrate; for which purpoſe they drew up a *paper of reaſons*, and preſented it to the lord-mayor, who, having adviſed with the common-council, ſent a deputation to Sion college, offering to concur in a petition for redreſs, which they did accordingly, though without effect; for the parliament, taking notice of the combination of the *city miniſters*, publiſhed an order June 9, requiring thoſe of the province of London to obſerve the ordinance relating to church government, enjoining the members for the city to ſend copies thereof to their ſeveral pariſhes, and to take effectual care that they were immediately put in execution. Upon this the miniſters of London and Weſtminſter met again at Sion college June 19, and being a little more ſubmiſſive, publiſhed *certain conſiderations and cautions, according to which they agree to put the preſbyterial government in practice according to the preſent eſtabliſhment.* Here they declare, "that the "power of church cenſures ought to be in church officers, "*by the will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt*, but then they "are pleaſed to admit, that the *magiſtracy* ought to be ſatis- "fied in the truth of the government they authorize; and "though it be not right in every *particular*, yet church "officers may act under that rule, provided they do not ac- "knowledge the rule to be right in all points. Therefore

"though

" though they conceive the ordinances of parliament already " publiſhed, are not *a compleat rule, nor in all points ſatis-* " *factory to their conſciences*, yet becauſe in many things they " are ſo, and proviſion being made to enable the elderſhips, " by their authority, to keep away from the Lord's-ſupper " all ignorant and ſcandalous perſons; and a further decla- " ration being made, that there ſhall be an addition to the " ſcandalous offences formerly enumerated, therefore they " conceive it their duty to put in practice the preſent ſettle- " ment, as far as they conceive it correſpondent with the " word of God; hoping that the parliament will in due " time ſupply what is lacking, to make the government en- " tire, and rectify what ſhall appear to be amiſs." Thus reluctantly did theſe gentlemen bend to the authority of the parliament!

The kingdom of England, inſtead of ſo many dioceſes, was now divided into a certain number of *provinces*, made up of repreſentatives from the ſeveral *claſſes* within their reſpective boundaries; every pariſh had a congregational, or parochial preſbytery for the affairs of the pariſh; the parochial preſbyteries were combined into *claſſes*; theſe returned repreſentatives to the *provincial aſſembly*, as the *provincial* did to the *national*; for example, the province of London being compoſed of twelve claſſes, according to the following diviſion, each claſſis choſe two miniſters, and four lay-elders, to repreſent them in a *provincial aſſembly*, which received general appeals from the parochial and claſſical preſbyteries, as the *national aſſembly* did from the *provincial*.

The DIVISION of the PROVINCE of LONDON.

The firſt Claſſis to contain the following pariſhes.

1 Allhallows, Breadſtreet
2 Andrew's, Wardrope
3 Bennet, Paul's Wharf
4 Faith's
5 St. Gregory
6 St. John Evangeliſt
7 Margaret Moſes
8 St. Martin, Ludgate
9 St. Anne, Black-Friars
10 St. Auſtin's Pariſh
11 St. Mary, Aldermary
12 St. Mary le Bow
13 St. Matthew, Friday-ſtreet
14 Mildred, Bread-ſtreet, St. Paul's
15 St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf.

The ſecond Claſſis.

1 St. Antholine
2 Bennet Sheerhog
3 St. James, Garlickhithe
4 St. John Baptiſt
5 Martin the Vintry
6 St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fiſh-ſtreet
7 St. Mary Somerſet
8 St. Mary Mounthaw
9 St. Michael, Queenhithe
10 St. Michael Royal
11 St. Nicholas, Old Abby
12 St. Nicholas Olives
13 Pancras, Sopers Lane
14 St. Thomas Apoſtle
15 Trinity Pariſh.

The third Claſſis.

1 Allhallows the greater
2 Allhallows the leſs
3 Allhallows, Lombard-ſtreet
4 St. Edmund, Lombard-ſtreet
5 Lawrence Pountney
6 St. Mary, Abchurch
7 St. Mary, Bothaw
8 St. Mary, Woolchurch
9 St. Mary, Woolnoth
10 St. Nicholas Aaron
11 St. Stephen's, Wallbrook
12 St. Swithin's.

The fourth Claſſis.

1 St. Andrews, Hubbert
2 St. Bennet, Gracechurch
3 St. Buttolph, Billingſgate
4 St. Clement, Eaſt-cheap
5 St. Dionis, Back-church
6 St. George, Buttolph-lane
7 St. Leonard, Eaſt-cheap
8 St. Magnus
9 St. Margaret, New Fiſh-ſtreet
10 St. Martin Orgars
11 St. Mary Hill
12 St. Michael, Crooked-lane
13 St. Michael, Cornhill
14 St. Peter, Cornhill.

The fifth Claſſis.

1 St. Anne, Alderſgate
2 St. Buttolph, Alderſgate
3 St. Brides
4 Bridewell
5 Chriſt Church
6 St. John Zachary
7 St. Leonard, Foſter-lane
8 St. Mary Staynings
9 St. Michael *in the* Corn, *vulgò in the* Querne
10 St. Olave, Silver-ſtreet
11 St. Peter, Cheap
12 St. Foſter, *alias* Vedaſt.

The ſixth Claſſis.

1 St. Alban, Wood-ſtreet
2 Allhallows, Honey-lane
3 St. Alphage
4 St. Giles's, Cripplegate
5 St. James's Chapel
6 St. Lawrence, Jewry
7 St. Martin, Ironmonger-lane
8 St. Mary, Aldermanbury
9 St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-ſtreet
10 St. Mary, Colechurch
11 St. Michael, Wood-ſtreet
12 St. Mildred, Poultry
13 St. Olave, Jewry.

The ſeventh Claſſis.

1 Allhallows *in the* Wall
2 St. Bartholomew, Exchange
3 St. Bennet Finck
4 St. Buttolph, Biſhopſgate
5 St. Chriſtopher's
6 St. Margaret, Lothbury
7 St. Michael, Baſſiſhaw
8 St. Peter Poor
9 St. Stephen, Coleman-ſtreet.

The eighth Claſſis.

1 St Andrew Underſhaft
2 St. Buttolph, Aldgate
3 St. Ethelburga
4 St. John, Hackney
5 St. Hellens
6 St. James, Duke-Place
7 St. Katherine, Creechurch
8 St. Leonard, Shoreditch
9 St. Martin, Outwich
10 St. Mary, Stoke-Newington.

The ninth Claſſis.

1 Allhallows Barkin
2 Allhallows Steyning
3 St. Dunſtan *in the* Eaſt
4 St. Gabriel, Fenchurch
5 St. Katherine, Coleman
6 St. Katherine, Tower
7 St. Margaret, Pattoons
8 St. Olive, Hartſtreet
9 St. Peter *in the* Tower
10 Stepney
11 Trinity, Minories
12 Wapping
13 Whitechapel.

The tenth Claſſis.

1 St. George, Southwark
2 Lambeth
3 St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondſey
4 St. Mary Overies
5 Newington Buts
6 St. Olave, Southwark
7 Rotherhithe
8 St. Thomas's Hoſpital
9 St. Thomas's, Southwark.

The eleventh Claſſis.

1 St. Clement Danes
2 St. Giles's *in the* Fields
3 Knightſbridge
4 St. Margaret, Weſtminſter
5 St. Martin *in the* Fields
6 New Church
7 St. Peter, Weſtminſter
8 St. Paul, Covent-Garden.

The twelfth Claſſis.

1 St. Andrew, Holborn
2 St. Bartholomew the greater
3 St. Bartholomew the leſs
4 Charter-houſe
5 St. Dunſtan *in the* Weſt
6 St. James's, Clerkenwell
7 St. Mary, Iſlington
8 St. Sepulchres.

Thus

Thus the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtical government began to appear in its proper form; but new obſtructions being raiſed by the miniſters to the choice of repreſentatives, the provincial aſſembly did not meet till next year, nor did it ever obtain except in London and Lancaſhire. The parliament never heartily approved it, and the intereſt that ſupported it being quickly diſabled, Mr. *Eachard* ſays, the preſbyterians never ſaw their dear preſbytery ſettled in any one part of England.§ But Mr. *Baxter*, who is a much better authority, ſays, the ordinance was executed in London and Lancaſhire, though it remained unexecuted in almoſt all other parts. However, the preſbyterian miniſters had their voluntary aſſociations for church affairs in moſt counties, though without any authoritative juriſdiction.

To return to the king, who marched with the Scots army from Newark to Newcaſtle, where he continued about eight months, being treated with ſome reſpect, but not with all the duty of ſubjects to a ſovereign. The firſt ſermon that was preached before him gave hopes,* that they would be mediators between him and the parliament; it was from 2 Sam. xix. 41, 42, 43. *And behold, all the men of Iſrael came to the king, and ſaid to the king, Why have the men of Judah ſtolen thee away?—And all the men of Judah anſwered the men of Iſrael, Becauſe the king is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for this matter, have we eaten at all of the king's coſt? or hath he given us any gift?—And the men of Iſrael anſwered the men of Judah, and ſaid, We have ten parts in the king; and we have alſo more right in David than ye; why then did ye deſpiſe us, that our advice ſhould not be firſt had, in bringing back our king? And the words of the*

§ Eachard, p. 634.

* Mr. *Whitlocke* informs us, Memorials, p. 234, "that a Scotch miniſter "preached boldly before the king, December 16, 1646, at Newcaſtle," and after his ſermon called for the 52d pſalm, which begins,

"Why doſt thou, tyrant, boaſt thyſelf,
"Thy wicked works to praiſe?"

His majeſty thereupon ſtood up, and called for the 56th pſalm, which begins,

"Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
"For men would me devour."

The people waved the miniſter's pſalm, and ſung that which the king called for." Ed.

men

men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Iſrael. But it quickly appeared, that nothing would be done except upon condition of the king's taking the covenant, and eſtabliſhing the preſbyterial government in both kingdoms. When the king was preſſed upon theſe heads, he pleaded *his conſcience*, and declared that though he was content the Scots ſhould enjoy their own diſcipline, he apprehended his honour and conſcience were concerned to ſupport *epiſcopacy in England*, becauſe it had been eſtabliſhed from the reformation, and that he was bound to uphold it by his coronation oath; however, he was willing to enter into a conference with any perſon whom they ſhould appoint, proteſting he was not aſhamed to change his judgment, or alter his reſolution, provided they could ſatisfy him in two points.

1ſt. That the epiſcopacy he contended for was not of *divine inſtitution*.——2dly. That his coronation oath did not bind him to ſupport and defend the church of England as it was then eſtabliſhed.

To ſatisfy the king in theſe points the Scots ſent for Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* from Edinburgh, paſtor of a church in that city, rector of the Univerſity, and one of the king's chaplains, a divine of great learning and abilities, as well as diſcretion and prudence. Mr. *Ruſhworth* ſays, that he had more moderation than moſt of his way. And *Collier* adds, that he was a perſon of learning, elocution, and judgment, and ſeems to have been the top of his party.‖ The debate was managed in writing: the king drew up his own papers, and gave them ſir *Robert Murray* to tranſcribe, and deliver to Mr. *Henderſon*;* and Mr. *Henderſon*'s hand not being ſo legible as his, ſir *Robert*, by the king's appointment, tranſcribed Mr. *Henderſon*'s papers for his majeſty's uſe.†

‖ Collier, p. 848. * Duke of Hamilton's M. p. 277.

† Dr. *Grey* blames Mr. *Neal* here for omitting biſhop *Burnet*'s account of the king's ſuperiority in this controverſy. "Had his majeſty's arms," ſays the biſhop, "been as ſtrong as his reaſon was, he had been every way "unconquerable, ſince none have the *diſingenuity to deny the great advan-* "*tage his majeſty had in all theſe writings:* and this was when the help "of his chaplains could not be ſuſpected, they being ſo far from him; and "that the king drew with his own hand all his papers without the help of "any, is averred by the perſon who alone was privy to the interchanging "of them, that worthy and accompliſhed gentleman *Robert Murray*."

The

The KING, in his firſt paper of May 29, declares his eſteem for the Engliſh reformation, becauſe it was effected without tumult; and was directed by thoſe who ought to have the conduct of ſuch an affair.* He apprehends they kept cloſe to apoſtolical appointment, and the univerſal cuſtom of the primitive church; that therefore the adhering to epiſcopacy muſt be of the laſt importance, as without it the prieſthood muſt ſink, and the ſacraments be adminiſtered without effect; for theſe reaſons he conceives epiſcopacy neceſſary to the being of a church, and alſo, that he is bound to ſupport it by his coronation oath. *Laſtly*, His Majeſty deſires to know of Mr. *Henderſon*, what warrant there is in the word of God for ſubjects to endeavour to force their king's conſcience, or to make him alter laws againſt his will?

Mr. HENDERSON, in his firſt paper of June 3, after an introduction of modeſty and reſpect, wiſhes, when occaſion requires, that religion might always be reformed by the civil magiſtrate, and not left either to the prelates or the people; but when princes or magiſtrates are negligent of their duty, God may ſtir up the ſubject to perform this work.‖ He obſerves, that the reformation of King Henry VIII. was very defective in the eſſentials of doctrine, worſhip, and government; that it proceeded with a *Laodicean* lukewarmneſs; that the ſupremacy was transferred from one wrong head to another, and the limbs of the anti-chriſtian hierarchy were viſible in the body. He adds, that the imperfection of the Engliſh reformation had been the complaint of many religious and godly perſons; that it had occaſioned more ſchiſm and ſeparation than had been heard of elſewhere, and had been matter of unſpeakable grief to other churches. As to the king's argument, that the validity of the prieſthood, and the efficacy of the ſacraments, depended upon epiſcopacy, he replies, that epiſcopacy cannot make out its claim to *apoſtolical appointment*; that when the apoſtles

The biſhop's opinion may be juſtly admitted, as a teſtimony to the ability with which the king handled the queſtion: and yet ſome allowance ſhould be made for the biaſs with which this prelate would naturally review arguments in favour of his own ſentiments and rank. ED.

* Bibl. Reg. p. 296. ‖ Ibid. p. 312, &c.

were

were living, there was no difference between a biſhop and a preſbyter; no inequality in power or degree, but an exact parity in every branch of their character: That there is no mention in ſcripture of a paſtor or biſhop ſuperior to other paſtors. There is a beautiful ſubordination in the miniſtry of the New Teſtament; one kind of miniſters being placed in degree and dignity above another, as firſt apoſtles, then evangeliſts, then paſtors and teachers, but in offices of the ſame rank and kind we do not find any preference; no apoſtle is conſtituted ſuperior to other apoſtles; no evangeliſt is raiſed above other evangeliſts; nor has any paſtor or deacon a ſuperiority above others of their order.

Farther, Mr. HENDERSON humbly deſires his majeſty to take notice, that arguing from the practice of the primitive church, and the conſent of the fathers, is fallacious and uncertain, and that *the law and teſtimony of the word of God* is the only rule. The practice of the primitive church, in many things, cannot certainly be known, as *Euſebius* confeſſes, that even in the apoſtles' time *Diotrephes* moved for the pre-eminence, and the *myſtery of iniquity began to work*; and that afterwards ambition and weakneſs quickly made way for a change in church government.

Mr. *Henderſon* hopes his majeſty will not deny the lawfulneſs of the miniſtry, and due adminiſtration of the ſacraments, in thoſe reformed churches where there are no dioceſan biſhops; that it is evident from ſcripture, and confeſſed by many champions for epiſcopacy, that *preſbyters* may ordain *preſbyters*; and to diſengage his majeſty from his coronation oath, as far as relates to the church, he conceives, when the formal reaſon of an oath ceaſes, the obligation is diſcharged: when an oath has a ſpecial regard to the benefit of thoſe to whom the engagement is made, if the parties intereſted relax upon the point, diſpenſe with the promiſe, and give up their advantage, the obligation is at an end. Thus when the parliaments of both kingdoms have agreed to the repealing of a law, the king's conſcience is not tied againſt ſigning the bill, for then the altering any law would be impracticable.—He concludes with obſerving, that king *James* never admitted epiſcopacy upon divine right; and that could his *ghoſt* now ſpeak, he would not adviſe your majeſty to

run

run ſuch hazards, for men [prelates] who would pull down your throne with their own, rather than that they periſh alone.

The KING, in his ſecond paper* of June 6, avers, no reformation is lawful, unleſs under the conduct of the royal authority; that king *Henry* the eighth's reformation being imperfect, is no proof of defects in that of king *Edward* VI. and queen *Elizabeth*; that Mr. *Henderſon* can never prove, *God has given the multitude leave to reform the negligence of princes*; that his comparing our reformation to the *Laodicean* lukewarmneſs, was an unhandſome way of begging the queſtion, for he ſhould have firſt made out, that thoſe men [the puritans] had reaſon to complain, and that the ſchiſm was chargeable upon the conformiſts. His majeſty is ſo far from allowing the preſbyterian government to be practiſed in the primitive times, that he affirms, it was never ſet up before *Calvin*; and admits, that it was his province to ſhew the lawfulneſs, and uninterrupted ſucceſſion, and by conſequence the neceſſity of *epiſcopacy*, but that he had not then the convenience of books, nor the aſſiſtance of ſuch learned men as he could truſt, and therefore propoſes a conference with his divines. And whereas Mr. *Henderſon* excepts to his reaſoning from the primitive church, and conſent of the fathers; his majeſty conceives his exception indefenſible, for if the ſenſe of a doubtful place of ſcripture is not to be governed by ſuch an authority, the interpretation of the inſpired writings muſt be left to the direction of every private ſpirit, which is contrary to St. *Peter*'s doctrine, 2 *Pet.* i. 20. *No prophecy of ſcripture is of private interpretation*; it is likewiſe the ſource of all ſects, and without prevention will bring theſe kingdoms into confuſion. His majeſty adds, that it is Mr. *Henderſon*'s part to prove, that preſbyters without a biſhop may ordain other preſbyters. As to the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, Mr. *Henderſon* himſelf will not deny, a *lawfully ordained preſbyter*'s being neceſſary to that office; ſo that the determination of this latter queſtion will depend in ſome meaſure on the former. With regard to oaths, his majeſty allows Mr. *Henderſon*'s general rule, but thinks he

* Bib. Reg. p. 320, 322, &c.

is

is miſtaken in the application; for the clauſe touching religion in the *coronation oath* was made only for the benefit of the church of England; that therefore it is not in the power of the two houſes of parliament to diſcharge the obligation of this oath, without their conſent. That *this church never made any ſubmiſſion to the two houſes, nor owned herſelf ſubordinate to them*; that the reformation was managed by the king and clergy, and the parliament aſſiſted only in giving a civil ſanction to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.—Theſe points being clear to his majeſty, it follows by neceſſary conſequence, that it is only the church of England, in whoſe favour he took this oath, that can releaſe him from it, and that therefore, when the church of England, lawfully aſſembled, ſhall declare his majeſty diſcharged, he ſhall then, and not till then, reckon himſelf at liberty.

Mr. HENDERSON, in his reply to this ſecond paper of June 17, agrees with the king, that the prime reforming power is in kings and princes, but adds, that in caſe they fail of their duty, this authority devolves upon the inferior magiſtrate, and upon their failure, to the body of the people, upon ſuppoſition that a reformation is neceſſary, and that people's ſuperiors will by no means give way to it; he allows that ſuch a reformation is more imperfect with reſpect to the manner, but commonly more perfect and refined in the product and iſſue. He adds, that the government of the church of England is not ſuppoſed to be built on the foundation of Chriſt and his apoſtles, by thoſe who confeſs that church government is mutable and ambulatory, as was formerly the opinion of moſt of the Engliſh biſhops; that the *divine right* was not pleaded till of late by ſome few; that the Engliſh reformation has not perfectly purged out the Roman leaven, but rather depraved the diſcipline of the church by conforming to the civil polity, and adding many ſupplemental officers to thoſe inſtituted by the Son of God. To his majeſty's objection, that the preſbyterian government was never practiſed before *Calvin*'s time, he anſwers, that it is to be found in ſcripture; and the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter had made it evident, that the primitive

* Bib. Reg. p. 325.

church

church at Jeruſalem was governed by a preſbytery; that the church at Jeruſalem conſiſted of more congregations than one; that all theſe congregations were combined under one preſbyterial government, and made but one church; that this church was governed by elders of the ſame body, and met together for functions of authority, and that the apoſtles acted not in quality of apoſtles, but only as elders, *Acts* xv.; that the ſame government was ſettled in the churches of Epheſus, Corinth, Theſſalonica, and continued many years after; and at laſt, when one of the preſbytery preſided over the reſt with the ſtile of biſhop, even then, as St. *Jerom* ſays, churches were governed with the joint conſent of the preſbytery, and it was *cuſtom*, rather than divine appointment, which raiſed a biſhop above a preſbyter. To his majeſty's argument, that where the meaning of ſcripture is doubtful, we muſt have recourſe to the fathers, Mr. *Henderſon* replies, that notwithſtanding the decrees of councils, and the reſolutions of the fathers, a liberty muſt be left for a judgment of diſcretion, as had been ſufficiently ſhewn by biſhop *Davenant* and others. To prove preſbyters may ordain other preſbyters without a biſhop, he cites St. *Paul*'s advice to *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14, not to neglect the gift that was given him by the *laying on of the hands of the preſbytery*; but granting biſhops and preſbyters to be diſtinct functions, it will not follow, that the authority and force of the preſbyter's character was derived from the biſhop; for though the evangeliſts and ſeventy diſciples were inferior to the apoſtles, they received not their commiſſion from the apoſtles, but from Chriſt himſelf.

Concerning the king's coronation oath, Mr. *Henderſon* apprehends nothing need be added. As to the ſupremacy, he thinks ſuch an headſhip as the kings of England claim, or ſuch an one as the two houſes of parliament now inſiſt on, that is, an authority to receive appeals from the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical judicatures, in things purely ſpiritual, is not to be juſtified; nor does he apprehend the conſent of the clergy to be abſolutely neceſſary to church reformation, for if ſo, what reformation can be expected in France, in Spain, or in Rome itſelf; it is not to be imagined, that the pope or prelates will conſent to their own ruin. His majeſty had ſaid,

ſaid, that if his father king *James* had been conſulted upon the queſtion of *reſiſtance*, he would have anſwered, that prayers and tears are the church's weapons. To which Mr. *Henderſon* replies, *that he could never hear a good reaſon to prove a neceſſary defenſive war, a war againſt unjuſt violence, unlawful;* and that biſhop *Jewel* and *Bilſon* were of this mind. To the queſtion, what warrant there was in ſcripture for ſubjects to endeavour to force their king's conſcience? he replies, that when a man's conſcience is miſtaken, it lies under a neceſſity of doing amiſs; the way therefore to diſentangle himſelf is to get his conſcience better informed, and not to move till he has ſtruck a light and made further diſcoveries.

The KING, in his anſwer of June 22 to Mr. *Henderſon's* ſecond paper, ſtill inſiſts, that *inferior magiſtrates and people have no authority to reform religion.* If this point can be proved by ſcripture, his majeſty is ready to ſubmit; but the ſacred hiſtory in the book of *Numbers*, chap. xvi. is an evidence of God's diſapproving ſuch methods. Private men's opinions disjoined from the general conſent of the church ſignify little, *for rebels*, ſays his majeſty, *never want writers to maintain their revolt.* Though his majeſty has a regard for biſhop *Jewel*'s and *Bilſon*'s memories, he never thought them infallible; as for epiſcopal government, he is ready to prove it an APOSTOLICAL INSTITUTION, *and that it has been handed down through all ages and countries till* Calvin's *time*, as ſoon as he is furniſhed with books, or ſuch divines as he ſhall make choice of; he does not think that Mr. *Henderſon*'s arguments to prove the church of England not built on the foundation of Chriſt and his apoſtles are valid, nor will he admit that moſt of the prelates, about the time of the reformation, did not inſiſt upon the DIVINE RIGHT. The king adds, Mr. *Henderſon* would do well to ſhew where our Saviour has prohibited the addition of more church officers than thoſe named by him; and yet the church of England has not ſo much as offered at this, for an archbiſhop is not a new officer, but only a diſtinction in the order of government, like the moderator of aſſemblies in

* Bib. Reg. p. 337, &c.

Scotland.

Scotland. His majeſty denies that biſhops and preſbyters always import the ſame thing in ſcripture, and when they do, it only reſpects the apoſtles' times, for it may be proved, that the order of biſhops ſucceeded that of the apoſtles, and that the title was altered in regard to thoſe who were immediately choſen by our Saviour. As for the ſeveral congregations in Jeruſalem, united in one church, his majeſty replies, Are there not many pariſhes in one dioceſe? And do not the deans and chapters, and ſometimes the inferior clergy, aſſiſt the biſhop? So that unleſs ſome poſitive and direct proof can be brought of an equality between the apoſtles and other preſbyters, all arguments are with him inconcluſive. The king confeſſes, that in caſe he cannot prove from antiquity that *ordination and juriſdiction are peculiar branches of authority belonging to biſhops*, he ſhall begin to ſuſpect the truth of his principles. As for biſhop *Davenant*'s teſtimony, he refuſes to be governed by that; nor will he admit of Mr. *Henderſon*'s exception againſt the *fathers*, till he can find out a better rule of interpreting ſcripture. And whereas Mr. *Henderſon* urged the precedent of foreign reformed churches in favour of preſbytery, his majeſty does not undertake to cenſure them, but ſuppoſes *neceſſity* may excuſe many things which would otherwiſe be unlawful; the church of England, in his majeſty's judgment, has this advantage, that it comes neareſt the primitive doctrine and diſcipline; and that Mr. *Henderſon* has failed in proving preſbyters may ordain without a biſhop, for it is evident St. *Paul* had a ſhare in *Timothy*'s ordination, 2 *Tim.* i. 6. As to the obligation of the *coronation oath*, the king is ſtill of opinion, none but the repreſentative body of the clergy can abſolve him; and as for the impracticableneſs of reformation upon the king's principles, he cannot anſwer for that, but thinks it ſufficient to let him know, that *incommodum non ſolvit argumentum.* His majeſty then declares, that as it is a great ſin for a prince to oppreſs the church; ſo on the other hand, *he holds it abſolutely unlawful for ſubjects to make war (though defenſively) againſt their lawful ſovereign, upon any pretence whatſoever.*

Mr. HENDERSON, in his third paper of July 2, conſiders chiefly the rules his majeſty had laid down for determining the

the controverſy of church government, which are the practice of the primitive church, and the univerſal conſent of the fathers; and affirms, there is no ſuch primitive teſtimony, no ſuch univerſal conſent in favour of *modern epiſcopacy*; the fathers very often contradicting one another, or at leaſt not concurring in their teſtimony. But to ſhew the uncertainty of his majeſty's rule for determining controverſies of faith, Mr. *Henderſon* obſerves,

1. That ſome critics join *the word of God and antiquity together;* others make *ſcripture the only rule, and antiquity the authentick interpreter.* Now he thinks the latter a greater miſtake than the former, for the papiſts bring tradition no farther than to an equality of regard with the inſpired writings, but the others make antiquity the very ground of their belief of the ſenſe of ſcripture, and by that means exalt it above the ſcripture; for the interpretation of the fathers is made the very formal reaſon why I believe the ſcripture interpretable in ſuch a ſenſe; and thus, contrary to the apoſtle's doctrine, *Our faith muſt ſtand in the wiſdom of man, and not in the power of God.*

2. He obſerves, that ſcripture can only be authentically interpreted by ſcripture itſelf. Thus the Levites had recourſe only to one part of ſcripture for the interpreting another, *Neh.* viii. 8. So likewiſe our Saviour interprets the Old Teſtament, by comparing ſcripture with ſcripture, and not having recourſe to the *rabbies.* This was likewiſe the apoſtles' method. Beſides, when perſons inſiſt ſo much upon the neceſſity of the fathers, they are in danger of charging the ſcriptures with obſcurity or imperfection.

3. The fathers themſelves ſay, that ſcripture is not to be interpreted but by ſcripture.

4. Many errors have paſſed under the ſhelter of antiquity and tradition; Mr. *Henderſon* cites a great many examples under this head.

And *laſtly*, He inſiſts, that the univerſal conſent and practice of the primitive church is impoſſible to be known; that many of the fathers were no authors; that many of their tracts are loſt; that many performances which go under their names are ſpurious, eſpecially upon the ſubject of epiſcopacy, and that therefore they are an uncertain rule.

The

The KING, in his papers* of July 3d and 16th, ſays, no man can reverence ſcripture more than himſelf; but when Mr. *Henderſon* and he differ about the interpretation of a text, there muſt be ſome judge or umpire, otherwiſe the diſpute can never be ended; and when there are no parallel texts, the ſureſt guide muſt be the *fathers*. In anſwer to Mr. *Henderſon*'s particulars, his majeſty anſwers, that if ſome people over-rule tradition, that can be no argument againſt the ſerviceableneſs of it; but to charge the primitive church with error, and to call the cuſtoms and practices of it unlawful, unleſs the charge can be ſupported from ſcripture, is an unpardonable preſumption. Thoſe who object to the ancient rites and uſages of the church muſt prove them *unlawful*, otherwiſe the practice of the church is ſufficient to warrant them. His majeſty denies it is impoſſible to diſcover the univerſal conſent, and underſtand the practice of the primitive church; and concludes with this maxim, that though he never eſteemed any authority equal to the ſcriptures, yet he believes the unanimous conſent of the fathers, and the univerſal practice of the primitive church, the beſt and moſt authentick interpreters, and by conſequence the beſt qualified judges between himſelf and Mr. *Henderſon*.

One may learn, from this controverſy, ſome of the principles in which king *Charles* I. was inſtructed; as,

(1.) The divine right of dioceſan epiſcopacy.

(2.) The uninterrupted ſucceſſion of biſhops, rightly ordained, from the time of the apoſtles; upon which the whole validity of the adminiſtration of the chriſtian ſacraments depends.

* Bibl. Reg. p. 351, 353.

* In addition to the encomium beſtowed by biſhop *Burnet* on the king's papers, which we have already quoted, it may be ſubjoined: that Sir *Philip Warwick* alſo extolled them, as ſhewing his majeſty's "great ability and "knowledge, when he was deſtitute of all aids." Yet it is remarkable, as obſerves Dr. *Harris*, who had turned over *Stillingfleet's Irenicum*, and *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, *Hoadley's Defence of Epiſcopal Ordination*, and many other volumes, theſe royal "papers have been little read, and "are ſeldom or never quoted on the ſubject of epiſcopacy." So that it is "poſſible, theſe learned churchmen had not ſo great an opinion of the argu-"ments made uſe of by *Charles* in theſe papers, as the hiſtorians, (viz. *Burnet* "and Sir *P. Warwick*) I have quoted." Life of Charles I. p. 101. ED.

(3.) The

(3.) The neceſſity of a judge of controverſies, which his majeſty lodges with the fathers of the chriſtian church, and by that means leaves little or no room for private judgment.

(4.) The independency of the church upon the ſtate.

(5.) That no reformation of religion is lawful but what ariſes from the prince or legiſlature; and this only in caſes of neceſſity, when a general council cannot be obtained.

(6.) That the multitude or common people may not in any caſe take upon them to reform the negligence of princes. Neither,

(7.) May they take up arms againſt their prince, even for ſelf-defence, in caſes of extreme neceſſity.

How far theſe principles are defenſible in themſelves, or conſiſtent with the Engliſh conſtitution, I leave with the reader; but it is very ſurpriſing that his majeſty ſhould be ſo much entangled with that part of his *coronation oath* which relates to the *church*, when for fifteen years together he broke through all the bounds of it with relation to the *civil liberties of his ſubjects*, without the leaſt remorſe.

Upon the cloſe of this debate, and the death of Mr. *Henderſon*, which followed within ſix weeks; the king's friends gave out, that his majeſty had broke his adverſary's heart.* Biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* have publiſhed the following recantation, which they would have the world believe *this divine* dictated, or ſigned upon his death-bed:

"I DO declare before God and the world, that ſince "I had the honour and happineſs to converſe and confer "with his majeſty with all ſorts of freedom, eſpecially in "matters of religion, whether in relation to the kirk or "ſtate, that I found him the moſt intelligent man that I ever "ſpoke with, as far beyond my expreſſion as expectation. "I profeſs, that I was oftentimes aſtoniſhed with the ſolidity

* This effect was aſcribed to his majeſty's arguments by biſhop *Kennet* and lord *Clarendon*; who certainly were a little too haſty in this judgment. For as it is well obſerved by Dr. *Harris*, "Diſputants, veteran ones, as "*Henderſon* was, have generally too good a conceit of their own abilities, "to think themſelves overcome; and though the awe of majeſty may ſi-"lence, it ſeldom perſuades them."

The Life of Charles I. p. 99, 100.

Some ſaid Mr. *Henderſon* died of grief, becauſe he could not perſuade the king to ſign the propoſitions. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 225. Ed.

" and quickneſs of his reaſons and replies; and wondered " how he, ſpending his time ſo much in ſports and recrea- " tions, could have attained to ſo great knowledge; and " muſt confeſs ingenuouſly, that I was convinced in con- " ſcience, and knew not how to give him any reaſonable " ſatisfaction; yet the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition is ſuch, " that whatſoever I ſaid was well taken. I muſt ſay, I never " met with any diſputant of that mild and calm temper, " which convinced me the more, and made me think, that " ſuch wiſdom and moderation could not be, without an ex- " traordinary meaſure of divine grace. I had heard much " of his carriage towards the prieſts in Spain, and that king " *James* told the duke of *Buckingham*, upon his going thi- " ther, that he durſt venture his ſon *Charles* with all the " jeſuits in the world, he knew him to be ſo well grounded " in the proteſtant religion, but could never believe it be- " fore. I obſerved all his actions, more particularly thoſe " of devotion, which I muſt truly ſay are more than ordi- " nary.——If I ſhould ſpeak of his juſtice, magnanimity, " charity, ſobriety, chaſtity, patience, humility, and of all " his other chriſtian and moral virtues, I ſhould run myſelf " into a panegyrick; no man can ſay there is conſpicuouſly " any predominant vice in him; never man ſaw him paſſion- " ately angry; never man heard him curſe, or given to " ſwearing; or heard him complain in the greateſt durance " of war, or confinement.——But I ſhould ſeem to flatter " him, to ſuch as do not know him, if the preſent condition " that I lie in, did not exempt me from any ſuſpicion of " worldly ends, when I expect every hour to be called from " all tranſitory vanities to eternal felicity, and the diſchar- " ging of my conſcience before God and man, did not ob- " lige me to declare the truth ſimply and nakedly, in ſatis- " faction of that which I have done ignorantly, though not " altogether innocently.‡ The declaration adds, that he was heartily ſorry for the ſhare he had had in the war; that the parliament and ſynod of England had been abuſed with falſe aſperſions of his majeſty; and that they ought to re- ſtore him to his juſt rights, and his crown and dignity, leſt an indelible character of ingratitude lie upon him.

‡ Compl. Hiſt. p. 190. Bennet's Def. of his Mem. p. 130.

Mr.

Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes† he had been informed, that this declaration was ſpurious,* but could find no authority ſufficient to ſupport ſuch an aſſertion. It will be proper therefore to trace the hiſtory of this impoſture, and ſet it in a clear and convincing light, from a memorial ſent me from one of the principal Scots divines, profeſſor *Hamilton* of Edinburgh. The ſtory was invented by one of the Scots epiſcopal writers, who had fled to London, and was firſt publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1648, in a ſmall pamphlet in quarto, about two years after Mr. *Henderſon*'s death. From this pamphlet Dr. *Heylin* publiſhed it as a *credible report*. Between 30 and 40 years after *Heylin* had publiſhed it, viz. 1693, Dr. *Hollingworth* in his character of king *Charles* I. republiſhed the paper above-mentioned, entitled the *Declaration of Mr.* Alexander Henderſon, *principal miniſter of the word of God at Edinburgh, and chief commiſſioner of the kirk of Scotland to the parliament and ſynod of England*; which paper the doctor ſays he had from Mr. *Lamplugh*, ſon to the late archbiſhop of *York* of that name, from whom the hiſtorians above-mentioned, and ſome others, have copied it; but (ſays my memorial) upon publiſhing the aforeſaid ſtory to the world, the aſſembly of the kirk of Scotland appointed a committee to examine into the affair, who, after a full enquiry, by their act of Auguſt 7, 1648, declared the whole

† Eachard, p. 626, ed. 3d.

* Dr. *Grey* ſneers here at Mr. *Neal*, for not referring to the place, where Mr. *Eachard* makes this confeſſion; and for keeping out of view the name of the Memorialiſt on whoſe authority he ſpeaks. He then ſpends nearly five pages in cavilling at this authority, and in ſtrictures on that of Mr. *Burnet*; through theſe I am not properly qualified to follow the doctor, as I have not Mr. *Bennet*'s Defence of his Memorial: And it is *unneceſſary*, for the queſtion concerning the ſpuriouſneſs of this piece had been diſcuſſed, in 1693, ere *Neal* or *Burnet* had written, by Lieut.-General *Ludlow*, in a tract againſt Dr. *Hollingworth*, entitled, "Truth brought to Light." Ludlow argues againſt its authenticity on theſe grounds: that archbiſhop *Lamplugh*, the great advocate for the king, had it not been a forgery, would not have failed to publiſh it: that it is not found in "King *Charles*'s "Works," though all that paſſed between the king and Mr. *Henderſon* is there recited: that Mr. *Henderſon* was a Scotchman, whereas the *words, ſtile, and matter, are plainly and elegantly Engliſh, and not Scotiſh*: but the great ſtreſs is laid on the inſcription on his monument, and on the Aſſembly's declaration, to which Mr. *Neal* refers, and which Dr. *Grey* treats as ſpurious. Theſe papers, as Ludlow's Tract is ſcarce, ſhall be given in the Appendix, No. x. Ed.

to be a forgery, as may be ſeen in the printed acts of the general aſſembly for that year, quarto *page* 420, &c. in which they ſignify their ſatisfaction and aſſurance, that Mr. *Henderſon* perſiſted in his former ſentiments to his death;* that when he left the king at Newcaſtle he was greatly decayed in his natural ſtrength; that he came from thence by ſea in a languiſhing condition, and died within eight days after his arrival at Edinburgh;† that he was not able to frame ſuch a declaration as is palmed upon him; and that all he ſpoke upon his death-bed ſhewed his judgment was the ſame as it ever had been about church reformation. This was atteſted before the aſſembly by ſeveral miniſters who viſited him upon his death-bed, and particularly by two who conſtantly attended him from the time he came home till the time he expired. After this and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, "they declare the above-mentioned paper, "entitled, *A Declaration of Mr.* Alexander Henderſon's, "&c. to be *forged, ſcandalous, and falſe*,§ and the author "and contriver of the ſame to be void of charity and a "good conſcience; a groſs lyar and a calumniator, and led "by the ſpirit of the accuſer of the brethren."‖

While the king was debating the cauſe of epiſcopacy, the parliament were preparing their propoſitions for a peace, which were ready for the royal aſſent by the 11th of July. The Scots commiſſioners demurred to them for ſome time, as not coming up fully to their ſtandard, but at length acquieſcing, they were engroſſed, and carried to the king by the earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery* and the earl of *Suffolk*, of the houſe of peers; and by Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *John Hippiſly*, *Robert Goodwin*, and *Luke Robertſon*, eſq; of the houſe of commons; earls of *Argyle* and *Loudon* were commiſſioners for Scotland, and the reverend Mr. *Marſhall* was ordered to attend as their chaplain.‡ The commiſſioners

* Appendix, No. X. † Hiſt. of Stuarts, p. 310.

§ If this character of *Charles*, aſcribed to Mr. *Henderſon*, were genuine, "it would," as *Ludlow* obſerves, "avail very little; being the ſingle ſen-"timent of a ſtranger, that could not have had much experience of him." Truth brought to Light, p. 6. Ed.

‖ Vide Bennet's Def. of his Mem. p. 134.

‡ Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 309, 311. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 524, fol. edit.

arrived

arrived at Newcaſtle July 23, next day they waited upon his majeſty, and having kiſſed his hand, Mr. *Goodwin* delivered the following propoſitions.

Thoſe relating to the civil government were,

(1.) That the king ſhould call in all his declarations againſt the parliament.

(2.) That he ſhould put the militia into their hands for twenty years, with a power to raiſe money for their maintenance.

(3.) That all peerages ſince May 21, 1642, ſhould be made void.

(4.) That the delinquents therein mentioned ſhould undergo the penalties aſſigned in the bill. And,

(5.) That the ceſſation with the Iriſh be diſannulled, and the management of the war left to the parliament.

The propoſitions relating to religion were,

1. "That his majeſty, according to the laudable example "of his father, would be pleaſed to ſwear and ſign the late "*ſolemn league and covenant*, and give his conſent to an act "of parliament, enjoining the taking it throughout the "three kingdoms, under certain penalties, to be agreed "upon in parliament.

2. "That a bill be paſſed for the utter aboliſhing, and "taking away all archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors, "commiſſaries, deans, ſub-deans, deans and chapters, arch-"deacons, canons and prebendaries, and all chaunters, chan-"cellors, treaſurers, ſub-treaſurers, ſuccentors, ſacriſts; and "all vicars and choriſters, old vicars and new vicars of any "cathedral or collegiate church, and all other under officers, "out of the church of England, and out of the church of "Ireland, with ſuch alterations as ſhall agree with the arti-"cles of the late treaty of Edinburgh, Nov. 29, 1643, "and the joint declaration of both kingdoms.

3. "That the ordinance for the calling and ſitting of the "aſſembly of divines be confirmed.

4. "That reformation of religion, according to the *co-*"*venant*, be ſettled by act of parliament in ſuch manner as "both houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree, after conſultation "with the aſſembly of divines.

5. "For as much as both kingdoms are obliged by covenant to endeavour ſuch an uniformity of religion as ſhall be agreed upon by both houſes of parliament in England, and by the church and kingdom of Scotland, after conſultation had with the divines of both kingdoms aſſembled, that this be confirmed by acts of parliament of both kingdoms reſpectively.

6. "That for the more effectual diſabling jeſuits, prieſts, papiſts, and popiſh recuſants, from diſturbing the ſtate, and eluding the laws, an oath be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, wherein they ſhall abjure and renounce the pope's ſupremacy, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, worſhipping of the conſecrated hoſt, crucifixes and images, and all other popiſh ſuperſtitions and errors; and the refuſal of the ſaid oath, legally tendered, ſhall be a ſufficient conviction of recuſancy.

7. "That an act of parliament be paſſed, for educating of the children of papiſts by proteſtants, in the proteſtant religion.

8. "That an act be paſſed for the better levying the penalties againſt papiſts; and another for the better preventing their plotting againſt the ſtate; and that a ſtricter courſe may be taken to prevent ſaying, or hearing of maſs in the court, or any other part of the kingdom: the like for Scotland, if the parliament of that kingdom ſhall think fit.

9. "That his majeſty give his royal aſſent to an act for the due obſervation of the Lord's day; to the bill for the ſuppreſſion of innovations in churches and chapels in and about the worſhip of God; to an act for the better advancement of the preaching of God's holy word in all parts of the kingdom; to the bill againſt pluralities of benefices and non-reſidency; and, to an act to be framed for the reforming and regulating both univerſities, and the colleges of Weſtminſter, Wincheſter, and Eaton."

About ſixty perſons were by name excepted out of the general pardon;† beſides

(1.) All papiſts that had been in the army.

* Remonſtrance, vol. vi. p. 315.

(2.) All

(2.) All perſons that had been concerned in the Iriſh rebellion.

(3.) Such as had deſerted the two houſes at Weſtminſter and went to Oxford.

(4.) Such members of parliament as had deſerted their places, and bore arms againſt the two houſes. And,

(5.) Such biſhops or clergymen, maſters, or fellows of colleges, or maſters of ſchools or hoſpitals, or any eccleſiaſtical living, who had deſerted the parliament, and adhered to the enemies thereof, were declared incapable of any preferment or employment in church or commonwealth, all their places, preferments and promotions, were to be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor might they be permitted to uſe their function of the miniſtry, without advice and conſent of both houſes of parliament; provided that no lapſe ſhall incur by this vacancy till ſix months after notice thereof.

When Mr. *Goodwin* had done, the king aſked the commiſſioners if they had power to treat, to which they replied, that they were only to receive his majeſty's anſwer; then ſaid the king, *ſaving the honour of the buſineſs, a trumpeter might have done as well*;* the very ſame language as at the treaty of Oxford; but the earl of *Pembroke* told his majeſty, they muſt receive his peremptory anſwer in ten days, or return without it.

Great interceſſions were made with the king to comply with theſe propoſals,§ particularly in the point of religion, for without full ſatisfaction in that, nothing would pleaſe the Scots nation, nor the city of London, by whom alone his majeſty could hope to be preſerved; but if this was yielded they would interpoſe for the moderating other demands; the Scots *general*, at the head of one hundred officers, preſented a petition upon their knees, beſeeching his majeſty to give them ſatisfaction in the point of religion, and to take the covenant. Duke *Hamilton*, and the reſt of the Scots commiſſioners, preſſed his majeſty in the moſt earneſt manner, to make uſe of the preſent opportunity for peace.‖ The

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 223.

§ The commiſſioners of both kingdoms on their knees begged of him to do it. Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 223. ED.

‖ Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 281, 5.

lord

lord chancellor for that kingdom ſpoke to this effect: "The "differences between your majeſty and your parliament are "grown to ſuch an height, that after many bloody battles "they have your majeſty, with all your garriſons and ſtrong "holds in their hands, and the whole kingdom at their diſ- "poſal; they are now in a capacity to do what they will in "church and ſtate; and ſome are ſo afraid, and others ſo "unwilling, to ſubmit to your majeſty's government, that "they deſire not you, nor any of your race, longer to reign "over them; but they are unwilling to proceed to extre- "mities, till they know your majeſty's laſt reſolutions.— "Now, Sir, if your majeſty ſhall refuſe to aſſent to the pro- "poſitions, you will loſe all your friends in the houſes, and "in the city, and all England will join againſt you as one "man; they will depoſe you, and ſet up another govern- "ment; they will charge us to deliver your majeſty to them, "and remove our armies out of England; and upon your "refuſal, we ſhall be conſtrained to ſettle religion and peace "without you, which will ruin your majeſty and your poſ- "terity. We own the propoſitions are higher in ſome "things than we approve of, but the only way to eſtabliſh "your majeſty's throne is to conſent to them at preſent, "and your majeſty may recover, in a time of peace, all that "you have loſt in this time of tempeſt and trouble."*

This was plain-dealing: the king's beſt friends prayed his majeſty to conſider his preſent circumſtances, and not hazard his crown for a form of church government; or if he had no regard to himſelf, to conſider his royal poſterity; but the king replied, *his conſcience was dearer to him than his crown;* that till he had received better ſatisfaction about the *divine right of epiſcopacy*, and the *obligation of his coronation oath*, no conſiderations ſhould prevail with him;‡ he told the officers of the army, he neither could nor would take the covenant, *till he had heard from the queen.*† Which was only an excuſe to gain time to divide his enemies, for the

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 524, and Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 319.

‡ Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 281.

† This clauſe is not in the Memoirs of the Duke; and as Mr. *Neal* has not, particularly, referred to his authority for it, Dr. *Grey* expreſſes his fears, that it is an *interpolation*. ED.

king

king had then actually heard from his queen by Monſieur *Bellievre*, the French ambaſſador, who preſſed his majeſty, purſuant to poſitive inſtructions given him for that purpoſe, as the advice of the king of France, of the queen, and of his own party, to give the preſbyterians ſatisfaction about the church.* *Bellievre*, not being able to prevail, diſpatched an expreſs to France, with a deſire, that ſome perſon of more weight with the king might be ſent. Upon which Sir *William Davenant* came over, with a letter of credit from the queen, beſeeching him to part with the church for his peace and ſecurity. When Sir *William* had delivered the letter, he ventured to ſupport it with ſome arguments of his own, and told his majeſty, in a moſt humble manner, that it was the advice of lord *Culpeper*, *Jermyn*, and of all his friends; upon which the king was ſo tranſported with indignation, that he forbid him his preſence. When therefore the ten days for conſidering the propoſitions were expired, inſtead of conſenting, his majeſty gave the commiſſioners his anſwer in a paper, directed to the ſpeaker of the houſe of peers, to this effect, "that the propoſitions contained ſo great al-"terations both in church and ſtate, that his majeſty could "not give a particular and poſitive anſwer to them;" but, after ſome few conceſſions hereafter to be mentioned, "he "propoſes to come to London, or any of his houſes there-"abouts, and enter upon a perſonal treaty with both houſes; "and he conjures them, as chriſtians and ſubjects, and as "men that deſire to leave a good name behind them, to ac-"cept of this propoſal, that the unhappy diſtractions of the "nation may be peaceably ſettled."†

When this anſwer was reported to the houſe, Auguſt 12, it was reſolved, to ſettle accounts with the Scots, and to receive the king into their own cuſtody; but in the mean time his majeſty attempted to bring that nation over to his intereſt, by playing the *independants* againſt them, and telling them, the only way to deſtroy the ſectarians was to join with the epiſcopalians, and admit of the eſtabliſhment of both reli-

* Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 29, 31, 32.

† Dr. *Grey* gives the king's anſwer at length from MS. collections of Dr. *Philip Williams*; preſident of St. John's college, Cambridge. Ed.

gions.

gions.‡ "I do by no means perſuade you (ſays the king) "to do any thing contrary to your covenant, but I deſire you "to conſider whether it be not a great ſtep towards your re- "formation, (which I take to be the chief end of your co- "venant) that the preſbyterial government be legally ſettled. "It is true I deſire that the liberty of my own conſcience, "and thoſe who are of the ſame opinion with myſelf, may "be preſerved, which I confeſs, does not as yet totally take "away epiſcopal government. But then conſider withal, "*that this will take away all the ſuperſtitious ſects and he-* "*reſies of the papiſts nnd independants, to which you are no* "*leſs obliged by your covenant, than to the taking away of* "*epiſcopacy.* And this that I demand is likely to be but "temporary; for if it be ſo clear as you believe, that epiſ- "copacy is unlawful, I doubt not but God will ſo enlighten "my eyes that I ſhall ſoon perceive it, and then I promiſe "to concur with you fully in matters of religion; but I am "ſure you cannot imagine, that *there is any hopes of convert-* "*ing or ſilencing the independant party, which undoubtedly* "*will get a toleration in religion from the parliament of Eng-* "*land, unleſs you join with me in that way that I have propoſed* "*for the eſtabliſhing of my crown*; or at leaſt, that you do "not preſs me to do this (which is yet againſt my conſcience) "till I may do it without ſinning, which, as I am confident "none of you will perſuade me to do, ſo I hope you have "ſo much charity as not to put things to ſuch a deſperate "iſſue as to hazard the loſs of all, becauſe for the preſent "you cannot have full ſatisfaction from me in point of re- "ligion, not conſidering, that beſides the other miſchiefs "that may happen, *it will infallibly ſet up the innumerable* "*ſects of the independants, nothing being more againſt your* "*covenant than the ſuffering thoſe ſchiſms to increaſe.*"* His majeſty then added, "that he ſhould be content to reſtrain "epiſcopal government to the dioceſes of Oxford, Win- "cheſter, Bath and Wells, and Exeter, leaving all the reſt "of England fully to the preſbyterial diſcipline, *with the* "*ſtricteſt clauſes that could be thought of in an act of parlia-* "*ment againſt the papiſts and independants.*" But the Scots

‡ Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 286, 7.

* Ruſhworth, p. 328.

would

would abate nothing in the articles of religion; even for the overthrow of the ſectaries. Duke *Hamilton* left no methods unattempted to perſuade his majeſty to comply, but without effect.‡

When the king could not gain the commiſſioners, he applied by his friends to the kirk, who laid his propoſals before the general aſſembly, with his offer to make any declaration they ſhould deſire againſt the *independants, and that really, without any reſerve or equivocation*; but the kirk were as peremptory as the commiſſioners; they ſaid the king's heart was not with them, nor could they depend upon his promiſes, any longer than it was not in his power to ſet them aſide.*

In the mean time the Engliſh parliament were debating with the Scots commiſſioners at London, the right of diſpoſing of the king's perſon, the latter claiming an equal right to him with the former; and the parliament voted that *the kingdom of Scotland had no joint right to diſpoſe of the perſon of the king, in the kingdom of England.* To which the Scots would hardly have ſubmitted, had it not been for fear of engaging in a new war, and loſing all their arrears. His majeſty would willingly have retired into Scotland, but the clergy of that nation would not receive him, as appears by their *ſolemn warning to all eſtates and degrees of perſons throughout the land*, dated Dec. 17, 1646, in which they ſay, "ſo long as his majeſty does not approve in his heart, "and ſeal with his hand, the *league and covenant*, we cannot "but apprehend, that according to his former principles he "will walk contrary to it, and ſtudy to draw us into the "violation of it. Beſides, our receiving his majeſty into "Scotland at this time, will confirm the ſuſpicion of the "Engliſh nation, of our underhand dealing with him be"fore he came into our army. Nor do we ſee how it is "conſiſtent with our covenant and treaties, but on the con"trary, it would involve us in the guilt of perjury, and ex"poſe us to the hazard of a bloody war. We are bound "by our *covenant* to defend the king's perſon and autho"rity, in the defence and preſervation of the true religion,

‡ Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 288.

* Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 298. Ruſhworth, p. 380.

"and

" and the liberties of the kingdom, and ſo far as his ma-
" jeſty is *for theſe* we will be for him; but if his majeſty
" will not ſatisfy the juſt deſires of his people, both nations
" are engaged to purſue the ends thereof, againſt all lets
" and impediments; we therefore deſire, that thoſe who are
" intruſted with the publick affairs of this kingdom, would
" ſtill inſiſt upon his majeſty's ſettling religion according to
" the covenant, as the only means of preſerving himſelf,
" his crown, and poſterity." Upon reading this admoni-
tion of the *kirk*, the Scots parliament reſolved, that his majeſty be deſired to grant the whole propoſitions; that in caſe of refuſal, the kingdom ſhould be ſecured without him. They declared further, that the kingdom of Scotland could not lawfully engage for the king, as long as he refuſed to take the covenant, and give them ſatisfaction in point of religion.* Nor would they admit him to come into Scotland, unleſs he gave a ſatisfactory anſwer to the propoſitions lately preſented to him in the name of both kingdoms.

The reſolutions above-mentioned were not communicated in form to the king, till the beginning of January, when the Scots commiſſioners preſſing him again in the moſt humble and importunate manner to give them ſatisfaction, at leaſt, in the point of religion, his majeſty remained immoveable; which being reported back to Edinburgh, the queſtion was put in that parliament, *whether they ſhould leave the king in England, to his two houſes of parliament?* and it was carried in the affirmative. Jan. 16, a declaration was publiſhed in the name of the whole kingdom of Scotland, wherein they ſay, " that when his majeſty came to their
" army before Newark, he profeſſed that he abſolutely re-
" ſolved to comply with his parliaments in every thing, for
" ſettling of truth and peace; in confidence whereof the
" committees of the kingdom of Scotland declared to him-
" ſelf, and to the kingdom of England, that they received
" him into their protection only upon theſe terms, ſince
" which time propoſitions of peace have been preſented to
" his majeſty for the royal aſſent, with earneſt ſupplications
" to the ſame purpoſe, but without effect. The parliament
" of Scotland therefore being now to recal their army out

* Ruſhworth, p. 392.

" of

" of England, *conſidering that his majeſty in ſeveral meſſages* " *has deſired to be near his two houſes of parliament, and that* " *the parliament has appointed his majeſty to reſide at Holmby-* " *Houſe with ſafety to his royal perſon; and in regard of his* " *majeſty's not giving a ſatisfactory anſwer to the propoſitions* " *for peace; and from a deſire to preſerve a right under-* " *ſtanding between the two kingdoms, and for preventing new* " *troubles*, the ſtates of parliament of the kingdom of Scot- " land do declare their concurrence for the king's majeſty's " going to Holmby-Houſe, to remain there till he give ſa- " tisfaction about the propoſitions for peace; and that, in the " mean time, *there be no harm, prejudice, injury or violence* " *done to his royal perſon; that there be no change of govern-* " *ment; and, that his poſterity be no way prejudiced in their* " *lawful ſucceſſion to the crown and government of theſe* " *kingdoms.*"*

While the parliament and kirk of Scotland were debating the king's propoſals, his majeſty wrote to the parliament of England in the moſt preſſing terms, for a perſonal treaty at London: " It is your king (ſays he in his letter of Dec. 10) " that deſires to be heard, the which, if refuſed to a ſubject " by a king, he would be thought a tyrant, wherefore I " conjure you, as you would ſhew yourſelves really what " you profeſs, good chriſtians and good ſubjects, that you " accept this offer." But the houſes were afraid to truſt his majeſty in London, and therefore appointed commiſſioners to receive him from the Scots,† and convoy him to Holmby-houſe in Northamptonſhire, where he arrived Feb. 6, 1646-7. The ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds, being half the arrears due to the Scots army, having been paid them by agreement before they marched out of Newcaſtle, it has

* Ruſhworth, p. 396.

† The king happened to be playing at cheſs, when he was informed of the reſolution of the Scots nation to deliver him up: but, ſuch command of temper did he enjoy, he continued his game without interruption, and none of the bye-ſtanders could perceive that the letter, which he peruſed, had brought him news of any conſequence. He admitted the Engliſh commiſſioners, who, ſome days after, came to take him into cuſtody, to kiſs his hands: and received them with the ſame grace and chearfulneſs, as if they had travelled on no other errand but to pay court to him. Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. vii. 8vo. 1763. p. 81, 82. ED.

been

been commonly ſaid, *They ſold their king.* An unjuſt and malicious aſperſion! It ought to be conſidered, that the money was their due before the king delivered himſelf into their hands; for that in ſettling the accounts between the two nations his majeſty's name was not mentioned;† that it was impoſſible to detain him without a war with England, and that the officers of the army durſt not carry the king to Edinburgh, becauſe both parliament and kirk had declared againſt receiving him.*

But how amazing was his majeſty's conduct! What croſs and inconſiſtent propoſals did he make at this time! While he was treating with the Scots, and offering to concur in

† Vide Rapin, vol. ii. p. 325, folio edit.

* Mr. *Neal* is ſupported in his account of this tranſaction by General *Ludlow*, who, further, ſays, that the condition on which the money was paid, was to deliver up (not the king, but) Berwick, Newcaſtle, and Carliſle, to the parliament: that it was far from truth, that this was the price of the king, for the parliament freely granted to the Scots, that they might carry him (if they pleaſed) to Edinburgh, but they refuſed it: and that it was the king's deſire to be removed into the ſouthern parts of England. The Scots nation, however, underwent, and ſtill undergo the reproach of ſelling their king, and bargaining their prince for money. It has been argued, that the parliament would never have parted with ſo conſiderable a ſum, had they not been previouſly aſſured of receiving the king. It is a very evident fact, that while the Scots were demanding the arrears due to them, another point of treaty between them and the parliament, if it were not the explicit and avowed condition of complying with that requiſition, was the delivering up the king. The unhappy monarch was conſidered and treated as the *priſoner* of thoſe to whom he fled for protection. Inſtead of declining to receive him, or afterwards permitting him to take his own ſteps, they retained him, and diſpoſed of him as a *captive*, as their intereſt or policy dictated. Were honour or juſtice, in this caſe, conſulted? Alas! They are ſeldom conſulted by political parties. A letter from general *Ludlow* to Dr. *Hollingworth*, 4to. 1662, p. 67. Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 271, 8vo. Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. vii. 8vo. 1763, p. 79-81, and Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 240.——Dr. *Grey* has beſtowed thirteen pages on this point, chiefly to ſhew, that 400,000l. could not be due as arrears to the Scots, and to advance againſt them the charge of ſelling the king. He informs us that the 200,000l. immediately paid to them was borrowed of the Goldſmiths' Company. To Mr. *Neal*'s reflection on the imputation caſt on the Scots of ſelling their king, that it is *an unjuſt and malicious aſperſion*; Biſhop *Warburton* retorts, "The hiſ-"torian, before he ſaid this, ſhould have ſeen whether he could anſwer theſe "two queſtions in the affirmative:——Would the Engliſh have paid the "arrears without the perſon of the king?—Would the Scots have given "up the king, if they could have had the arrears without?" Ed.

the

the ſevereſt meaſures againſt the *independants*, he was liſtening to the offers of thoſe very *independants* to ſet him upon the throne, without taking the covenant, or renouncing the liturgy of the church, provided they might ſecure a toleration for themſelves. This agreeing with the king's inclinations, had too great a hearing from him, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) till *Lauderdale* wrote from London, "that he was "infallibly ſure, they deſigned the deſtruction of monarchy, "and the ruin of the king and his poſterity; but that if "he would conſent to the propoſitions, all would be well, "in ſpight of the devil and the independants too."* If his majeſty had in good earneſt fallen in with the overtures of the army at this time, I am of opinion they would have ſet him upon the throne, without the ſhackles of the Scots *covenant*.

While the king was at Holmby-houſe, he was attended with great reſpect,† and ſuffered to divert himſelf at bowls with gentlemen in the neighbouring villages, under a proper guard. The parliament appointed two of their clergy, viz. Mr. *Caryl* and Mr. *Marſhall*, to preach in the chapel, morning and afternoon on the Lord's day, and perform the devotions of the chapel on week days, but his majeſty never gave his attendance.‡ He ſpent his Sundays in private; and though they waited at table, he would not ſo much as admit them to aſk a bleſſing.

Before the king removed from Newcaſtle, the parliament put the finiſhing hand to the deſtruction of the hierarchy, by aboliſhing the very names and titles of archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. and alienating their revenues for payment of the publick debts. This was done by two ordinances, bearing date Oct. 9, and Nov. 16, 1646, entitled, *Ordinances for aboliſhing archbiſhops and biſhops, and providing for the payment of the juſt and neceſſary debts of the kingdom, into*

* Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 288.

† But his ſituation here, independently of confinement, was made unpleaſant to him, as his old ſervants were diſmiſſed, and he was not allowed the attendance of his own chaplains. His majeſty remonſtrated on this laſt circumſtance in a letter to the houſe of peers, but without effect. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 39. Ed.

‡ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 38.

which

which the ſame has been drawn by a war, mainly promoted by, and in favour of the ſaid archbiſhops, biſhops, and other their adherents and dependants. The ordinance appoints, "that "the name, title, ſtile, and dignity of *archbiſhop of* Canter- "bury, *archbiſhop of* York, *biſhop of* Wincheſter, *biſhop of* "Durham, and all other biſhops of any biſhopricks within "the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, be, "from and after Sept. 5, 1646, wholly aboliſhed and taken "away; and all and every perſon and perſons are to be "thenceforth diſabled to hold the place, function, ſtile of "archbiſhop, or biſhop of any church, ſee, or dioceſe, now "eſtabliſhed or erected, or hereafter to be eſtabliſhed or "erected within the kingdom of England, dominion of "Wales, or town of Berwick on Tweed; or to uſe, or put "in uſe any archiepiſcopal, or epiſcopal juriſdiction or au- "thority, by force of any letters patent from the crown, "made, or to be made, or by any other authority what- "ſoever, any law, ſtatute, uſage or cuſtom to the contrary "notwithſtanding."

By the ordinance of Nov. 16, it is further ordained, "that "all counties palatine, honours, manors, lordſhips, ſtiles, "circuits, precincts, caſtles, granges, meſſuages, mills, lands, "tenements, meadows, paſtures, parſonages, appropriate "tithes, oblations, obventions, penſions, portions of tithes, "vicarages, churches, chapels, advowſons, donations, no- "minations, rights of patronage and preſentations, parks, "woods, rents, reverſions, ſervices, annuities, franchiſes, "liberties, privileges, immunities, rights of action, and of "entry, intereſts, titles of entry, conditions, commons, "court-leets, and court-barons, and all other poſſeſſions and "hereditaments whatſoever, which now are, or within ten "years before the beginning of the preſent parliament, "were belonging to the ſaid archbiſhops and biſhops, arch- "biſhopricks or biſhopricks, or any of them, together with "all chattles, deeds, books, accompts, rolls, and other wri- "tings and evidences whatſoever, concerning the premiſes, "which did belong to any of the ſaid archbiſhops, biſhops, "&c. are veſted and ſettled, adjudged and deemed to be, "in the real and actual poſſeſſion and ſeizin of the twenty-

* Huſband's Collections, p. 922. ‡ Ruſhworth, p. 377.

"four

"four truſtees mentioned in the ordinance, their heirs and "aſſigns, upon truſt that they ſhall diſpoſe of the ſame, and "the rents and profits thereof, as both houſes of parlia-"ment ſhall order and appoint, *i. e.* for payment of the "publick debts, and other neceſſary charges occaſioned by "the war, promoted chiefly by, and in favour of the ſaid "hierarchy, ſaving and excepting all tithes appropriate, ob-"lations, obventions, and portions of tithes, &c. belong-"ing to the ſaid archbiſhops, biſhops, and others of the ſaid "hierarchy; all which, together with thirty thouſand pounds "yearly rent belonging to the crown, they reſerve for the "maintenance of preaching miniſters. The truſtees are "not to avoid any leaſe made for three lives, or twenty-"one years, provided the ſaid leaſe or leaſes were not ob-"tained ſince the month of December 1641. They are "empowered to appoint proper officers to ſurvey, and take "a particular eſtimate of all the biſhops lands, to receive "the rents and profits of them, and to make a ſufficient "title to ſuch as ſhall purchaſe them, by order of parlia-"ment." By virtue of this ordinance the truſtees were empowered to pay, or cauſe to be paid to *the aſſembly of divines*, their conſtant ſalary allowed them by a former order of parliament, with all their arrears, out of the rents, revenues, and profits belonging to the late archbiſhop of Canterbury, till ſuch time as the ſaid lands and revenues ſhall happen to be ſold. Theſe church lands were at firſt mortgaged as a ſecurity for ſeveral large ſums of money, which the parliament borrowed at eight *per cent.* intereſt. Several members of parliament, and officers of the army, afterwards purchaſed them at low rates, but the bargain proved dear enough in the end. And ſurely it was wrong to ſet them to ſale; the lands having been originally given for the ſervice of religion, ought to have been continued for ſuch uſes, and the *ſubſtance* of the *donors'* intentions purſued; unleſs it appeared that too great a proportion of the national property had been ſettled in *mortmain*. But herein they followed the ill examples of the kings and queens of England at the reformation.

* Scobel, p. 100, 102, 103.

The *preſbyterians* were now in the height of their power, the hierarchy being deſtroyed, the king their priſoner, and the beſt, if not all the livings in the kingdom diſtributed among them; yet ſtill they were diſſatisfied for want of the *top-ſtone* to their new building, which was *church power*; the pulpits, and converſation of the city, were filled with invectives againſt the *men in power*, becauſe they would not leave the church independent on the ſtate; the preſbyterian miniſters were very troubleſome, the parliament being teazed every week with church grievances of one kind or another; Dec. 19, the lord-mayor and his brethren went up to Weſtminſter with a repreſentation of ſome of them, and a petition for redreſs. The grievances were,

1. "The *contempt that began to be put upon the covenant*, "ſome refuſing to take it, and others declaiming loudly "againſt it; they therefore pray, that it may be impoſed "upon the whole nation, under ſuch penalties as the houſes "ſhall think fit; and that ſuch as refuſe it be diſqualified "from all places of profit and truſt.

2. "The *growth of hereſy and ſchiſm*; the pulpits having "been often uſurped by preaching ſoldiers, who infected all "places where they came with dangerous errors; they there-"fore pray, that all ſuch perſons may be forbid to preach "as have not taken the covenant, and been regularly or-"dained, and that all ſeparate congregations, the very nur-"ſeries of damnable hereticks, may be ſuppreſſed; that an "ordinance be made for the exemplary puniſhment of he-"reticks and ſchiſmaticks, and that all godly and orthodox "miniſters may have a competent maintenance, many pul-"pits being vacant of a ſettled miniſter for want of it; "and here (ſay they) we would lay the ſtreſs of our de-"ſires, and the urgency of our affections." They complain further, of the "*undue practices of country committees*, of "the *threatening power of the army*, and of *ſome breaches* "*in the conſtitution*; all which they deſire may be redreſſed, "and that his majeſty's royal perſon and authority may be "preſerved and defended, together with the liberties of the "kingdom, according to the *covenant*."

To ſatisfy the petitioners, the houſe of commons publiſhed a declaration Dec. 31, "wherein they expreſs their

"diſlike

" diſlike of *lay-preachers*, and their reſolutions to proceed " againſt all ſuch as ſhall take upon them to preach, or ex- " pound the ſcriptures in any church or chapel, or any other " publick place, except they be ordained either here, or in " ſome other reformed churches; likewiſe againſt all ſuch " miniſters, and others, as ſhall publiſh, or maintain by " preaching, writing, printing, or any other way, any thing " againſt, or in derogation of the church government which " is now eſtabliſhed by authority of parliament; and alſo " againſt all and every perſon or perſons who ſhall willingly " or purpoſely interrupt or diſturb a preacher in the publick " exerciſe of his function; and they command all officers " of the peace, and officers of the army, to take notice of " this declaration, and by all lawful means to prevent offen- " ces of this kind, to apprehend offenders, that a courſe " may be ſpeedily taken for a due puniſhment to be inflicted " upon them." The houſe of lords publiſhed an order, bearing date Dec. 22, requiring the headboroughs and conſtables, in the ſeveral pariſhes of England and Wales, to arreſt the bodies of ſuch perſons as ſhall diſturb any miniſter in holy orders, in the exerciſe of his publick calling, by ſpeech or action, and carry them before ſome juſtice of peace, who is required to put the laws in execution againſt them. Feb. 4, they publiſhed an ordinance to prevent the growth and ſpreading of errors, hereſies, and blaſphemies; but theſe orders not coming up to their *covenant uniformity*, the *lord-mayor* and *common-council* preſented another petition to the two houſes March 17, and appointed a committee to attend the parliament from day to day, till their grievances were redreſſed, of which we ſhall hear more under the next year.

We have already accounted for the unhappy riſe of the *ſectarians* in the army when it was new modelled, who were now grown ſo extravagant as to call for ſome proper reſtraint, the miſchief being ſpread not only over the whole country, but into the city of London itſelf; it was firſt pleaded in excuſe for this practice, that a *gifted brother* had better preach and pray to the people than nobody; but now learning, good ſenſe, and the rational interpretation of ſcripture, began to be cried down, and every bold pretender to inſpiration was preferred to the moſt grave and ſober divines of

the age; ſome advanced themſelves into the rank of prophets, and others uttered all ſuch crude and undigeſted abſurdities as came firſt into their minds, calling them the dictates of the *ſpirit* within them; by which the publick peace was frequently diſturbed, and great numbers of ignorant people led into the belief of the moſt dangerous errors. The aſſembly of divines did what they could to ſtand in the gap, by writing againſt them, and publiſhing a *Deteſtation of the Errors of the Times.* The parliament alſo appointed a faſt on that account, Feb. 4, 1645-6, and many books were publiſhed againſt the *antinomians*, *anabaptiſts*, *ſeekers*, &c. not forgetting the *independants*, whoſe inſiſting upon a *toleration* was reckoned the inlet to all the reſt.

The moſt furious writer againſt the ſectaries was Mr. *Thomas Edwards*,* miniſter of Chriſt-Church, London, a zealous preſbyterian, who became remarkable by a book entitled *Gangræna*, or a catalogue of many of the errors, hereſies, blaſphemies, and pernicious practices of this time; in the epiſtle dedicatory he calls upon the *higher powers* to rain down all their vengeance upon theſe deluded people, in the following language: "You have done worthily "againſt papiſts, prelates, and ſcandalous miniſters, in caſt-"ing down images, altars, crucifixes, throwing out cere-"monies, &c. but what have you done (ſays he) againſt he-"reſy, ſchiſm, diſorder, againſt *ſeekers*, *anabaptiſts*, *antino-*"*mians*, *browniſts*, *libertines*, and other ſects; you have "made a reformation, but with the reformation have we "not worſe things come upon us than we had before, as "denying the ſcriptures, pleading for toleration of all re-"ligions and worſhips; yea, for blaſphemy, and denying "there is a God. You have put down the *common-prayer*, "and there are many among us that are for putting down "the *ſcriptures*. You have broken down the images of the "Trinity, and we have thoſe who oppoſe the *Trinity*. You

* He was originally of the univerſity of Cambridge, but in 1623 was incorporated at Oxford. At the beginning of the civil wars, he joined the parliament, embarked all that was dear to him in the cauſe of the people, whom he excited to proſecute the war by the ſtrain of his prayers and ſermons, and advanced money to carry it on. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, vol. i. p. 846. Ed.

"have

" have caſt out biſhops and their officers, and we have many " that caſt down to the ground all miniſters. You have " caſt out ceremonies in the ſacraments, as the *croſs*, *kneeling* " at the Lord's ſupper, and many caſt out the ſacraments " themſelves. You have put down *ſaints days*, and many " make nothing of the *Lord's day*. You have taken away " the ſuperfluous maintenance of biſhops and deans, and we " have many that cry down the neceſſary maintenance of " miniſters. In the biſhops' days we had ſinging of pſalms " taken away in ſome places, conceived prayer, preaching, " and in their room anthems, ſtinted forms, and reading " brought in, and now *ſinging of pſalms is ſpoken againſt*, " *publick prayer queſtioned, and all miniſterial preaching de-* " *nied*. In the biſhops' time popiſh innovations were in- " troduced, as bowing at altars, &c. and now we have " anointing the ſick with oil; then we had biſhoping of chil- " dren, now we have biſhoping of men and women, by lay- " ing on of hands. In the biſhops' days we had the fourth " commandment taken away, and now *all ten* are taken " away by the *antinomians*. The worſt of the prelates held " many ſound doctrines, and had many commendable prac- " tices, but many of our ſectaries deny all principles of re- " ligion, are enemies to all holy duties, order, learning, " overthrowing all, being whirligig ſpirits, and the *great* " *opinion of an univerſal toleration tends to the laying all* " *waſte, and diſſolution of all religion and good manners*. Now " (ſays our author) a connivance at, and ſuffering without " puniſhment, ſuch falſe doctrines and diſorders, provokes " God to ſend judgments. *A toleration* doth eclipſe the " glory of the moſt excellent reformation, and makes theſe " ſins to be the ſins of the legiſlature that countenances " them. *A magiſtrate ſhould uſe coercive power to puniſh* " *and ſuppreſs evils*, as appears from the example of *Eli*. " Now, right honourable, though you do not own theſe he- " reſies, but have put out ſeveral orders againſt them, yet " there is a ſtrange unheard-of ſuffering of them, ſuch an " one as there hardly ever was the like, under any orthodox " chriſtian magiſtrate and ſtate. Many ſectaries are coun- " tenanced, and employed in places of truſt; there has not " been any exemplary reſtraint of the ſectaries, by virtue

" of

" of any of your ordinances, but they are ſlighted and " ſcorned; preaching of lay-men was never more in requeſt " than ſince your ordinance againſt it; preſbyterial govern- " ment never more preached and printed againſt, than ſince " it was eſtabliſhed. Our dear brethren of Scotland ſtand " amazed, and are aſtoniſhed at theſe things; the orthodox " miniſters and people both in city and country are grieved " and diſcouraged, and the common enemy ſcorns and blaſ- " phemes; it is high time therefore for your honours to " ſuffer no longer theſe ſects and ſchiſms, but to do ſome- " thing worthy of a parliament againſt them, and God will " be with you."

After this dedication there are 176 erroneous paſſages collected from ſundry pamphlets printed about this time, and from the reports of friends in all parts of the kingdom, to whom he ſent for materials to fill up his book; however, the hereticks are at length reduced under ſixteen general heads.

1. *Independants*
2. *Browniſts*
3. *Millenaries*
4. *Antinomians*
5. *Anabaptiſts*
6. *Arminians*
7. *Libertines*
8. *Familiſts*
9. *Enthuſiaſts*
10. *Seekers*
11. *Perfectiſts*
12. *Socinians*
13. *Arians*
14. *Antitrinitarians*
15. *Antiſcripturiſts*
16. *Scepticks.*

The induſtrious writer might have enlarged his catalogue with *papiſts* and *prelates*, *deiſts*, *ranters*, *beheminiſts*, &c. &c. or if he had pleaſed, a leſs number might have ſerved his turn, for very few of theſe ſectaries were collected into ſocieties; but his buſineſs was to blacken the adverſaries of preſbyterian uniformity, that the parliament might cruſh them by ſanguinary methods. Among his hereſies there are ſome which do not deſerve that name; and among his errors, ſome that never grew into a ſect, but fell occaſionally from the pen or lips of ſome wild enthuſiaſt, and died with the author. The *independants* are put at the head of the ſectaries, becauſe they were for *toleration of all chriſtians who agreed in the fundamentals of religion;* to prove this, which they never denied, he has collected ſeveral paſſages out of their publick prayers; one *independant* miniſter (ſays he) prayed that preſbytery might be removed, and the kingdom

of

of Chriſt ſet up; another prayed two or three times, *that the parliament might give liberty to tender conſciences;* another thanked God *for the liberty of conſcience granted in America;* and ſaid, *why, Lord, not in England?* Another prayed, *ſince God had delivered both* preſbyterians *and* independants *from prelatical bondage*, that *the former might not be guilty of bringing their brethren into bondage.* The reader will judge of the ſpirit of this writer, by the foregoing ſpecimen of his performance, which I ſhould not have thought worth remembering, if our church-writers had not reported the ſtate of religion from his writings. "I knew Mr. *Edwards* "very well, (ſays *Fuller**) my contemporary in Queen's col- "lege, who often was tranſported beyond due bounds with "the keenneſs and eagerneſs of his ſpirit, and *therefore I* "*have juſt cauſe in ſome things to ſuſpect him.*" He adds farther, "I am moſt credibly informed, by ſuch who I am "confident will not abuſe me and poſterity therein, that Mr. "*Herbert Palmer* (an *anti-independant* to the height) being "convinced that Mr. *Edwards* had printed ſome falſhoods "in one ſheet of his *Gangræna*, proffered to have a ſheet "reprinted at his own charge, but ſome accident obſtructed "it." However, our author went on publiſhing a ſecond and third *Gangræna*, full of moſt bitter invectives and reproaches, till his own friends were nauſeated with his performances.

The reverend Mr. *Baxter*, who attended the victorious army, mentions the *independants*, *anabaptiſts* and *antinomians*, as the chief ſeparatiſts, to whom he adds ſome other names, as *ſeekers*, *ranters*, *behemeniſts*, *vaniſts*, all which died in their infancy, or united in the people afterwards known by the name of QUAKERS; but when he went into the army he found "almoſt one half of the religious party among "them orthodox, or but very lightly touched with the "above-mentioned miſtakes, and almoſt another half honeſt "men, that had ſtepped further into the contending way "than they ought, but with a little help might be reco- "vered; *a few fiery, ſelf-conceited men among them, kindled* "*the reſt, and made all the noiſe and buſtle;* for the greateſt "part of the common ſoldiers were ignorant men, and of

* Appeal, p. 58.

"little

" little religion; theſe would do any thing to pleaſe their " officers, and were inſtruments for the *ſeducers* in their great " work, which was to cry down the *covenant*, to vilify " pariſh miniſters, and eſpecially the Scots and the *preſby-* " *terians*." Mr. *Baxter* obſerves,* that " theſe fiery hot " men were hatched among the *old ſeparatiſts*; that they " were fierce with pride, and conceit, and uncharitableneſs, " but many of the honeſt ſoldiers, who were only tainted " with ſome doubts about *liberty of conſcience*, and *indepen-* " *dency*, would diſcourſe of the points of ſanctification and " chriſtian experience very ſavourily; the *ſeducers* above- " mentioned were great preachers, and fierce diſputants, but " of no ſettled principles of religion; ſome were of level- " ling principles as to the ſtate, but all were agreed, that the " *civil magiſtrate had nothing to do in matters of religion, any* " *further than to keep the peace, and protect the church liber-* " *ties*." The ſame writer adds, " To ſpeak impartially, " ſome of the preſbyterian miniſters frightened the ſectaries " into this fury, by the unpeaceableneſs and impatience of " their minds; they ran from libertiniſm into the other ex- " treme, and were ſo little ſenſible of their own infirmity, " that they would not have them tolerated, who were not " only tolerable, but worthy inſtruments and members in " the churches." Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that CROMWELL and his officers preached and prayed publickly with their troops, and admitted few or no chaplains in the army, except ſuch as bitterly inveighed againſt the preſbyterian government, as more tyrannical than epiſcopacy; and that the common ſoldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach themſelves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches, and preached to the people, who quickly became inſpired with the ſame ſpirit; women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noiſe and confuſion in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the ſtate.

Biſhop *Bramhall*, in one of his letters to archbiſhop *Uſher*, writes, that " the papiſts took advantage of theſe confu- " ſions, and ſent over above one hundred of their clergy, " that had been educated in France, Italy, and Spain, by

* Baxter's Life, p. 53.

" order

" order from Rome. In theſe nurſeries the ſcholars were " taught ſeveral handicraft trades and callings, according to " their ingenuities, beſides their functions in the church; " they have many yet at Paris (ſays the biſhop) fitting up to " be ſent over, who twice in the week oppoſe one the other; " one pretending preſbytery, the other independency, ſome " anabaptiſm, and others contrary tenets. The hundred " that went over this year (according to the biſhop) were " moſt of them ſoldiers in the parliament army."† But Mr. *Baxter*,§ after a moſt diligent enquiry, declares, " that he " could not find them out;" which renders the biſhop's account ſuſpected. " The moſt that I could ſuſpect for papiſts " among *Cromwell*'s ſoldiers (ſays he) were but a few that " began as ſtrangers among the common ſoldiers, and by " degrees roſe up to ſome inferior officers, but none of the " ſuperior officers ſeemed ſuch." The body of the army had a vaſt averſion to the papiſts, and the parliament took all occaſions of treating them with rigour; for June 30, *Morgan*, a *prieſt*, was drawn, hanged, and quartered, for going out of the kingdom to receive orders from Rome, and then returning again. However, without all queſtion, both church and ſtate were in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion at the cloſe of this year, [1646.]

Among the illuſtrious men of the parliament's ſide who died about this time, was *Robert D'Evereux* earl of *Eſſex*, ſon of the famous favourite of queen *Elizabeth*; he was educated to arms in the Netherlands, and afterwards ſerved the king and queen of Bohemia for the recovery of the Palatinate. King *Charles* I. made him lieutenant of his army in his expedition againſt the Scots, and lord chamberlain of the houſhold; but the earl, being unwilling to go into the arbitrary meaſures of the court in favour of popery and ſlavery, engaged on the ſide of the parliament, and accepted of the commiſſion of captain-general of their forces, for which the king proclaimed him a traytor. He was a perſon of great honour, and ſerved the parliament with fidelity; but being of opinion, that the war ſhould be ended rather by treaty than conqueſt, did not always puſh his ſucceſſes as far as

† Parr's Life of Uſher, p. 611. § Life, p. 78.

he

he might. Upon the new modelling of the army, the cautious general was diſmiſſed with an honourable penſion for his paſt ſervices; after which he retired to his houſe at Eltham in Kent, where he died of a lethargy, occaſioned by over-heating himſelf in the chace of a ſtag in Windſor-Foreſt, Sept. 14, 1646, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.‖ He was buried with great funeral ſolemnity in Weſtminſter-Abbey, October 22, at the publick expence, both houſes of parliament attending the proceſſion. His effigies was afterwards erected in Weſtminſter-hall, but ſome of the king's party found means in the night to cut off the head, and break the ſword, arms and eſcutcheons. Mr. *Vines* preached his funeral ſermon, and gave him a very high encomium, though lord *Clarendon* has ſtained his character for taking part with the parliament, which he ſays was owing to his pride and vanity. The earl's countenance appeared ſtern and ſolemn, but to his familiar acquaintance his behaviour was mild and affable. Upon the whole, he was a truly great and excellent perſon; his death was an unſpeakable loſs to the king, for he was the only nobleman, perhaps, in the kingdom, who had intereſt enough with both parties, to have put an end to the civil war, at the very time when Providence called him out of the world.

Among the remarkable divines may be reckoned the reverend and learned Mr. *Thomas Colman*, rector of St. Peter's church in Cornhill; he was born at Oxford, and entered in Magdalen-college in the ſeventeeth year of his age; he afterwards became ſo perfect a maſter of the Hebrew language, that he was commonly called Rabbi *Colman*. In the beginning of the civil war he left his rectory of Blyton in Lincolnſhire, being perſecuted from thence by the cavaliers. Upon his coming to London, he was preferred to the rectory of St. Peter's Cornhill, and made one of the aſſembly of divines. Mr. *Wood* ſays, he behaved modeſtly and learnedly in the aſſembly; and Mr. *Fuller* gives him the character of a modeſt and learned divine; he was equally an enemy to preſbytery and prelacy, being of eraſtian principles; he fell

‖ Ludlow, p. 186, or 4to. edition 1771, p. 79.

ſick

ſick while the aſſembly was debating the *jus divinum* of preſbytery; and when they ſent ſome of their members to viſit him, he deſired they would not come to an abſolute determination till they heard what he had to offer upon the queſtion; but his diſtemper increaſing he died in a few days, and the whole aſſembly did him the honour to attend his funeral in a body March 30, 1646.*

About the middle of July died the learned doctor *William Twiſſe*, vicar of Newbury, and prolocutor of the aſſembly of divines; he was born at Speenham-Land, near Newbury in Berkſhire; his father was a ſubſtantial clothier in that town, and educated his ſon at Wincheſter ſchool, from whence he was tranſlated to New-college in Oxford, of which he was *fellow*; here he employed himſelf in the ſtudy of divinity with the cloſeſt application, for ſixteen years together. In the year 1604, he proceeded *maſter of arts*; about the ſame time he entered into holy orders, and became a diligent and frequent preacher; he was admired by the univerſity for his ſubtle wit, exact judgment, exemplary life and converſation, and many other valuable qualities which became a man of his function. In the year 1614, he proceeded doctor of divinity, after which he travelled into Germany, and became chaplain to the princeſs *Palatine*, daughter of king *James* I. After his return to England, he was made vicar of Newbury, where he gained a vaſt reputation by his uſeful preaching and exemplary living. His moſt able adverſaries have confeſſed, that there was nothing then extant more accurate and full, touching the *arminian* controverſy, than what he publiſhed: and hardly any who have written upon this argument ſince the publiſhing Dr. *Twiſſe*'s works, but have made an honourable mention of him. The doctor was offered the prebend of Wincheſter, and ſeveral preferments in the church of England; the ſtates of Frieſland invited him to the profeſſorſhip of divinity in their univerſity of Franeker, but he refuſed all. In the beginning of the civil war, he was forced from his living at Newbury by the cavaliers, and upon con-

* Church Hiſtory, b. ix. p. 213. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 62.

|| Athenæ. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 40, 41.

vening

vening the aſſembly of divines, was appointed by parliament their *prolocutor*, in which ſtation he continued to his death, which happened after a lingering indiſpoſition, about the 20th of July, 1646, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. He died in very neceſſitous circumſtances, having loſt all his ſubſtance by the king's ſoldiers, inſomuch that when ſome of the aſſembly were deputed to viſit him in his ſickneſs, they reported, that *he was very ſick, and in great ſtraits.* He was allowed to be a perſon of extenſive knowledge in ſchool divinity; a ſubtle diſputant,‡ and withal, a modeſt, humble, and religious perſon. He was buried, at the requeſt of the aſſembly, in the collegiate church of St. *Peter*'s Weſtminſter, near the upper end of the poor folks table, next the veſtry, July 24, and was attended by the whole aſſembly of divines: There his body reſted till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. when his bones were dug up by order of council, Sept. 14, 1661, and thrown with ſeveral others, into a hole in the church-yard of St. Margaret's, before the back-door of the lodgings of one of the prebendaries.

Towards the end of the year died the reverend and pious Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*; he was educated in Cambridge, but obliged to quit the univerſity and kingdom for non-conformity in the late times.§ Upon his leaving England, he was choſen miniſter of an Engliſh congregation at Rotterdam, with which he continued till the year 1642, when he returned to England, and became preacher to two of the largeſt and moſt numerous congregations about London, viz. Stepney and Cripplegate. He was one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly, but was a divine of great can-

‡ He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his writings againſt arminianiſm. The moſt learned of that party confeſſed that there was nothing more accurate, exact, and full, on that controverſy, than his works. His plain preaching was eſteemed good: his ſolid diſputations were accounted, by ſome, better: and his pious way of living was reckoned, by others, eſpecially the puritans, beſt of all. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 40. Ed.

§ He for ſome time ſheltered himſelf under the hoſpitable roof of the earl of *Warwick*. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 193, 8vo. This nobleman was a great patron of the puritan divines: and not contented with hearing long ſermons in their congregation only, would have them repeated at his own houſe. Ibid. p. 116. Ed.

dor,

dor, modeſty, and charity. He never gathered a ſeparate congregation, nor accepted of a parochial living, exhauſting his ſtrength in continual preaching, and other ſervices of the church. He was an excellent ſcholar, a good expoſitor, a popular preacher; he publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes while he lived, and his friends have publiſhed many others ſince his death, which have met with a general acceptance. It was ſaid, the diviſions of the times broke his heart, becauſe one of the laſt ſubjects he preached upon, and printed, was his *Irenicum*, or an attempt to heal diviſions among chriſtians. Mr. *Baxter* uſed to ſay, if all the preſbyterians had been like Mr. *Marſhall*, and the independants like Mr. *Burroughs*, their differences might eaſily have been compromiſed. He died of a conſumptive illneſs Nov. 14, 1646, about the forty-ſeventh year of his age.

CHAP. VIII.

Proceedings of the Aſſembly upon their Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſms. Provincial Aſſemblies of London. The King taken out of the Parliament's Cuſtody, and conveyed to the Army. Controverſy between the Parliament and Army. His Majeſty's Conduct. He eſcapes from Hampton-Court, and is confined in the Iſle of Wight.

THE reverend Mr. *Charles Herle* ſucceeded to the prolocutor's chair by order of parliament July 22, 1646, in the room of the late Dr. *Twiſſe*, when the diſcipline of the church being pretty well ſettled, it was moved to finiſh their *confeſſion of faith*. The Engliſh divines would have been content with reviſing and explaining the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, but the Scots inſiſting on a ſyſtem of their own, a committee was appointed to prepare materials for this purpoſe May 9, 1645; their names were Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Hoyle*, Mr. *Herle*, *Gataker*, *Tuckney*, *Reynolds*, and *Vines*, with the Scots divines, who having firſt ſettled the *titles* of the ſeveral chapters, as they now ſtand in their confeſſion of faith, in number thirty-two, diſtributed them for greater expedition, among ſeveral *ſub-committees*, which ſat two days every week, and then reported what they had finiſhed to the *committee*, and ſo to the aſſembly, where it was debated paragraph by paragraph. The diſputes about *diſcipline* had occaſioned ſo many interruptions that it was a year and half before this work was finiſhed, but on Nov. 26, 1646, the *prolocutor* returned thanks to the ſeveral committees, in the name of the aſſembly, for their great pains in perfecting the work committed to them. At the ſame time Dr. *Burges* was appointed to get it tranſcribed, in order to its being preſented to parliament, which was done Dec. 11, by the whole aſſembly in a body, under the title of, *The humble advice of the aſſembly of divines and others*,

others, now, by the authority of parliament, ſitting at Weſtminſter, concerning a confeſſion of faith. The houſe of commons having voted the aſſembly thanks, deſired them to inſert the *proofs* of the ſeveral articles in their proper places, and then to print ſix hundred copies,‡ and no more, for the peruſal of the houſes. The reverend Mr. *Wilſon*, Mr. *Byfield*, and Mr. *Gower*, were appointed, Jan. 6, to be a committee to collect the ſcriptures for confirmation of the ſeveral articles; all which, after examination by the aſſembly, were inſerted in the margin. And then the whole *confeſſion* was committed once more to a review of the three committees, who made report to the aſſembly of ſuch further amendments as they thought neceſſary; which being agreed to by the houſe, it was ſent to the preſs, May 11, 1647. Mr. *Byfield*, by order of the houſe of commons, delivered to the members the printed copies of their *confeſſion of faith*, with *ſcripture notes*, ſigned

CHARLES HERLE, *Prolocutor*,
CORN. BURGES, HERBERT PALMER, } *Aſſeſſors*,
HENRY ROBOROUGH, ADONIRAM BYFIELD, } *Scribes*.

And becauſe no more were to be given out at preſent, every member ſubſcribed his name to the receipt thereof.

The houſe of commons began their examination of this confeſſion May 19, when they conſidered the whole firſt chapter article by article; but the diſturbances which aroſe between the parliament and army interrupted their proceeding the whole ſummer; but when theſe were quieted they reſumed their work, and October 2, ordered a chapter of the confeſſion of faith at leaſt to be debated every Wedneſday, by which means they got through the whole before the end of March following; for at a conference with the

‡ The MSS. to which Mr. *Neal* refers, though ſupported by the authority of *Ruſhworth*, made a miſtake here: for by a copy of the original order, given by Dr. *Grey*, in his Appendix, No. 71, it appears, that the order of the houſe was for printing 500 copies and *no more* of "The "humble advice," &c. See alſo Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 233. ED.

* Ruſhworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 482.

houſe

houſe of lords March 22, 1647-8, the commons preſented them with the *confeſſion of faith* as paſſed by their houſe, with ſome alterations: they agreed with the aſſembly in the doctrinal part of the confeſſion, and ordered it to be publiſhed, June 20, 1648, for the ſatisfaction of the foreign churches, under the title of *Articles of religion approved and paſſed by both houſes of parliament, after advice had with an aſſembly of divines called together by them for that purpoſe.*† The parliament not thinking it proper to call it a *confeſſion of faith*, becauſe the ſections did not begin with the words I *confeſs*;* nor to annex matters of church government, about which they were not agreed, to *doctrinal articles*; thoſe chapters therefore, which relate to diſcipline, as they now ſtand in the aſſembly's confeſſion, were not printed by order of the houſe, but re-committed, and at laſt laid aſide; as the whole thirtieth chapter, *of church cenſures, and of the power of the keys*; the thirty-firſt chapter, *of ſynods and councils, by whom to be called, and of what force in their decrees and determinations*; a great part of the twenty-fourth chapter, *of marriage and divorce*, which they referred to the laws of the land; and the fourth paragraph of the twentieth chapter, which determines *what opinions and parties diſturb the peace of the church, and how ſuch diſturbers ought to be proceeded againſt by the cenſures of the church, and puniſhed by the civil magiſtrate.* Theſe propoſitions, in which the very life and ſoul of preſbytery conſiſts, never were approved by the Engliſh parliament, nor had the force of a law in this country: But the whole confeſſion, as it came from the aſſembly, being ſent into Scotland, was immediately approved by the general aſſembly and parliament of that kingdom, as the eſtabliſhed doctrine and diſcipline of their kirk;‖ and thus it has been publiſhed to the world ever ſince, though the chapter above-mentioned, relating to *diſcipline*, received no parliamentary ſanction in England; nevertheleſs, as the *entire confeſſion* was agreed to by an aſſembly of Engliſh divines, I have given it a place in the *Appendix*.§

Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that the *confeſſion of faith itſelf*, which determines ſo many abſtruſe points of divinity, ſhould

† Ruſhworth, p. 1035. * Savoy Conf. Pref. p. 18, 19.
‖ Savoy Conf. Pref. p. 20. § Appendix, No. VIII.

have

have the unanimous and hearty aſſent of the whole aſſembly or parliament: for though all the divines were in the anti-arminian ſcheme, yet ſome had a greater latitude than others. I find in my *MS.* the diſſent of ſeveral members againſt ſome expreſſions relating to *reprobation*, to *the imputation of the active as well as paſſive obedience of Chriſt*, and to ſeveral paſſages in the chapters of *liberty of conſcience and church diſcipline;* but the *confeſſion*, as far as related to *articles of faith*, paſſed the aſſembly and parliament by a very great majority.

Various cenſures have been paſſed by learned men upon this laboured performance: ſome have loaded it with undeſerved reproaches; and others, perhaps, have advanced its reputation too high. Mr. *Collier* condemns it, for determining in favour of the morality of the ſabbath; for pronouncing the pope to be antichriſt; and for maintaining the *calvinian* rigors of *abſolute predeſtination*, *irreſiſtible grace*, and the *impotency of man's will;* doctrines, in his opinion, inconſiſtent with chriſtianity.§ But then, he obſerves, very juſtly, that it falls very ſhort of the Scots claim in points of diſcipline; it yields the magiſtrate a power of convening church aſſemblies, and of ſuperintending their proceedings; it is ſilent as to the independency of the church, and the *divine right* of preſbytery, &c. Upon the whole, the Aſſembly's Confeſſion, with all its faults, has been ranked by very good judges among the moſt perfect ſyſtems of divinity,‖ that have been publiſhed upon the *calviniſtic* or *anti-arminian* principles in the laſt age.

While the *confeſſion* was carrying through the aſſembly, committees were appointed to reduce it into the form of catechiſms; *one larger*, for the ſervice of a publick expoſition in the pulpit, according to the cuſtom of foreign churches; the *other ſmaller*, for the inſtruction of children; in both

§ Eccl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 842.

‖ Here may be introduced, as it eſcaped our recollection in the more proper place, the remark made by Mr. *Robinſon* on the DIRECTORY. "The "beſt ſtate inſtructions to preachers were given in the DIRECTORY by the "aſſembly of divines; but even theſe (he properly adds) include the great, "the fatal error, the ſubjection of God's word to human laws." Tranſlation of Claude on the Compoſition of a Sermon, vol. ii. Prefatory Diſſertation, p. 63. ED.

which the *articles relating to church diſcipline* are entirely omitted.* The larger catechiſm is a comprehenſive ſyſtem of divinity, and the ſmaller, a very accurate ſummary, though it has by ſome been thought a little too long, and in ſome particulars too abſtruſe for the capacities of children. The *ſhorter catechiſm* was preſented to the houſe of commons, Nov. 5, but the *larger*, by reaſon of the marginal references to ſcripture, which the houſes deſired might be inſerted, was not ready till the 14th of April, 1648, when the houſe ordered ſix hundred copies to be printed for the ſervice of the members; and having examined and approved it, they allowed it to be printed *by authority*, for publick uſe, September 15, 1648. The king, after many ſolicitations, at the treaty of the *iſle of Wight*, offered to licenſe the ſhorter catechiſm, with a ſuitable preface; but that treaty proving unſucceſsful, it was not accompliſhed.‡

The chief affairs committed to the aſſembly being thus finiſhed, Mr. *Rutherford*, one of the Scots divines, moved, October 24, 1647, that it might be recorded in the *ſcribes* books, that the aſſembly had enjoyed the aſſiſtance of the honourable, reverend and learned commiſſioners of the church of Scotland, during all the time they had been debating and perfecting theſe four things mentioned in the *covenant*, viz. *their compoſing a directory for publick worſhip; an uniform confeſſion of faith*; *a form of church government and diſcipline; and a publick catechiſm;* ſome of their number having been preſent during the whole of theſe tranſactions; which being done, about a week after, he and the reſt of the commiſſioners took their leave, and returned home; upon which occaſion Mr. *Herle* the prolocutor roſe up, and, in the name of the aſſembly, " thanked the honourable and reverend " commiſſioners, for their aſſiſtance; he excuſed in the beſt " manner he could, the *directory*'s not being ſo well ob- " ſerved as it ought; and lamented that the *aſſembly* had not " power to call offenders to an account: he confeſſes, that " their affairs were very much embarraſſed, and that they " were ſtill in a chaos of confuſion; [the king being now " taken out of the hands of the parliament, and in cuſtody " of the army] he takes notice what diſtreſſes the parlia-

* Ruſhworth, p. 888, 1060. ‡ Ruſhworth, p. 1326.

" ment

" ment were in, while the common enemy was high and " ſtrong; and adds, that their extraordinary ſucceſſes hither- " to, were owing to the prayers of their brethren of Scot- " land, and other proteſtants abroad, as well as to their own. " He then mentions with concern ſome other reſtraints the " aſſembly lay under, but that this was not a proper ſeaſon " for redreſs."

The commiſſioners went home under a very heavy concern for the ſtorm that was gathering over England, and for the hardſhips the *preſbyterians* lay under with reſpect to their diſcipline; and having obtained the eſtabliſhment of the *directory*, *the confeſſion of faith and catechiſms*, *the preſbyterian diſcipline*, *and* Rouſe's *pſalms in metre*, for the ſervice of their kirk, they appointed a general faſt, to lament their own defection from the *ſolemn league and covenant*, and the diſtreſſed condition of their brethren in England, who were zealous for carrying on the work of God, but were now oppreſſed, under pretence of *liberty*, when no leſs was aimed at than tyranny and arbitrary power.

If the parliament had diſſolved the aſſembly at this time, as they ought to have done, they had broke up with honour and reputation, for after this they did little more than examine candidates for the miniſtry, and ſquabble about the *jus divinum* of preſbytery; the grand conſultations concerning publick affairs, and practiſing upon the new eſtabliſhment, being tranſlated to the provincial aſſemblies, and weekly meetings of the London clergy at Sion-college.*

Though

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 297, note.

* That the reader may form a judgment of what was intended to be eſtabliſhed in England, it may not be improper to ſet before him, in one view, the diſcipline that was then ſettled in the kirk of Scotland, and ſubſiſts at this time. " In Scotland there are eight-hundred and ninety pariſhes, each " of which is divided, in proportion to its extent, into particular diſtricts, " and every diſtrict has its own ruling elders and deacons; the ruling " elders are men of the principal quality and intereſt in the pariſh, and the " deacons are perſons of a good character for manners and underſtanding. " A conſiſtory of miniſters, elders, and deacons, is called a kirk ſeſſion, the " loweſt eccleſiaſtical judicatory, which meets once a week, to conſider the " affairs of the pariſh. The miniſter is always moderator, but without a " negative; appeals lie from hence to their own preſbyteries, which are the " next higher judicatories. Scotland is divided into ſixty-nine preſbyteries, " each conſiſting of from twelve to twenty-four contiguous pariſhes.

Though the city and ſuburbs of London had been formed into a *province*, and divided into twelve claſſical preſbyteries (as has been remembered) under the laſt year, new complaints were ſtill made to the parliament of certain obſtructions to their proceedings; upon which the houſes publiſhed their reſolutions of April 22, 1647, entitled, *Remedies for removing ſome obſtructions in church government*;* in which they ordered letters to be ſent from the ſpeakers of both houſes to the ſeveral counties of England, immediately to divide themſelves into diſtinct preſbyteries and claſſes; "They then appoint the elders and miniſters of the ſeveral "claſſes of the *province* of London, to hold their provincial "aſſembly in the convocation houſe of St. Paul's in London, upon the firſt Monday in May nex enſuing, and to "adjourn their meetings *de die in diem*, and conclude them "with adjournment to the next opportunity, according to "the ordinance of parliament; but that no act ſhall paſs "or be valid in the ſaid province of London, except it be "done by the number of thirty-ſix preſent, or the major "part of them, whereof twelve to be miniſters, and twenty-four ruling elders. That in the claſſical meetings, that "which ſhall be done by the major part preſent, ſhall be "eſteemed the act of the whole; but no act done by any "claſſes ſhall be valid, unleſs it be done by the number of

"The miniſters of theſe pariſhes, with one ruling elder, choſen half yearly "out of every kirk ſeſſion, compoſe a preſbytery. They meet in the *head* "*town* and chooſe their moderator, who muſt be a miniſter, half yearly; "from hence appeals lie to provincial ſynods, which are compoſed of ſe-"veral adjacent preſbyteries. Two, three, four to eight; there are fifteen "in all. The members are a miniſter and a ruling elder out of every pa-"riſh. Theſe ſynods meet twice a year, at the principal town of its bounds. "They chooſe a moderator, who is their prolocutor. The acts of the ſy-"nods are ſubject to the review of the general aſſembly, the dernier reſort "of the kirk of Scotland. It conſiſts of commiſſioners from preſbyteries, "royal burghs, and univerſities. A preſbytery of twelve miniſters ſends "two miniſters and one ruling elder; a preſbytery of between twelve and "eighteen ſends three, and one ruling elder; of between eighteen and "twenty-four ſends four, and two ruling elders; of twenty-four ſends five, "and two elders; every royal burgh ſends one elder, and Edinburgh two; "every univerſity ſends one commiſſioner, uſually a miniſter. The general "aſſembly meets once a year, in the month of May, and is opened and "adjourned, by the king's royal commiſſioner appointed for that purpoſe."

* Vol. Pamp. No. IV.

"fifteen

"fifteen preſent, or the major part of them, whereof five "be miniſters and ten ruling elders." So that the number of *lay-elders* in theſe aſſemblies was double to the number of *miniſters*.

According to this appointment the firſt provincial aſſembly met at the convocation houſe of St. Paul's, May 3, conſiſting of three miniſters and ſix ruling elders from the ſeveral claſſes, in all about one hundred and eight perſons; at their firſt ſeſſion they choſe the reverend Dr. *Gouge* prolocutor, who opened the aſſembly with a ſermon at his own church in Black-friars, the reverend Mr. *Thomas Manton*, Mr. *Ralph Robinſon*, and Mr. *Cardel*, being appointed ſcribes. After their return to the *convocation-houſe*, a committee of ſeven miniſters and fourteen ruling elders, were choſen to conſider of the buſineſs of the province.

The MINISTERS *were*,

The Rev. Mr. Whitaker	*The Rev.* Mr. Tuckney
Dr. Seaman	Mr. Proffet
Mr. Ed. Calamy	Mr. Jackſon.
Mr. Spurſtow	

The RULING ELDERS *were*,

Sir Edw. Popham	Mr. Ruſſel	Mr. Webbe
Dr. Clarke	Mr. Bains	Mr. Engliſh
Dr. Baſtwicke	Mr. Houghton	Col. Sowtonſtall
Dr. Brinley	Mr. Eyres	Mr. ———.
Mr. Bence	Mr. Vaughan	

Any ſix to be a quorum, provided there be two miniſters, and four ruling elders. Their next meeting to be at Sion-college, May 6, at two in the afternoon.

At the ſecond ſeſſions it was moved, that application be made to parliament, for liberty to remove the aſſembly from the *convocation-houſe* to ſome other place; and accordingly they were allowed to adjourn to any place within the city or liberties of London, upon which they agreed upon Sion-college, where they continued to meet twice a week to the end of the year 1659, as appears by a manuſcript of the late Mr. *Grange*, now in Sion-college library.

Before their adjournment from the *convocation-houſe* at St. Paul's, they came to the following reſolutions; *reſolved*,

1. That the *Provincial Aſſembly* ſhall meet twice every week, Mondays and Thurſdays.

2. That the moderator for the time being ſhall begin and end every ſeſſion with prayer.

3. When a new moderator is to be choſen the ſenior miniſter ſhall preſide.

4. The moderator ſhall be ſubject to the cenſure of the majority of the aſſembly, in caſe of complaint, and ſhall leave the chair while the complaint is debating, and the ſenior miniſter ſhall preſide.

5. Every one that ſpeaks ſhall direct his ſpeech to the moderator, and be uncovered.

6. No man ſhall ſpeak above three times to the ſame queſtion at one ſeſſions.

7. When any buſineſs is before the aſſembly relating to any particular member, he ſhall withdraw, if deſired by the majority.

8. After the aſſembly is ſet, no member ſhall withdraw without leave.

9. The names of the members preſent ſhall be recorded by the ſcribes.

Every *Provincial Aſſembly* was diſſolved in courſe at the end of ſix months, when notice was given to the ſeveral claſſes to return new repreſentatives; but it was an ill omen upon them, that their meetings were interrupted almoſt the whole ſummer, by reaſon of the diſtraction of the times.

The ſecond *Provincial Aſſembly* met Nov. 8, Dr. *Seaman* moderator, and preſented a petition to the parliament in a body, Jan. 11, in which they humbly pray,

1. "That the number of delegates to the *Provincial Aſ-* "*ſembly* may be enlarged, becauſe they found it difficult "ſometimes to make up the number of thirty-ſix.

2. "That the houſes would quicken the ſettlement of "thoſe claſſes [in London] that were not yet formed, which "they ſay were four.

3. "That ſome more effectual encouragement may be "provided for a learned miniſtry.

4. "That effectual proviſion may be made againſt clan- "deſtine marriages, for the puniſhment of fornication, adul- "tery, and ſuch uncleanneſs as is not fit to be named.

5. "That

5. "That church cenſures may be ſo eſtabliſhed, that "ſcandalous perſons may be effectually excluded from church "communion."

The parliament received them with reſpect, and promiſed to take the matter of the petition into conſideration, which was all that was done in the affair.

But beſides the *Provincial Aſſembly*, it has been remembered, that the London clergy had their weekly meetings at Sion College, to conſult about church affairs, in one of which they agreed, *ſince they could do no more*, to bear their publick teſtimony againſt the errors of the times; and accordingly they publiſhed a treatiſe, entitled, *A teſtimony to the truth of Jeſus Chriſt, and to our ſolemn league and covenant; as alſo againſt the errors, hereſies, and blaſphemies of theſe times, and the toleration of them; to which is added a catalogue of the ſaid errors*, &c. dated from Sion College, Dec. 14, 1647, and ſubſcribed by fifty-eight of the moſt eminent paſtors in London, of whom ſeventeen were of the aſſembly of divines. Some time after the miniſters of Gloceſterſhire publiſhed their concurrence with the London miniſters, ſubſcribed by ſixty-four names. The miniſters of the province of Lancaſhire by eighty-four. The Devonſhire miniſters by eighty-three; and the Somerſet miniſters by ſeventy-one.

The London miniſters, in their firſt article, "touching "matters of doctrine, declare their aſſent to the Weſtminſter "aſſembly's confeſſion of faith, and heartily deſire it may "receive the ſanction of authority, as the joint confeſſion of "faith of the three kingdoms, in purſuance of the covenant."

Touching hereſies and errors, they declare their deteſtation and abhorrence of theſe following, among others,

1. "That the holy ſcriptures are not of divine autho-"rity, and the only rule of faith.*

2. "That God hath a bodily ſhape; that God is the "name of a perſon; and, that God is the author of ſin, "having a greater hand in it than men themſelves.‡

3. "That there is not a trinity of perſons in the God-"head; that the Son is not co-equal with the Father; and, "that the Holy Ghoſt is only a miniſtering ſpirit.†

* L. Clarkſon. Biddle, p. 6. ‡ Criſp, Eaton, Saltmarſh.
† Paul Beſt. Biddle, p. 8.

4. "That

4. "That God has not elected ſome to ſalvation from "eternity, and rejected or reprobated others; and, that no "man ſhall periſh in hell for *Adam*'s ſin.[a]

5. "That Chriſt died for the ſins of all mankind; that "the benefits of his death were intended for all; and, that "natural men may do ſuch things as whereunto God has "by way of promiſe annexed grace and acceptation.[b]

6. "That man hath a free will and power in himſelf to "repent, to believe, to obey the goſpel, and do every thing "that God requires to ſalvation.[c]

7. "That faith is not a ſupernatural grace, and that faith-"ful actions are the only things by which a man is juſtified.[d]

8. "That the moral law is not the rule of life; that "believers are as clean from ſin as Chriſt himſelf; that ſuch "have no occaſion to pray for pardon of ſin; that God ſees "no ſin in his people, nor does he ever chaſtiſe them for it.[e]

9. "That there is no church, nor ſacraments, nor ſab-"bath; the opinions of the *Seekers*, now called QUAKERS.[f]

10. "That the children of believers ought not to be "baptized, nor baptiſm continued among chriſtians; that "the meaning of the third commandment is, *Thou ſhalt not* "*forſwear thyſelf.*[g]

11. "That perſons of the next kindred may marry; and "that indiſpoſition, unfitneſs, or contrariety of mind, ariſing "from natural cauſes, are a juſt reaſon of divorce.[h]

12. "That the ſoul of man is mortal; that it ſleeps with "the body; and, that there is neither heaven nor hell till "the day of judgment.[i]

The laſt error they witneſs againſt, and in which all agree, is called the "ERROR OF TOLERATION,[k] patronizing and "promoting all other errors, hereſies and blaſphemies what-"ſoever, under the groſly abuſed notion of LIBERTY OF "CONSCIENCE;" and here they complain as a very great

[a] Fulneſs of God's Love to Mankind, by L. S. [b] Hammond's Pract. Cat. J. Goodwin, p. 149. [c] J. Goodwin. [d] Ham. [e] Randal, John Simpſon. [f] Saltmarſh, Smoak in the Temple, p. 17. [g] Tombes. [h] Saltmarſh. Ham. Milton, p. 19. [i] P. 20. Man's Mortality, by R. O.

[k] Mr. *Emlyn* juſtly obſerves, "That the principle of the admired Aſſembly's larger catechiſm, under the ſecond commandment, is, that it forbids *toleration of all falſe religion.*" Emlyn's Works, vol. i. p. 60 of the narrative edition of 1746. ED.

grievance,

grievance, "That men ſhould have liberty to worſhip God "in that way and manner as ſhall appear to them moſt agree- "able to the word of God; and no man be puniſhed or "diſconntenanced by authority for the ſame; and, that an "inforced uniformity of religion throughout a nation or "ſtate confounds the civil and religious, and denies the very "principles of chriſtianity and civility.*

They then bear their teſtimony to the *covenant*, and to the *divine right of preſbytery*. They lament the imperfect ſettlement of their diſcipline by the parliament, and lay the foundation of all their calamities in the countenancing of a publick and general toleration, and conclude thus; "Upon "all theſe conſiderations, we the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt "do hereby teſtify to our flocks, to all the kingdom, and "to the reformed world, our great diſlike of *prelacy*, *era-* "*ſtianiſm*, *browniſm*, and *independency*; and our utter ab- "horrency of *anti-ſcripturiſm*, *popery*, *arianiſm*, *ſocinianiſm*, "*arminianiſm*, *antinomianiſm*, *anabaptiſm*, *libertiniſm*, and "*familiſm*; and that we deteſt the fore-mentioned *toleration*, "ſo much purſued and endeavoured in this kingdom, ac- "counting it unlawful and pernicious." What ſad work would theſe divines have made, had the *ſword* of the magiſtrate been at their diſpoſal!‖

The principal authors from whom theſe errors were collected, are mentioned in the margin; two of whom determined to vindicate the citations out of their books: Dr. *Hammond* publiſhed a vindication of three paſſages in his practical catechiſm, from the cenſures of the London mi-

* Bloody Tenet. Five Holland Miniſters, p. 22.

‖ It deſerves to be mentioned here, as a fact remarkable in itſelf, and honourable to the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, that, notwithſtanding the zeal expreſſed againſt toleration, the confeſſion of faith it drew up was not made the legal ſtandard of orthodoxy. It was not ſubſcribed by any member of that aſſembly, except by the prolocutor, aſſeſſors, and clerks. Nor till *forty years* after was a ſubſcription or aſſent to it required of any layman or miniſter, as a term of chriſtian communion. And Mr. *Nye*, a member of the aſſembly, informs us, when the Scots commiſſioners propoſed, that the anſwers in the ſhorter catechiſm ſhould be ſubſcribed by all the members, the motion was rejected; after a conſiderable number in the aſſembly had ſhewn it was an unwarrantable impoſition. "Conſcientious Nonconformity," printed for *Noon*, 1737, p. 77. "The religious Eſtabliſhment in Scotland "examined." 1771, p. 104. Ed.

niſters;

niſters; in which he very juſtly complains of the hard names with which the miniſters load the opinions they reject, as *abominable errors, damnable hereſies, horrid blaſphemies, many of which are deſtructive of the fundamentals of chriſtianity, and all of them repugnant to the holy ſcriptures, the ſcandal and offence of the reformed churches abroad, and the unparallelled reproach of this church and nation; and, in a word, the dregs and ſpawn of thoſe old curſed hereſies which have been already condemned.* The doctor then recites his three paſſages; the firſt concerning *univerſal redemption*; the ſecond concerning *faith's being the condition of our juſtification*; and the third concerning the *interpretation of the third commandment*; and avers them all to be true, and agreeable to the doctrine of the church of England. In concluſion the doctor deſires this favour, that either the firſt ſubſcriber Mr. *J. Downham*, who licenſed his *catechiſm* for the preſs, or elſe Dr. *Gouge* or Mr. *Gataker*, who are foremoſt in the ſecond rank, or ſome other perſons of learning, chriſtianity, and candour, would afford him their patience, perſonally and by fair diſcourſe, or any other chriſtian way, to debate the truth of theſe aſſertions, for which he will wait their leiſure. Dated from Oxford, Jan. 24, 1647-8, but no-body thought fit to accept the challenge.

Mr. *John Goodwin* was a learned divine, and a ſmart diſputant, but of a peculiar mould, being a republican, an independant, and a thorough *arminian*; he had been vicar of Coleman-ſtreet, whence he was ejected in the year 1645, by the committee for plundered miniſters, becauſe he refuſed to baptize the children of his pariſhioners promiſcuouſly, and to adminiſter the ſacrament to his whole pariſh. He had publiſhed ſeveral large and learned books; as, *The divine authority of the ſcriptures. Redemption redeemed. A treatiſe of juſtification.* And, *an expoſition on the ninth chapter to the* Romans; out of which the above-mentioned exceptions were taken. This divine, taking it amiſs to be marked for a heretick, challenged any of the London clergy to a diſputation, as thinking it a very unrighteous method to condemn opinions before they had been confuted. Mr. *William Jenkins*, at that time a warm and zealous preſbyterian, though afterwards ſoftened into more catholick principles,

ciples, entered the liſt with our author, in a pamphlet entitled, *The Buſy Biſhop.* To which the other replied, in a book entitled, *The Novice Preſbyter inſtructed.* By ſome paſſages in which, one may diſcover the angry ſpirit of the times.

Mr. *Jenkins* had complained that the orthodox clergy had ſhort commons, and were under the croſs, whereas the ſectaries met with the greateſt encouragement. To which Mr. *Goodwin* replies, "If by *orthodox miniſters*, he means thoſe "of the adored order of preſbytery, with what face can he "ſay that they are under the croſs? Is not the whole Engliſh "element of church-livings offered up by the ſtate to their "ſervice? Are not all the benefices of the kingdom appro-"priated to their order? And all others thruſt out of doors "to make room for them? Muſt they feed with *hecatombs* "every day, or elſe complain of ſhort commons? Or is "Mr. *Jenkins* of *Mar. Craſſus*'s mind, who would have no "one accounted rich, unleſs he could maintain an army "with his revenue? In what ſenſe can he affirm the *preſby-*"*terian clergy* to be under the croſs? Are *they* under the "croſs who are ſcarce under the crown? who are carried "by authority upon eagles wings: over whom the parlia-"ment itſelf rejoices to do good; heaping ordinance upon "ordinance to advance both them and their livings toge-"ther. But certainly there is ſomething that Mr. *Jenkins* "calls a *croſs* which few men know by that name, but thoſe "who are baptized into the ſpirit of high preſbytery; for "the *croſs* he ſpeaks of is no other than this, that *his or-*"*thodox brethren have not the power to do all the evil that* "*is in their hearts againſt a quiet, peaceable, harmleſs gene-*"*ration of men*, of whom they are jealous, leſt they ſhould "take their kingdom from them. How can this writer "ſay, that the independant preachers meet with encourage-"ment, and are under worldly glory? Does he account it "matter of worldly glory, to be diſcountenanced by the ſtate, "to be declared uncapable of thoſe favours and privileges "which other miniſters in the land enjoy; to be ſequeſtered "from their livings, and to be thruſt into holes and corners; "to be repreſented both to the magiſtrate and people, as ſec-"aries, ſchiſmaticks, erroneous, heretical, factious, trouble-"ſome, dangerous to the ſtate, and what not? If this be

"worldly glory, then may the preachers, againſt whom Mr. "*Jenkins* writes, be truly ſaid to be under worldly glory." Old Mr. *Vicars* and ſome others, carried on the controverſy, but their writings are not worth remembering; eſpecially ſince the Engliſh preſbyterians of the preſent age have openly renounced and diſavowed their principles.

To return to more publick affairs. Hitherto the army had acted in perfect ſubordination to the parliament; but the war being over, and the king a priſoner, the great difficulty was to ſettle the nation upon ſuch a foot as might content the ſeveral parties, or bring them at leaſt to acquieſce; this was the rock upon which they ſplit, and which in the end proved the ruin of their cauſe. To give light to this affair it will be proper to conſider the ſeparate views of the king, the parliament, and the army.

The royal party being broken, and the king a priſoner, his majeſty had no proſpect of recovering his throne but by dividing his enemies, in order to the making the beſt terms with them he could; the *preſbyterians*, being in league with the Scots nation, were moſt numerous and powerful; but that which rendered their agreement with the king impracticable, was his majeſty's zealous attachment to this point, that *epiſcopal government was eſſential to chriſtianity*, and that he was bound by his *coronation oath* to maintain it; whereas the others held themſelves equally bound by their *ſolemn league and covenant* to aboliſh epiſcopacy, and eſtabliſh preſbytery in its room. Both parties were immovable, and therefore irreconcileable. His majeſty's agreement with the *army* was more open and practicable, becauſe they would have ſet aſide the *covenant*, and obliged the parliament to tolerate epiſcopal government as well as the ſectaries; but the king could never forgive thoſe officers, who had deſtroyed his armies, and driven him out of the field: Though he dreaded their military valour, he had a very mean opinion of their politicks, and therefore aſſented to play them againſt the parliament, hoping to take advantage of their diviſions, and eſtabliſh himſelf upon the ruins of both; for it was his majeſty's maxim, which he did not ſcruple to avow, that *neither party could ſubſiſt without him, and that*

thoſe

thoſe muſt be ruined whom he abandoned. By which unhappy principle he loſt his intereſt, both in the parliament and army, and (as biſhop *Kennet* obſerves) laid the foundation of his ruin.

The *preſbyterians* were no leſs unhappy in an imagination, that as the majority of the houſe of commons, with the city of London, and the whole Scots nation, were firmly attached to their intereſt, no oppoſition could ſtand before them, and therefore would abate nothing of their demands, nor hearken to any other terms of accommodation with the king, than thoſe of the *covenant*, which were *the entire aboliſhing of prelacy, and the eſtabliſhing* preſbyterian *uniformity throughout both kingdoms, with an abſolute extirpation of all ſectaries whatſoever.* This was not only an effectual bar to their union with the king (as has been obſerved), but awakened the jealouſy of the army, who were thoroughly convinced, that when the *preſbyterians* were in the legal poſſeſſion of their demands, they would exerciſe equal tyranny over the conſciences of men with the biſhops; and indeed nothing leſs was to be expected, conſidering their ſteady adherence to the *covenant* in all their treaties, their efforts in parliament to get the *power of the keys* into their own hands, their frequent addreſſes for the ſuppreſſing all ſectaries by the civil authority, and their declarations both from the pulpit and preſs, againſt toleration and liberty of conſcience. In all their treaties with the king, even to that in the Iſle of Wight (except when the army was in poſſeſſion of the cities of London and Weſtminſter) this was one article of peace, *That an effectual courſe be taken by act of parliament, and all other ways needful* or expedient, *for ſuppreſſing the opinions of the* independants, *and all other ſectaries.* To which his majeſty had agreed in his private treaty with the Scots in the Iſle of Wight, ſigned December 27, ſo that the army was left unſatisfied.

For although there were ſome few preſbyterians in the army, the greateſt part conſiſted of *independants*, *anabaptiſts*, and men of *unſettled principles* in religion, who, for want of regular chaplains to their regiments, had uſed their own talents among themſelves in religious exerciſes. The Scots treaty of the Iſle of Wight ſays, the army was made

up

up of *anti-trinitarians*, *arians*, *ſocinians*, *anti-ſcripturiſts*, *anabaptiſts*, *antinomians*, *arminians*, *familiſts*, *browniſts*, *ſeparatiſts*, *independants*, *libertines*, *ſeekers*, *&c.*

Mr. *Rapin*, contrary to the teſtimony of all other writers, calls them all *independants*, and repreſents the controverſy between the parliament and them as a diſpute, *Whether preſbytery or independancy ſhould be uppermoſt*; whereas the grand controverſy was, *preſbytery with a toleration, or without one.* The army conſented that preſbytery ſhould be the national religion, but inſiſted upon a *toleration of all chriſtians* in the enjoyment of all their civil and religious rights. This (ſays lord *Clarendon*) was their *great charter*, and till they had obtained it by a legal ſettlement, they agreed not to lay down their arms: They had fought the parliament's battles, and therefore thought it unreaſonable to be told openly, if they could not comply with the *preſbyterian* ſettlement, they muſt expect to be puniſhed as *ſectaries*, and driven out of the land. To avoid this, they treated ſeparately with the king, both before and after they had him in their hands; and when they apprehended he did not deal ſincerely with them, they made propoſals to the parliament to eſtabliſh the preſbyterian diſcipline, with a toleration to all proteſtants, without him; but when they found the preſbyterians, even in their laſt treaty with the king, in the year 1648, inſiſted upon the preſbyterian uniformity, without making the leaſt proviſion for that liberty of conſcience they had been contending for, they were exaſperated and grew outrageous; they ſeized his majeſty's perſon a ſecond time, and having purged the houſe of commons, in a moſt arbitrary manner, of all who were not diſpoſed to their deſperate meaſures, they blew up the whole conſtitution, and buried king, parliament, and preſbytery, in its ruins. This was not in their original intention, nor the reſult of any ſet of religious principles they embraced, (as *Rapin* inſinuates) but was a violence reſulting from *deſpair*, to which they had been driven by a ſeries of diſappointments, and a train of miſtaken conduct in the royaliſts and preſbyterians.

We left the king the beginning of the ſpring at his houſe at Holmby, where he continued under an eaſy reſtraint from the 16th of February to the 4th of June following. The

war

war being ended, the houſes attempted to get rid of the army, by offering ſix months pay, and ſix weeks advance, to as many as would go over to Ireland; and by voting, that the remainder ſhould be diſbanded, with an act of indemnity for all hoſtilities committed by them, in purſuance of the powers veſted in them by parliament; but the army, being apprehenſive that the preſbyterians would make peace with the king, upon the foot of *covenant uniformity*, and without a *toleration*, reſolved to ſecure this as a kind of *preliminary* point; for which purpoſe they choſe a *council of officers*, and a *committee of agitators*, conſiſting of two inferior officers out of each regiment, to manage their affairs; theſe met in diſtinct bodies, like the two houſes of parliament, and came to the following reſolutions, which they ſent to Weſtminſter by three of their number, who delivered them in at the bar of the houſe: "That they would not "diſband without their arrears, nor without full proviſion "for *liberty of conſcience*; that they did not look upon "themſelves as a band of *janizaries*, but as voluntiers, that "had been fighting for the liberties of the nation, of which "they were a part, and that they were reſolved to ſee thoſe "ends ſecured."* It was moved in the houſe, that the meſſengers might be committed to the Tower; but, after a long debate, they were diſmiſſed only with a reprimand for meddling in affairs of ſtate, and for preſuming to offer a petition to parliament without their *general*. Upon this the officers ſent their petition by the general himſelf, but the parliament, inſtead of taking it into conſideration, ordered, May 21, that all who would not liſt for the Iriſh ſervice, ſhould be immediately paid off and diſbanded; upon which the officers, ſeeing the ſnare that was laid for them, bound themſelves and the army by an engagement May 29, not to diſband till the grievances above-mentioned were redreſſed. Whereupon the two houſes ordered lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, who was then in town, and ſuſpected to be at the head of theſe counſels, to be ſeized; but being advertiſed of the deſign, he made his eſcape to the army. They then voted the petition ſeditious, and all thoſe traytors who had promoted it; and having ſent a meſſage to the *general*, to re-

* Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 485, 498. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 529, folio ed.

move

move the army further from London, they raiſed the city trained bands, and determined to put an end to the power of the army by a ſpeedy concluſion of peace with the king.

His majeſty's anſwer to the propoſitions at Newcaſtle were read in the houſe May 18, in which "he agrees to ſettle "the preſbyterian government for three years——to ratify "the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, propoſing a few "of his own clergy to conſider what government to ſettle "afterwards——he yields the militia for ten years——de-"ſires miniſters of his own to ſatisfy him about the *covenant* "—conſents to the act againſt papiſts——and to an act of "oblivion——and deſires to come to London, in order to "give the parliament ſatisfaction upon the other articles." Two days after the lords voted, that the king be removed to his houſe at Oatlands, and that it be immediately fitted for his reception.

Things being come to this criſis, the *agitators* conſidered, that the KING being the prize contended for, whoever had him in their power muſt be maſters of the peace, and make their own terms; they therefore reſolved, by the advice and direction of lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, to get poſſeſſion of his majeſty's perſon, which they accompliſhed by a bold ſtratagem, in the night of June 4, with very little oppoſition from his attendants or guards; cornet *Joyce* at the head of fifty reſolute horſe, having ſecured the avenues to Holmby-Houſe, entered with two or three of his company, and going to the king's chamber, acquainted him with his deſign of carrying him to the army at New-Market; his majeſty being ſurprized at ſo unexpected a viſit, and ſo late at night, aſked for his commiſſion, who pointed to his troops drawn up before the gates; his majeſty anſwered, *it was very legible*; and finding it in vain to reſiſt, conſented to go with the *cornet* next morning, on promiſe of ſafety to his perſon, and that he ſhould not be forced to any thing againſt his conſcience; the chief officers of the army met his majeſty at Childerley, four miles from Cambridge, and were admitted to kiſs his hand; from thence he was removed to New-Market, where he took the diverſion of the Heath, had the liberty of four of his own chaplains to wait upon him, and was attended with all due ceremony and reſpect;

Cromwell,

Cromwell being heard to ſay among his friends, that *now he had got the king into his hands he had the parliament in his pocket.**

The two houſes received the news of the king's being carried off to the army with the utmoſt ſurprize and aſtoniſhment; the whole city was in confuſion, and all perſons within the lines of communication ordered to arms; the *lobby* at Weſtminſter was thronged with the diſbanded officers of the earl of *Eſſex*'s army offering their ſervice to the parliament; for every one imagined the army would be at the gates of the city in a few hours; when their *panick* was a little abated, commiſſioners were ſent to the *general*, not to advance within forty miles of London; but being already at St. Alban's, the general promiſed not to march his army nearer without due notice;† and aſſured the two houſes, that *they would not oppoſe the preſbyterial government, nor ſet up the independant*; but only inſiſted that ſome effectual courſe might be taken, that ſuch who upon conſcientious grounds differed from the eſtabliſhment, might not be debarred from the common rights, liberties, or benefits belonging equally to all, while they lived ſoberly and inoffenſively towards others, and peaceably and faithfully towards the ſtate.§ June 10, another letter was ſent to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, ſigned by *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, and twelve other officers, aſſuring them, "they intended no alteration of the civil government; *nor* "*to interrupt the ſettlement of preſbytery*; nor to introduce "a licentious liberty, under colour of obtaining eaſe for "tender conſciences, but that when the ſtate had made a "ſettlement they would ſubmit or ſuffer. They wiſhed that "every peaceable ſubject might have liberty and encouragement, for the obtaining which (ſay they) we are drawing "near the city.——We ſeek the good of all, and ſhall wait "for a time to ſee if theſe things may be ſettled without us, "and then we will embark for Ireland.——"‡

The commons took no notice of theſe remonſtrances, but declared in print, *that his majeſty was a priſoner, and barba-*

* Ruſhworth, p. 545, 549. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 530, folio ed.

† Ruſhworth, p. 546, 561, 589, &c. § Rapin, vol. ii. p. 379, 531.

‡ Ruſhworth, p. 554.

rouſly uſed, becauſe their commiſſioners could have no acceſs to him, but in preſence of ſome officers; the army replied, "that all ſuggeſtions of that nature were abſolutely falſe, "and contrary to their principles, which are moſt clearly "for a *general right, and juſt freedom to all men*, and there- "fore upon this occaſion they declare to the world, that "they deſire the ſame for the king, and others of his party, "ſo far as can conſiſt with common right and freedom, and "with the ſecurity of the ſame for the future. And *we do* "*clearly profeſs* (ſay they) *that we do not ſee how there can* "*be any peace to this kingdom firm or laſting, without a due* "*proviſion for the rights, quiet, and immunity of his majeſty,* "*his royal family, and his late partakers*; and herein we "think, that tender and equitable dealings, (as ſuppoſing "their caſes had been ours) and a ſpirit of common love and "juſtice diffuſing itſelf to the good and preſervation of all, will "make the moſt glorious conqueſt over their hearts, to make "them, and the whole people of the land, laſting friends."*

The leading members of the preſbyterian party in the houſe of commons could not contain themſelves within any reaſonable bounds at theſe proceedings; they ſaid it was inſufferable that the parliament, inſtead of treating with the king, ſhould be obliged to treat with their own ſervants, and therefore adviſed raiſing a new army, and oppoſing force with force, till thoſe who had the king in their cuſtody ſhould ſubmit to their ſuperiors, and deliver him back. On the other hand, the officers and agitators reſolved to get rid of theſe reſolute gentlemen, and therefore impeached eleven of the members of high-treaſon, June 16, for obſtructing the buſineſs of Ireland; for acting againſt the army and againſt the laws and liberties of the ſubject, &c. and deſired they might be ſuſpended from the houſe till they were legally acquitted;‡ Their names were *Denzil Hollis*, eſq; Sir *Phil. Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major-general *Maſſey*, Mr. *Glyn* recorder, Colonel *Walter Long*, Colonel *Edward Hartley*, *Anthony Nichols*, eſq. The commons not only rejected their impeachment, but ordered the king to be brought

* Ruſhworth, p. 589, 590.

‡ Ruſhworth, p. 570, 572. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 531.

to

to Richmond, and that four full companies of the militia ſhould guard the two houſes. This quickened the reſentments of the army, who ſent the following propoſals, among others, June 23, "——That the king's coming to Rich-" mond be ſuſpended; —— that no place be appointed for " his reſidence nearer London than the parliament will al-" low the quarters of the army;—— that the impeached " members be ſequeſtered the houſe;——that the multitude " of ſoldiers that flock together about the city be diſperſed; " and that no new forces be raiſed, nor any preparations " made for a new war."* If theſe particulars are not complied with in a week's time, they declare they will march to London, and do themſelves juſtice. The houſes, being terrified with the approach of the army, agreed to content them for the preſent, in order to gain time; and the impeached members having deſired leave to withdraw, retired firſt into the city, and after ſome time left the kingdom. The other requeſts of the army were alſo complied with; whereupon, after returning thanks to the houſes, they retreated to Wickham, and appointed commiſſioners to ſettle all remaining differences with the parliament.‖

But the city of London, by the influence of the impeached members, kindled into a flame; for the parliament, by an ordinance of May 4, having put the nomination of the officers of the militia into the hands of the common-council; *theſe* had diſcharged the *old ones*, and put in ſuch as they could confide in for oppoſing the army, and eſtabliſhing uniformity according to the *covenant*; the *officers* in order to defeat their deſign inſiſted, that the ordinance of May 4 be repealed, and the militia put into the hands of thoſe who had conducted it during the courſe of the late war.† The houſes, with much reluctance, conſented to the repeal July 23, which alarmed the citizens, and occaſioned thoſe tumults which brought upon them the very miſchiefs they were afraid of. *Denzil Hollis*, with the other impeached members who were retired into the city, prevailed with the common-council to oppoſe the repeal, and petition the houſe, that the ordinance of May 4 might remain in full force.

* Ruſhworth, p. 585. ‖ Whitlocke, p. 264. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 532.
† Ibid. p. 533.

At the ſame time ſome citizens met at Skinners-Hall, and ſubſcribed a ſolemn *engagement* to endeavour with the hazard of their lives to procure "a perſonal treaty with the "king;——that he might return to his two houſes with "honour and ſafety;——that his majeſty's conceſſions of "May 11 might be confirmed, and the militia continue in "the hands of the preſent committee."* How vain was all this buſtle, when they knew the king was in the cuſtody of thoſe who would pay no regard to their demands. The houſes indeed forbid the ſigning of the *engagement* by ſound of trumpet; but ſuch was the miſguided zeal of the citizens, that they held aſſemblies, liſted ſoldiers, and gave them orders to be ready on the firſt notice.

The parliament was now in great perplexity, conſidering the impoſſibility of contenting the preſbyterians and the army at the ſame time; while the citizens, reſolved to carry their point by one method or another, went up to Weſtminſter July 26, with ſuch a number of apprentices and young men, as terrified the houſes by their tumultuous and inſolent behaviour; for they would ſcarce ſuffer the door to be ſhut; ſome thruſt themſelves into the houſe with their hats on, crying out, *vote, vote*; and when the *ſpeaker* would have left the chair to put an end to the confuſion, they obliged him to return, till the *militia* was ſettled to their mind, and the king voted to come to London.‖ This (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) looked like a force upon the parliament; and indeed both houſes were ſo terrified and preſſed between the city preſbyterians on one ſide, and the army on the other, that they adjourned immediately from *Monday* to *Friday*, in which interval the earl of *Mancheſter*, ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, with eight peers, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, with about a hundred members,† withdrew privately from the city, and joined the army;—a ſurpriſing event in their favour! The *officers* received them with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and tranſport, paying them all imaginable honours, and aſſuring them, that they would re-eſtabliſh them in their full power, or die in the attempt.† There muſt ſurely have

* Ruſhworth, p. 637. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 533-4.

‖ Ruſhworth, p. 642. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 534.

† Dr. *Zach. Grey* ſays there was but 59, but I don't know his authority.

been

been ſome very preſſing reaſons for this conduct,* otherwiſe ſo many zealous preſbyterians, as were moſt of the members who quitted the parliament-houſe, would not have had recourſe to the protection of the army. Lord *Clarendon* believes, that they apprehended the army deſigned to reſtore the king to all his rights at this time, and that they were willing to avoid his majeſty's vengeance, by concurring with them in his reſtoration, which is not unlikely, if they could have brought him to their terms.

However, the preſbyterian members that remained in London aſſembled on *Friday* according to adjournment, and having choſen a new ſpeaker, voted that the king ſhould come to London;——that the eleven impeached members ſhould be reſtored;——that a committee of ſafety ſhould join the city militia;——and that forces ſhould be immediately raiſed under the command of *Waller*, *Maſſey*, and *Poyntz*; in all which they appeared ſo reſolute, that no man could imagine but either that they had the king at their diſpoſal, or intended a brave and valiant defence of the city.‖ The common-council gave orders for the trained bands to repair to the works, and for all capable of bearing arms to appear at the places of rendezvous. *Maſſey*, *Waller*, and

* *Rapin*, as well as Mr. *Neal*, expreſſes his ſurprize at this ſeceſſion of theſe members of parliament: he ſuppoſes, that it proceeded from a diſapprobation of the meaſures purſued by their brethren and the common-council of London; and from an apprehenſion, that they would be infallibly oppreſſed by the army. By joining the army they ſought their ſecurity from the ruin which threatened their own party; and, ſays Mr. *Hume*, "paid their court in time to that authority, which began to predominate "in the nation." What *Whitlocke* reports concerning the reaſon which the earls of *Warwick*, *Mancheſter*, &c. aſſigned for their conduct, appears to have eſcaped the attention of theſe writers. He ſays, that they ſent to the general to acquaint him, "that they had quitted the parliament, for "that there was no free-ſitting for them, and they caſt themſelves into his "protection." Memorials, p. 265. Dr. *Grey*, in his Appendix, No. 72, has confirmed this account of the matter, by giving, at length, their letter to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, ſigned by the ſpeaker of the houſe of lords and eight peers, and by the ſpeaker and 58 of the commons. Mr. *Neal*, and ſince him Mrs. *Macaulay*, ſay an hundred commoners ſeceded. All, probably, did not ſign the letter. Dr. *Grey* is rather ſevere here upon our author. Ed.

‖ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 399, 534. Ruſhworth, p. 737.

Poyntz,

Poyntz, were alſo buſy in forming regiments and companies; and the committee of the militia were empowered to puniſh ſuch as did not repair to their colours. At the ſame time they wrote to their brethren in Scotland, to return with their army immediately to their aſſiſtance; but, alas! they were at too great a diſtance; however, they publiſhed a declaration in the name of the kirk and whole kingdom, Aug. 13, wherein they engage, by a ſolemn oath, to eſtabliſh the preſbyterian government in England;——to redeem his majeſty out of the hands of ſchiſmaticks, and place him at the head of his parliament with honour;——to vindicate the honour of the eleven impeached members, and to ſettle the privileges of parliament againſt the overawing power of the army. A little after they declared againſt *toleration* and *liberty of conſcience*, reſolving to the laſt man to ſtand by the *covenant*, whatever the Engliſh parliament might ſubmit to.

Purſuant to the order of the two houſes, the general had removed his head-quarters above forty miles from the city, till, upon the repreſentation of the members, who fled to them for protection from the outrageous violence of the city mob, they reſolved to puſh their advantage, and bring the mutineers to juſtice; accordingly they reſolved to march to London, and rendezvous the whole army on Hounſlow-Heath, Auguſt 3, to the number of twenty thouſand men, with a ſuitable train of artillery, accompanied with fourteen peers, and about one hundred members of the houſe of commons.‡ The citizens were no ſooner informed of this, than their courage ſunk at once, and, inſtead of defending the city, they ordered the militia to retire from the lines, and ſent their ſubmiſſion to the *general*, promiſing to open their paſſes, and give all aſſiſtance to the replacing of thoſe members who had withdrawn to the army. Aug. 6, being appointed for this ſervice, the mayor and aldermen met the general at Hyde-Park with a preſent of a gold cup, beſeeching him to excuſe what had been amiſs; but his *excellency* refuſed the *preſent*, and having diſmiſſed them with very little ceremony, conducted the members to their ſeats in parliament, who immediately voted all proceedings in their abſence void, and gave thanks to the army for their ſafe conduct.‖ Next day the

‡ Ruſhworth, p. 745, 750. ‖ Ruſhworth, p. 751, 756.

army

army marched through the city without any diſorder, and conſtituted colonel *Titchburn* lieutenant of the Tower, contrary to the requeſt of the lord-mayor and citizens; the militia was changed, and put into the hands of the old officers who had conducted it before; the fortifications and lines of circumvallation about the city were levelled, and ſundry peers, who had been at the head of the late tumults, were impeached of high-treaſon, as the earl of *Suffolk*, *Middleſex*, *Lincoln*, lord *Willoughby* of Parham, *Hudſon*, &c.; the lord-mayor, and ſome of the principal citizens, were ſent to the Tower; and it was reſolved to purge the houſe of all who had been active in the late unhappy riot; which put a full period to the preſbyterian power for the preſent; and the army being quartered near the city all the next winter, there was a council of officers at their head-quarters at Putney, whoſe debates and reſolutions had, no doubt, a very powerful influence upon the reſolutions of the two houſes.

The odium of this grand revolution, by which the army became maſters of the city of London, and of the parliament itſelf, fell chiefly on the *preſbyterians* themſelves, whoſe intemperate zeal for *covenant* uniformity carried them to very impolitick exceſſes. The ſermons of their miniſters were filled with invective againſt the army while at a diſtance; in their publick prayers they intreated the *Almighty* to incline the hearts of the Scots to return to their relief; and the converſation of their people was riotous and diſorderly; however, leſt the weight of this revolution ſhould fall too heavily on the London miniſters,§ as the chief incendiaries of the people, they wiſely prepared a vindication of themſelves, and publiſhed it four days before the army entered the city; in was dated from Sion-college, Auguſt 2, 1647, and is to this purpoſe:

"We the miniſters of London, whoſe names are ſub-
"ſcribed, do profeſs in the preſence of the Searcher of all
"hearts,

§ The aſſembly of divines alſo, Dr. *Grey* informs us, preſented a petition for peace: which he has preſerved, from the MSS. of Dr. *Williams*, No. 74, of his Appendix. Ed.

1. "That

1. "That we have never done any thing purpoſely and "wittingly to engage the city againſt the army, or the army "againſt the city, but have ſincerely and faithfully endea- "voured to prevent it.

2. "That ſeeing both the parliament and city have de- "clared the neceſſity of putting the city into a preſent poſture "of defence, yet proteſting againſt any deſires of a new war, "and thereupon have called upon us to ſtir up the people "to prepare for their defence; we accordingly have done, "and ſhall do our duty therein, that the people may be en- "couraged to their own juſt and neceſſary preſervation.

3. "But withal, we profeſs our abhorrence of the ſhed- "ding any blood on either ſide; and we humbly pray all "whom it may concern, that they will be very careful in "preventing it by a ſeaſonable treaty."

Signed by about twenty of the London miniſters, and preſented to a committee of both houſes, ſitting at Guildhall.

Let the reader now pauſe a little, and judge of the au- "thors of this grand revolution, which brought the parlia- ment under the power of the army, and how far the preſby- terian miniſters were concerned in it. Mr. *Baxter*, in a very angry ſtile, lays all the blame at the door of the *independants*. "A few diſſenting members of the Weſtminſter ſynod (ſays "he) began all this, and carried it far on. Afterwards "they increaſed, and others joined them, who, partly by "ſtiffneſs, and partly by policy, increaſed our flames, and "kept open our wounds, as if there had been none but "they conſiderable in the world; and having an army and "*city-agents* fit to ſecond them, effectually hindered all re- "medy, till they had daſhed all into pieces as a broken glaſs. "One would have thought, that if all their opinions had "been certainly true, and their church-order good, yet the "intereſt of Chriſt and the ſouls of men, and of greater "truths, ſhould have been ſo regarded by the dividers in "England, as that the ſafety of all theſe ſhould have been "preferred, and not all ruined, rather than their way ſhould "want its carnal arm and *liberty*; and that they ſhould not "tear the government of Chriſt all to pieces rather than it "ſhould want their *lace*."† I am far from clearing the *in-*

† Abridg. p. 97.

dependants

dependants from all manner of blame in their conduct; their principles might be too narrow and miſtaken in ſome points, and their zeal for chriſtian liberty betray them into ſome imprudencies. But on which ſide was the ſtiffneſs? on theirs who only deſired a peaceable toleration; or, on theirs who were determined to make the whole nation ſtoop to preſbyterian uniformity? Were not theſe the men who kept open the church's wounds? Had their diſcipline been ever ſo good, yet certainly they might have had ſome regard to men of piety and virtue, who had not equal diſcernment with themſelves; could they not be content with being the eſtabliſhed religion, and having moſt of the livings of the kingdom divided among them, without trampling on the religious rights of mankind, by enforcing an abſolute uniformity, which can never be maintained but on the ruins of a good conſcience, and therefore is no means of promoting the true intereſt of Chriſt and ſalvation of ſouls? Mr. *Baxter* had milder ſentiments in his latter days; and it is for the honour of the preſent generation of thoſe commonly called *preſbyterians*, that they have not only abandoned and renounced theſe ſervile doctrines,* but have appeared in defence

* "To know whether the preſbyterians have indeed *abandoned* their "perſecuting principles," ſays biſhop *Warburton*, "we ſhould ſee them "under an eſtabliſhment. It is no wonder, that a *tolerated* ſect ſhould "eſpouſe thoſe principles of chriſtian liberty, which ſupport their tolera-"tion. Now the Scotiſh preſbyterians are *eſtabliſhed*, and we find they ſtill "adhere to the old principle of *intolerance*." His lordſhip's reflections are too well founded in fact and experience. The recent proſecution of Dr. *M'Gill* for his valuable and guarded "Eſſay on the Death of Chriſt," may be adduced as a new proof of the intolerance of Scotch preſbyterianiſm. But, ſtrictly ſpeaking, preſbyterianiſm hath no exiſtence amongſt the Engliſh diſſenters; who form ſo many independant ſocieties. The name is, indeed, applied to one part of them; but they are inveſted with no power but what ariſes from the management of a fund for the aſſiſtance of ſmall congregations. This they are known to direct on a truly liberal plan, without demanding ſubſcription to any articles, or making any inquiſition into the ſentiments, on doctrine or diſcipline, of the miniſters or churches to whom they grant exhibitions. And the writings of thoſe who have been called *preſbyterians*, the biſhops could not but know, were moſt able vindications of the principles of liberty. In this cauſe did a *Browne*, an *Evans*, a *Groveſnor*, a *Chandler*, and many others, argue and plead. His lordſhip's argument, I would add, applies to an extent to which it is conceived he did not wiſh to have it carried; it more than implies, that toleration

fence of the civil and religious liberties of mankind, upon the moſt ſolid and generous principles.

His majeſty was obliged all this time to attend the removes of the army: from New-market he came to Royſton, June 24; from thence to Hatfield; from thence to Windſor, and two days after to Caverſham, where he had the pleaſure of converſing with his children. But when the city of London threatened a new war, his majeſty was removed to a greater diſtance; about the middle of July he was at Maidenhead; and towards the end of the month at *Latimer*'s in Buckinghamſhire; when the army had got poſſeſſion of the city they brought his majeſty back to Oatlands, Aug. 14, and two days after to Hampton-court, where he appeared in ſtate and ſplendor about three months, being attended by the proper officers of the court, and a vaſt reſort of people both from city and country.

While the king was with the army, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* and *Ireton* took ſundry opportunities to confer with his majeſty privately about his reſtoration. They offered to ſet him upon the throne with the freedom of his conſcience upon point of epiſcopacy, or loſe their lives in the attempt, if he would conſent to their propoſals to the parliament, and beſtow ſome particular preferments on themſelves and a few of their friends, wiſhing that God would deal with them and their families according to their ſincerity.* Nay, they engaged to indemnify his *whole party*, if they would be quiet.† Sir *J. Berkley*, the king's agent, intreated his majeſty in the moſt importunate and ſubmiſſive manner, conſidering the ſtate of his affairs, to accept of the ſaid propoſals, but the king treated them with a haughty reſerve, and ſaid if they intended an accommodatien they would not

toleration and an eſtabliſhment are incompatible; that when once the *tolerated* are poſſeſſed of power they of courſe become *intolerant*. If ſo, an eſtabliſhment cannot exiſt without being inimical to the intereſts of truth and the rights of conſcience. Could a ſeverer reflection be paſſed on eſtabliſhments, than is here conveyed by an epiſcopal pen? ED.

* Dr. *Grey* fills, here, four pages with authorities to prove the inſincerity and hypocriſy of *Cromwell* and *Ireton:* by which nothing that Mr. *Neal* had advanced above is invalidated. ED.

† Dugdale's Troubles of England, p. 264.

impoſe

impoſe ſuch conditions upon him. Sir *J. Berkley* ſaid, he ſhould ſuſpect they deſigned to abuſe him if they had demanded leſs; and that a crown ſo near loſt was never recovered on eaſier terms. But Mr. *Aſhburnham*, who came with inſtructions from France, fell in with the king's humour, and encouraged him to ſtand his ground, relying upon an ill-judged maxim which his majeſty had imbibed, and which his beſt friends could not make him depart from, viz. that *it was in his power to turn the ſcale, and that the party muſt ſink which he abandoned.*† This ſealed his ruin, and made him play between both, till neither would truſt him. When the *parliament* brought their propoſitions, he put them in mind of the offers of the army; and when the propoſals of the latter were tendered in the moſt reſpectful manner, he put on a frown, and ſaid, "I ſhall ſee you glad, ere long, "to accept more equal terms; you cannot be without me; "you will fall to ruin if I do not ſuſtain you; no man ſhall "ſuffer for my ſake; the church muſt be eſtabliſhed accord-"ing to law—." The officers were confounded at this language. "Sir (ſays Sir *J. Berkley*) you ſpeak as if you "had ſome ſecret ſtrength, which, ſince you have concealed "from me, I wiſh you had concealed from theſe men." After divers conferences of this kind to no purpoſe, *Cromwell* told him plainly, *Sir, we perceive you have a deſign to be arbitrator between the parliament and us; but we now deſign to be the ſame between your majeſty and the parliament.* This fluctuating temper (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) was the king's ruin, which he repented of when it was too late. Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays, the king's biſhops perſuaded him againſt what he was inclined to in his own judgment, and thereby ruined him and themſelves.

When the officers found they could make no impreſſion on the king, and had diſcovered his ſecret correſpondence with the queen, they withdrew from court, which raiſed ſuſpicions in his majeſty's mind of a ſecret deſign againſt his life, and put him on attempting to eſcape out of their hands. It is very certain that *Cromwell* withdrew his *parole of honour* for the king's ſafety, and ſent him word a few days before

† Ruſhworth, p. 807, 810. * Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 330.

|| Memorials, p. 271.

he

he left Hampton-court, that he would not be anſwerable any longer for what might befal him, which was owing to a diſcovery he had made of the king's inſincerity in treating with him. Mr. *Coke* ſays, there was a report at that time, and he is confident that in time it will appear, that in the army's treaty with the king, *Cromwell* had made a private article of advantage for himſelf,* but his majeſty not allowing himſelf to conclude any thing without the queen, wrote her word, "that if he conſented to thoſe *propoſals* it would "be eaſier to take off *Cromwell* afterwards, than now he "was at the head of the army."† Which letter *Cromwell* intercepted. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, "that it was reported, "that *Cromwell* was to have ten thouſand pounds and a "garter; and that the bargain had certainly taken effect, "if the king had not made an apology to the queen, and "ſufficiently implied that he did it by conſtraint, and that "when he was at liberty, and in power, he ſhould think "himſelf diſcharged from the obligation. This letter was "ſewed up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle to be ſent to France; but "*Cromwell* and *Ireton*, having information of it, went to an "inn in Holborn, and ſeized the letter——." Dr. *Lane* of the commons frequently declared, "that he had ſeen this "original letter, that he knew it to be the king's own hand, "and that the contents were as above." Another writer ſays, that the letter mentioned his majeſty's being courted by the Scots preſbyterians as well as the army, and that they that bid faireſt for him ſhould have him.‖ Upon the diſcovery of this letter, *Cromwell* went to Mr. *Aſhburnham* who attended the king's perſon, and told him, that *he was now ſatisfied the king could not be truſted; that he had no confidence in the army, but was jealous of them and their officers—that he had treaties with the city preſbyterians, and with the Scots commiſſioners, to engage the nation again in blood, and that therefore he could not be anſwerable if any thing fell out contrary to expectation.* Sir *Richard Baker*, Mr. *Coke*, and others, are of opinion, that till this time *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were hearty and zealous for reſtoring the king, and oppoſing the levellers who began to ariſe in the army, but that

* Detect. p. 323. † Complete Hiſtory, p. 270.
‖ Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 390.

after

after this diſcovery they forſook him, as did the reſt of the chief offices, who ſeldom came to court: the *guards* alſo changed their language, and ſaid that *God had hardened the king's heart, and blinded his eyes.*

Under theſe circumſtances the infatuated king left Hampton-court, Nov. 11, at night, and having croſſed the Thames, took horſe in company with Sir *J. Berkley*, Mr. *Leg*, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and next morning arrived at Titchfield-houſe, where he ſtayed while *Leg* went over to the Iſle of Wight, to treat with colonel *Hammond* the governor, about the ſafety of his perſon, who, without any treaty, brought the governor to the houſe where his majeſty was, upon which the king ſaid, *he was betrayed*; as indeed he was in all his affairs.* *Hammond* carried him over to the Iſle Nov. 13, and after ſome time ſhut him up in Cariſbrook caſtle, where his majeſty remained almoſt a year with one or two ſervants only, having little converſation with the world, and time ſufficient to contemplate on the uncertainty of all human affairs, and on the miſerable circumſtances to which Divine Providence had ſuffered his own imprudent conduct to reduce him.

Let us now attend to the projects of the ſeveral parties for reſtoring the publick tranquillity: as ſoon as the army had got poſſeſſion of the city of London, they made the following propoſals to the two houſes. With regard to religion; "that an act be paſſed to take away all coercive "power and juriſdiction of biſhops extending to any civil "penalties upon any.——That there be a repeal of all acts, "or clauſes of acts, enjoining the uſe of the common prayer, "and impoſing any penalty for neglect thereof, and for not "coming to church, or for meeting elſewhere.——That the "taking of the covenant be not enforced upon any, but "that all orders and ordinances tending to that purpoſe be "repealed." With regard to the ſtate, "——that the "militia and great officers be diſpoſed of by parliament for "ten years, and after that the houſes to nominate three, "out of which the king to chooſe one.——That there be "acts of indemnity and revocation of all declarations againſt "the proceedings of parliament.——That the preſent un-"equal and troubleſome and contentious way of miniſters'

* Ruſhworth, p. 920, 960.

"maintenance

"maintenance by *tithes* be conſidered of, and ſome remedy "applied.——That none may be obliged to accuſe them- "ſelves or relations in criminal cauſes; and no man's life "taken away under two witneſſes.——That conſideration "be had of all ſtatutes, laws, or cuſtoms of corporations, "impoſing any oaths tending to moleſt or enſnare religious "and peaceable people merely for non-conformity in re- "ligion.——That the arbitrary power given to committees, "and deputy-lieutenants, be recalled."*

After ſeveral debates upon theſe *propoſals* with regard to religion, the lords agreed October 13, "that the king be "deſired to give his conſent to the ſettling the preſbyterial "government for three years, with a proviſion, that no per- "ſon ſhall be liable to any penalty for non-conformity to "the ſaid government, or form of divine ſervice; but ſuch "perſons ſhall have liberty to meet for the ſervice and wor- "ſhip of God, and for exerciſe of religious duties and or- "dinances in any fit and convenient places, ſo as nothing be "done by them to the diſturbance of the peace of the king- "dom. Provided this ſhall not be conſtrued to extend to a "toleration of the popiſh religion, nor to exempt popiſh "recuſants from any penalties impoſed upon them for the "exerciſe of the ſame. Nor ſhall it extend to the tolera- "tion of any thing contrary to the principles of the chriſtian "religion, contained in the *apoſtles creed*, as it is expounded "in the fifteen firſt articles of the church of England, as "they had been cleared and vindicated by the aſſembly of "divines now ſitting at Weſtminſter; nor of any thing con- "trary to ſuch points of faith, for the ignorance whereof "men are to be kept from the ſacrament, according to the "ordinance of Oct. 20, 1645. Nor ſhall it extend to ex- "cuſe any perſons from the penalties of 1 *Elizabeth*, *cap.* 2, "for not coming to hear the word of God on the Lord's "day in any pariſh church or chapel, unleſs he can ſhew a "reaſonable cauſe for his abſence, or that he was preſent to "hear the word of God preached or expounded elſewhere."‖

The *commons* likewiſe agreed, "That preſbytery be eſta- "bliſhed till the end of the next ſeſſions of parliament, or

* Ruſhworth, p. 736. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 538, 9.

‖ Ruſhworth, p. 840.

"till

"till the ſecond ſeſſions; that the tenths, and all other "maintenance belonging to any church or chapel, ſhall be "only for the uſe of them who can ſubmit to the preſby-"terial government, and none other. The liberty of con-"ſcience ſhall extend to none who ſhall print, preach, or "publiſh, contrary to the firſt fifteen articles of the thirty-"nine, *except the eighth, relating to the three creeds.* That "nothing contained in this ordinance ſhall extend to popiſh "recuſants."§ Oct. 14, they agreed further, "That ſuch "tender conſciences ſhould be freed, by way of indulgence, "from the penalty of the ſtatute for the preſbyterian go-"vernment, for their non-conformity, who do meet in ſome "other congregation for the worſhip of God on the Lord's "day, and do nothing againſt the laws and peace of the "kingdom, and that none others ſhall be freed from the "penalty of the ſtatute of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 2." October 16, the *commons* voted, "That the indulgence granted to tender "conſciences ſhould not extend to tolerate the uſe of *common* "*prayer* in any part of the kingdom."* Which was againſt the ſenſe of the army, who were for a general indulgence, as appears from the declaration of the agitators, dated Nov. 1, in which they ſay, that "matters of religion, and the "ways of God's worſhip, are not at all intruſted by us to "any human power, becauſe therein we cannot omit, or ex-"ceed a tittle of what our conſciences dictate to be the "mind of God, without wilful ſin; nevertheleſs, the pub-"lick way of inſtructing the nation, ſo it be not compulſive, "is left to their diſcretion."‖ Here was a fair plan of ac-commodation, but no ordinance was brought into the houſe to confirm theſe reſolutions. November 8, both houſes agreed to the addition of ſome new propoſitions. As,

1. "For the due obſervation of the Lord's day.
2. "Againſt innovations in religion.
3. "A new oath for the conviction of papiſts.
4. "For the education of the children of papiſts in the "proteſtant religion.
5. "Againſt pluralities."

The propoſals of the *preſbyterians* were the ſame with thoſe of Newcaſtle already mentioned; but whereas the king

§ Ruſhworth, p. 841. * Ibid. p. 842. ‖ Ibid. p. 160.

declined

declined to accept them without a perſonal treaty, they determined in the houſe of commons, to reduce them into four bills, which if his majeſty refuſed to ſign as preliminaries, they reſolved to ſettle the nation without him; but before they were perfected, the king withdrew from Hampton-court, and was ſecured in the Iſle of Wight, where the commiſſioners from the two houſes waited on him, and tendered him the following bills, December 24, the *firſt* was for ſettling the militia, as has been related; the *ſecond*, for calling in all his majeſty's declarations and proclamations againſt the two houſes, and thoſe that adhered to them; the *third*, to diſqualify thoſe peers from ſitting in the houſe, that had been created after the great ſeal had been conveyed to Oxford; the *fourth*, to empower the two houſes to adjourn, as they ſhould think fit. In matters of religion they inſiſted peremptorily on the eſtabliſhment of the *preſbyterian* church-government upon the ruins of the *prelatical*; upon the extirpation of all *ſectaries*; and upon *covenant uniformity* in both nations, as will appear more fully hereafter. But the king, inſtead of ſigning the preliminaries, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on a perſonal treaty, which it was hardly reaſonable for him to expect, when he had ſo lately attempted to eſcape out of their hands, and now refuſed to yield any thing in a way of condeſcenſion.

It had not been poſſible to unriddle the myſtery of this eſcape, if it had not appeared ſoon after, that the king was at that very time throwing himſelf into the hands of the Scots, who being offended with the parliament (now under the influence of the army) for not acting in concert with them in the preſent treaty, according to their *covenant*, determined on a *ſeparate* negociation for themſelves; and accordingly, by the mediation of ſome of their own nation, they concluded a ſecret treaty with the king, which was begun before his majeſty left Hampton-Court, but not ſigned till the 27th of December following, three days after his majeſty's refuſal of the parliament's four bills. "This al-
"liance (ſays lord *Clarendon**) was moſt ſcandalous, and de-
"rogatory to the honour and intereſt of the Engliſh nation,
"and would have been abominated if known and under-

* Vol. iii. p. 103.

"ſtood

"ſtood by all men." But *Rapin* thinks it not ſo criminal on the part of the Scots as his lordſhip repreſents, ſince they yielded to the eſtabliſhment of their beloved preſbytery in England only for three years; however, it laid the foundation of the king's ruin with the army.

In the preamble his majeſty gives "a favourable teſtimony "to the *ſolemn league and covenant*, and to the good inten- "tions of thoſe that entered into it." In the treaty "he "obliges himſelf to confirm the *covenant* by act of parlia- "ment as ſoon as he can do it with honour and freedom in "both kingdoms; with a proviſo, that none that were un- "willing ſhould be obliged to take it for the future. He "engages further, to confirm by act of parliament the preſ- "byterial government in England, the directory for publick "worſhip, and the aſſembly of divines for three years only, "with liberty for himſelf and his houſhold to uſe that form "of divine ſervice they had formerly practiſed; and that "during the three years there ſhould be a conſultation with "the aſſembly of divines, to whom twenty of the king's "nomination ſhould be added, and ſome from the church of "Scotland, to determine what form of church government "ſhould be eſtabliſhed afterwards—"* Then follows a ſcourge for the army; "*That an effectual courſe ſhould be* "*taken to ſuppreſs the opinions of the anti-trinitarians, arians,* "*ſocinians, arminians, independants, browniſts, antinomians,* "*anabaptiſts, ſeparatiſts, ſeekers; and in general, all blaſ-* "*phemy, hereſy, ſchiſm, and other doctrines contrary to the* "*known principles of chriſtianity, whether concerning faith,* "*worſhip, converſation, or the power of godlineſs, or which* "*may be deſtructive to order and government, or to the peace* "*of the church and kingdom.*"

In return for theſe conceſſions "the Scots engaged to "raiſe an army to deliver his majeſty out of captivity, to "aſſert his right to the militia, the great ſeal, the negative "voice in parliament; and in a word, to reſtore him to his "throne with honour and freedom;" which occaſioned a ſecond civil war the next year.

As ſoon as his majeſty arrived in the Iſle of Wight from Hampton-Court, he ſent a letter to the ſpeaker of the houſe

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 543, 4.

of lords, to be communicated to the commons, with the following conceſſions on his part, very inconſiſtent with the treaty laſt-mentioned.—" For the aboliſhing archbiſhops, " biſhops, &c. his majeſty clearly profeſſeth, that he cannot " conſent to it either as a *chriſtian* or a *king*; for the *firſt* " he avows, that he is ſatisfied in his judgment, that this " order was placed in the church by the apoſtles themſelves, " and ever ſince their time has continued in all chriſtian " churches throughout the world till this laſt century; and " in this church, in all times of change and reformation, it " has been upheld, by the wiſdom of his anceſtors, as the " great preſerver of doctrine, diſcipline, and order in the " ſervice of God. As a *king*, at his coronation he not " only ſwore to maintain this order, but his majeſty and his " predeceſſors, in their confirmations of the *great charter*, " have inſeparably woven the rights of the church into the " liberty of the ſubject; and yet he is willing that it be pro- " vided, that particular biſhops perform the ſeveral duties " of their callings, both by their perſonal reſidence, and " frequent preaching; that in their perſonal exerciſe no act " of juriſdiction, or ordination, be without conſent of their " preſbyters; and will conſent, that in all things their powers " be ſo limited, that they may not be grievous to the tender " conſciences of others; his majeſty ſees no reaſon why he " alone, and thoſe of his judgment, ſhould be preſſed to a " violation of theirs.

" Nor can his majeſty conſent to the alienation of church- " lands, becauſe it cannot be denied to be the ſin of *ſacri-* " *lege*; as alſo, that it ſubverts the intentions of ſo many " pious donors, who have laid a heavy curſe upon all ſuch " profane violations. And beſides, his majeſty believes it to " be a prejudice to the publick good; many of his ſubjects " having the benefit of renewing leaſes at much eaſier rates, " than if thoſe poſſeſſions were in the hands of private men; " not omitting the diſcouragement it will be to learning and " induſtry, when ſuch eminent rewards ſhall be taken away; " yet conſidering the preſent diſtempers concerning church- " diſcipline, and that the preſbyterian government is now in " practice, his majeſty to avoid confuſion as much as may " be, and for the ſatisfaction of his two houſes, is content,

" that

" that the ſame government be legally permitted to ſtand in " the ſame condition it now is for *three years*, provided that " his majeſty, and thoſe of his judgment, or any others who " cannot in conſcience ſubmit thereunto, be not obliged to " comply with the preſbyterial government, but have free " practice of our own profeſſion, without any prejudice " thereby; and that free conſultation be had with the di- " vines at Weſtminſter, twenty of his majeſty's nomination " being added to them, to conſider how to ſettle the church " afterwards, with full liberty to all thoſe who ſhall differ " upon conſcientious grounds from that ſettlement; always " provided, that nothing aforeſaid be underſtood to tolerate " thoſe of the popiſh profeſſion, or exempt them from pe- " nal laws, or to tolerate the publick profeſſion of atheiſm, " or blaſphemy, contrary to the doctrine of the apoſtles, the " *nicene* and *athanaſian* creeds; they having been received " by, and had in reverence of all chriſtian churches, and " more eſpecially the church of England ſince the reforma- " tion."† This was inſerted to cajole the army, and was entirely reverſed by the Scots treaty five weeks after.

From theſe inconſiſtent views of the contending parties, we may eaſily diſcern the precarious ſituation of the publick tranquillity, eſpecially as there was a general diſtruſt on all ſides, and each party reſolved to carry their point without any abatements: The king was held by ties of conſcience and honour (as he ſaid) to preſerve *epiſcopacy*; the Scots and Engliſh preſbyterians, though divided at preſent, thought themſelves equally bound to ſtand by their *ſolemn league and covenant*; and the army was under a ſolemn *engagement* to agree with neither without a *toleration*. If the king could have ſubmitted to *covenant uniformity*, he might have been reſtored by the preſbyterians; or, if either king or parliament would have declared heartily for a toleration, they might have eſtabliſhed themſelves by the aſſiſtance of the military power; but his majeſty ſeems to have been playing an unſteady, if not a double game. The reader will judge of the equity of the ſeveral propoſals, and of the prudential conduct of each party, from the reſpective circumſtances in which they ſtood; the king was a priſoner; the parliament

† Ruſhworth, p. 880. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 541.

in poſſeſſion of the whole legiſlative authority; but the *ſword* was in the hands of the army, who were determined not to ſheath it till they had ſecured to themſelves that liberty for which they had been fighting: This they had in vain ſolicited from the king, and were next determined to try their intereſt with the parliament.

The houſes being informed of the king's deſign to make his eſcape out of the Iſle of Wight, ordered the governor to put away his ſervants, and confine him a cloſe priſoner in the caſtle, ſo that no perſon might be admitted to ſpeak to him without leave. His majeſty having alſo declared, when he rejected the parliament's four bills, that nothing which could befal him could ever prevail with him to conſent to any one act, till the conditions of the whole peace were concluded, they began to deſpair of an accommodation. In this juncture the officers of the army ſent a meſſage to the houſes, aſſuring them, that they would live and die with them in ſettling the nation either with or without the king, and leave all tranſactions of ſtate for the future to them alone.§

However, after the ſeclusion of the eleven impeached members, and the quartering the *army* in the neighbourhood of the city, the parliament, either from intereſt or fear, had a great regard to the opinion of thoſe officers who were members of the houſe. Upon a motion that no more addreſſes be made to the king from the parliament, nor any meſſages received from him, IRETON and CROMWELL opened themſelves very freely: *Ireton* ſaid, "ſubjec-"tion to the king was but in lieu of protection from him, "which being denied, we may ſettle the kingdom without "him. Let us then ſhew our reſolution (ſays he), and not "deſert thoſe valiant men who have engaged for us beyond "all poſſibility of retreat." *Cromwell* ſaid, "That the par-"liament ſhould govern by their own power, and not teach "the people any longer to expect ſafety from an obſtinate "man, whoſe heart God had hardened.——The army will "defend you againſt all oppoſition. Teach them not, by "neglecting your's and the kingdom's ſafety, in which their "own is involved, to think themſelves betrayed, and left

§ Ruſhworth, p. 951, 953, 962. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 545.

"hereafter

"hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcileable "enemy, whom they have ſubdued for your ſake, leſt de- "ſpair teach them to ſeek their ſafety by ſome other means "than adhering to you; [here he put his hand to his ſword] "and how deſtructive ſuch a reſolution will be (ſays he) I "tremble to think, and leave you to judge!" The queſtion being then put, it was carried by a majority of fifty voices; *yea*'s one hundred forty-one, *no*'s ninety-one. January 17, the lords concurred with the commons in their votes of *non-addreſſes*. Till this very time, ſays lord *Clarendon*, no man mentioned the king's perſon without duty and reſpect. But now a new ſcene was opened, and ſome of their officers at their meetings at Windſor, began to talk of depoſing the king, or proſecuting him as a criminal, of which his majeſty was advertiſed by *Watſon* the quarter-maſter, but it made no impreſſion upon him.

The two houſes having concurred in their votes for non-addreſſes, the army agreed to ſtand by the parliament in ſettling the nation without the king; and that the people might be ſatisfied with the reaſons of their proceedings, a remonſtrance was publiſhed by order of parliament Feb. 15, in which they recapitulate all the errors of his majeſty's government; his inſincerity in the ſeveral treaties of peace he had entered into with them; and that though they had applied to him ſeven times with propoſitions, in all which the Scots had concurred except the laſt, yet he had never complied with any; from whence they conclude, either that the nation muſt continue under the preſent diſtractions, or they muſt ſettle it without him. In the poſthumous works of lord *Clarendon*,* there is a large reply to this *remonſtrance*, in which his lordſhip endeavours to vindicate the king, and throw all the blame upon the parliament; but though there were ill inſtruments on both ſides, and there might be no real occaſion to rip up the miſdemeanors of the king's government from the beginning, yet it is hardly poſſible for the art of man to juſtify his majeſty's conduct before the war, or to vindicate his prudence and ſincerity in his treaties afterwards; the deſign of commencing a new war being evidently at this time concerted and agreed upon, with his

* Vol. iii. p. 92, 93.

majeſty's

majeſty's allowance, in purſuance of the Scots treaty, while he was amuſing both the parliament and army with overtures of peace.

Among the ordinances that paſſed this year for reformation of the church, none occaſioned ſo much noiſe and diſturbance as that of June 8, for aboliſhing the obſervation of *ſaints days*, and the three grand feſtivals of *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*; the ordinance ſays, "Foraſmuch "as the *feaſt of the* nativity of Chriſt, Eaſter, Whitſuntide, *and other feſtivals*, commonly called *holy-days*, have "been heretofore ſuperſtituouſly uſed and obſerved; be it "ordained, that the ſaid feaſts, and all other feſtivals, commonly called *holy-days*, be no longer obſerved as feſtivals; "any law, ſtatute, cuſtom, conſtitution, or canon to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.*

"And that there may be a convenient time allotted for "ſcholars, apprentices, and other ſervants, for their recreation, be it ordained, that all ſcholars, apprentices, and "other ſervants, ſhall, with the leave of their maſters, have "ſuch convenient reaſonable recreation, and relaxation from "labour, every ſecond *Tueſday* in the month throughout "the year, as formerly they uſed to have upon the *feſtivals*; "and maſters of ſcholars, apprentices, and ſervants, ſhall "grant to them reſpectively ſuch time for their recreation, "on the aforeſaid ſecond *Tueſday* in the month, as they "may conveniently ſpare from their extraordinary neceſſary ſervice and occaſions; and if any difference ariſe between maſters and ſervants concerning the liberty hereby "granted, the next juſtice of peace ſhall reconcile it."

The king was highly diſpleaſed with this ordinance; and therefore while the affair was under debate he put this query to the parliament commiſſioners at Holmby-Houſe, April 23, 1647. I deſire to be reſolved of this queſtion, *why the new reformers diſcharge the keeping of* Eaſter? My reaſon for this query is, "I conceive the celebration of this feaſt was "inſtituted by the ſame authority which changed the Jewiſh "ſabbath into the Lord's day or Sunday, for it will not be "found in ſcripture where *Saturday* is diſcharged to be "kept, or turned into the *Sunday*; wherefore it muſt be

* Scobel, p. 128.

"the

" the churches authority that changed the one and inſtituted " the other; therefore my opinion is, that thoſe who will " not keep *this feaſt* may as well return to the obſervation " of *Saturday*, and refuſe the weekly *Sunday*. When any " body can ſhew me that herein I am in an error, I ſhall " not be aſhamed to confeſs and amend it; till when you " know my mind.† *C. R.*"

Sir *James Harington* preſented his majeſty with an anſwer to this query, in which he denies, that the change of the ſabbath was from the authority of the church, but derives it from the authority and example of our Saviour and his apoſtles in the new teſtament; he admits, that if there was the like mention of the obſervation of *Eaſter*, it would be of divine or apoſtolical authority; but as the caſe ſtands, he apprehends with great reaſon, that the obſervation of the chriſtian ſabbath, and of Eaſter, ſtand upon a very different foot.

The changing the feſtival of *Chriſtmas* into a *faſt* laſt winter, was not ſo much taken notice of, becauſe all parties were employed in acts of devotion; but when it returned this year there appeared a ſtrong propenſity in the people to obſerve it, the ſhops were generally ſhut, many preſbyterian miniſters preached; in ſome places the *common-prayer* was read, and one or two of the ſequeſtered clergy getting into pulpits prayed publickly for the *biſhops*; ſeveral of the citizens of London, who opened their ſhops, were abuſed; in ſome places there were riots and inſurrections, eſpecially in Canterbury, where the mayor, endeavouring to keep the peace, had his head broke by the populace, and was dragged about the ſtreets; the mob broke in divers houſes of the moſt religious in the town, broke their windows, abuſed their perſons, and threw their goods into the ſtreets, becauſe they expoſed them to ſale on *Chriſtmas-day*.* At length their numbers being increaſed to above two thouſand, they put themſelves into a poſture of defence againſt the magiſtrates, kept guard, ſtopt paſſes, examined paſſengers, and ſeized the magazine and arms in the town-hall, and were not diſperſed without difficulty. The like diſorders were at Ealing in Middleſex, and in ſeveral other counties. The parliament was alarmed at theſe diſorders, and therefore com-

† Relig. Car. p. 370. * Ruſhworth, p. 948. manded

manded all papiſts and delinquent clergymen to retire without the lines of communication, and puniſhed ſome of the principal rioters as a terror to the reſt, it being apparent that the king's party took advantage of the holy-days to try the temper of the people in favour of his releaſe, for during the ſpace of the following twelve years, wherein the feſtivals were laid aſide, there was not the leaſt tumult on account of the *holidays*, the obſervation of *Chriſtmas* being left as a matter of indifference.

The war being thought to be at an end, many of the clergy who had followed the camp returned home, and endeavoured to repoſſeſs themſelves of their ſequeſtered livings, to the prejudice of thoſe whom the parliament had put into their places; they petitioned the king while he was with the army, and in a ſtate of honour and dignity, to take their poor diſtreſſed condition into his gracious conſideration. His majeſty recommended them to the *general*, at the very time when the difference between the parliament and army was ſubſiſting, upon which they repreſented their grievances to him in a petition, ſhewing, that "whereas for divers years "they had been outed of their livings, contrary to the fun- "damental laws of the land, by the arbitrary power of *com-* "*mittees*, whoſe proceedings have uſually been by no rule of "law, but by their own wills; moſt of them having been "turned out for refuſing the *covenant*, or adhering to the "king, and the religion eſtabliſhed, and of thoſe, divers "never called to anſwer, and ſcarce one had articles proved "by oath, or other legal proceſs; by which means *your pe-* "*titioners* are reduced to extreme want and miſery; and "whereas thoſe who are put into our places labour to ſtir up "the people to involve the kingdom in a new war, and are "generally men ignorant and unable to inſtruct the people; "and many of them ſcandalous in their practices, if impar- "tially examined, and divers of them hold three or four of "the beſt benefices, whilſt divers other churches are void, "and without any conſtant preacher. And foraſmuch as the "main profit of our benefices conſiſts in the harveſt which "is now at hand, which many of the preſent poſſeſſors, if "they could receive, would preſently be gone, whereby "the burthen of the cure will lie upon your petitioners,

"having

"having nothing to live upon the next year. Your peti-
"tioners therefore pray, that your excellency would make
"ſtay of the profits of the harveſt, that thoſe of us that are
"charged with any legal ſcandal may come to a juſt trial,
"and if we are found innocent may enjoy our rights, ac-
"cording to the known laws of the land."*

By this bold petition, it is evident theſe gentlemen were encouraged to hope, that the army would carry their reſentments ſo far as to unravel all they had been doing for five years; that they would not only renounce the *covenant*, but diſclaim the proceedings of their *committees*, and even countenance the clergy's adhering to the king; and no doubt, if his majeſty had complied with the propoſals of the army, he might have made good terms for them; for the *general* received them with reſpect, and having debated their addreſs in council, propoſed it to the parliament, that the eſtates of all ſequeſtered perſons, including the clergy, ſhould remain in the hands of the tenants till a general peace. Upon which the old incumbents grew very troubleſome, forbidding the pariſhioners to pay their tithes, and threatening the preſent poſſeſſors of their livings with legal proſecutions.

On the other hand the preſbyterian clergy addreſſed the *general* Aug. 12, a few days after the parliament and army were united, with a complaint, "that divers delinquent mi-
"niſters, who had been put out of their livings, did now
"trouble and ſeek to turn *out* thoſe miniſters, whom the
"parliament had put in; and particularly, that Dr. *Layfield*,
"by a counterfeit warrant from the *general*, had endea-
"voured to remove a miniſter from his benefice in Surry."
The general and his council declared their diſlike of theſe proceedings, and promiſed to write to the parliament, that ſuch offenders may be brought to puniſhment, which he did accordingly. The difference between the parliament and army being now in a manner compromiſed, which cut off the expectations of the clergy, Aug. 19, the lords and commons acquainted the general, that they would take care for the puniſhment of thoſe delinquent miniſters and others, by whoſe practices miniſters put into livings by the parliament had been diſquieted and turned out; and on the 23d

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 145.

of

of the ſame month they paſſed an ordinance, ſetting forth "that whereas divers miniſters in the ſeveral counties had "been diſplaced by authority of parliament, for notorious "ſcandals and delinquency, and godly, learned, and ortho-"dox miniſters had been placed in their room; and whereas "the ſaid ſcandalous and delinquent miniſters by force, or "otherwiſe, had entered upon the churches, and gained "poſſeſſion of the tithes, &c. the lords and commons did "therefore ordain, that all ſheriffs, mayors, committees, "&c. do forthwith apprehend ſuch miniſters, and all ſuch "perſons as have been aiding, and abetting to them, and "commit them to priſon, there to remain, till thoſe they "had thus diſpoſſeſſed, and moleſted, ſhould receive ſatisfac-"tion for their damages; and that the ſaid ſheriffs, &c. do "reſtore thoſe moleſted miniſters to the quiet poſſeſſion of "their reſpective places, and do in caſe of need raiſe the "trained bands to put this ordinance in execution; and do "alſo take effectual courſe that the tithes, profits, &c. be "for the future duly paid to thoſe miniſters put in by par-"liament, &c. And if any ſuch diſturbance ſhould here-"after be given, the offender was to ſuffer for every ſuch "diſturbance one month's impriſonment."

However, ſome ſmall favour was ſhewn, about this time, to thoſe *biſhops* and others, who had lived peaceably, and been little more than ſpectators of the diſtracting miſeries of their country; the committee was ordered to make payment of the eight hundred pounds *per* year granted to the biſhop of *Durham*; the real eſtate of the pious biſhop *Hall*, who had lately publiſhed his *hard meaſure*, was diſcharged; archbiſhop *Uſher* had an allowance of four hundred pounds *per annum*, till he could be otherwiſe provided for; and was ſoon after allowed to be preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, only upon taking the *negative oath*. But the biſhops were not much conſidered in theſe donations. The commiſſioners of the *great ſeal* were ordered to fill up the vacant livings in the gift of the crown, without obliging the incumbents to take the *covenant*; but the new diſturbances which aroſe in favour of the captive king, brought down new ſeverities upon the epiſcopal clergy, before the end of the following year.*

* Ruſhworth, p. 831, 937, 948, 958.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Viſitation of the Univerſity of OXFORD. *State of Religion at the End of the Year* 1647.

SAD and deplorable was the condition of the univerſity of Oxford when it fell into the hands of the parliament; the colleges and halls were gone to ruin, five of them perfectly deſerted, and the reſt in a very ſhattered condition. The publick acts had been diſcontinued for ſome years, the ſchools were turned into magazines for the king's army, and the chambers filled with officers and ſoldiers, or let out to townſmen: there was little or no inſtruction for youth, nor hardly the face of an univerſity; poverty, deſolation, and plunder, the ſad effects of war, were to be ſeen in every corner; the burſaries were emptied of the publick money, the plate melted down for the king's ſervice, and the colleges involved in debts which they were not able to ſatisfy; there were few heads of colleges or ſcholars remaining, except ſuch as were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the parliament, having employed their wits, during the courſe of the war, in writing *weekly mercuries*, and ſatyrical pamphlets, in which they aſperſed the proceedings of the two houſes, and treated their divines as the moſt infamous, ignorant, and hypocritical traitors, nor were their tempers in the leaſt ſoftened, though their lives and fortunes were in the hands of their adverſaries. It was therefore thought neceſſary to put the education of youth into ſuch hands as the parliament could confide in, a power being reſerved for that purpoſe in the articles of ſurrender.

But before they proceeded to extremes, the two houſes, about the beginning of September 1646, appointed ſeven of their moſt popular divines to repair to Oxford, with authority to preach in any pulpits of the univerſity for ſix months, in order to ſoften the ſpirits of the people,* and give them a

* Suff. Cler. p. 125.

better

better opinion of their cauſe, viz. the reverend Mr. *Robert Harris*, of Hanwell, Oxfordſhire; Mr. *Edward Reynolds*, afterwards biſhop of Norwich; Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, of Magdalen-college; Mr. *Francis Cheynel*, Mr. *Edward Corbet*, of Merton-college; Mr. *Henry Corniſh*, of New-inn, and Mr. *Henry Langley*, of Pembroke-college; men of reputation and character,* ſober divines, and popular preachers, though *A. Wood*, the Oxford hiſtorian, is pleaſed to ſay, "Their ſermons were the contempt and ſcorn of the univerſity, becauſe they were too long and had too little learning; becauſe they prayed very coldly for the king, but were very earneſt for a bleſſing upon the councils and arms of the parliament, and did not always conclude with the *Lord's prayer*; becauſe they reflected on ſome of the heads of the univerſity, calling them dumb dogs, having a form of religion without the power; and, becauſe their manner of delivery was rather theatrical than ſerious; nevertheleſs, their auditories were crowded, though none of the heads of colleges, or ſenior ſcholars attended."

The miniſters were very diligent in the diſcharge of their their truſt, preaching twice every Lord's day; and that they might gain the affections of the people, ſet up a weekly conference every Thurſday, in which they propoſed to ſolve ſuch objections as ſhould be raiſed againſt their new *confeſſion of faith and diſcipline*, and to anſwer any other important caſes in divinity: the *queſtion* or *caſe* was to be propounded the week before, that it might be well conſidered; a *moderator* alſo was appointed to keep order, who began and concluded with a ſhort prayer, and the whole was conducted with decency and gravity.† But ſeveral of the ſcholars ridiculed their proceedings, and by way of contempt called their place of meeting, THE SCRUPLE SHOP; however, it was frequented by great numbers of people, ſome of whom

* Dr. *Grey* would impeach the truth of this eulogium, and refers to *Anthony Wood* to ſupport his invidious reflections on theſe men. The names and characters of Mr. *Robert Harris*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *F. Cheynel*, and Mr. *Corbet*, will again come before the reader in Mr. *Neal*'s next volume: and we would refer him to Dr. *Calamy*, or Mr. *Palmer*'s Nonconformiſt's Memorial, for biography. ED.

† Suff. Cler. p. 125. Miniſt. Account, p. 5. Vol. Pamph. No. 282.

were

were prevailed with to renounce the *Oxford oath*; and others to take the *ſolemn league and covenant*. They met with ſome little diſturbance from one *Erbury*, a turbulent *Antinomian*, and chaplain in the garriſon; but upon the whole, when the miniſters returned to London they declared, that the citizens ſhewed them a great deal of reſpect, although the univerſity poured all the contempt upon them imaginable, ſo that they apprehended themſelves to have the ſame lot as *Saint Paul* had at Athens, *Acts* xvii. 32, 34. *Some mocked them, others ſlighted them, but certain clave to them, and believed.**

There being no proſpect of reforming the univerſity by theſe methods, the two houſes reſolved to proceed upon a *viſitation*, which they apprehended they might undertake without the king, by virtue of the fourteenth article of their recapitulation, which ſays, "That the chancellor, maſters and "ſcholars of the univerſity, and all heads, governors, maſters, "fellows, and ſcholars of the colleges, halls, bodies cor-"porate, and ſocieties of the ſaid univerſity, and the publick "profeſſors, readers, and orators thereof, and all other "perſons belonging to the ſaid univerſity, ſhall and may, "according to their ſtatutes, charters, and cuſtoms, enjoy "their ancient form of government, SUBORDINATE TO THE "IMMEDIATE AUTHORITY AND POWER OF PARLIAMENT, "and that all the rights, privileges, franchiſes, lands, tene-"ments, houſes, rents, revenues, libraries, debts, goods and "chattles, *&c.* belonging to the ſaid univerſity, ſhall be en-"joyed by them reſpectively as aforeſaid, free from ſequeſ-"trations, fines, taxes, and all other moleſtations whatſoever, "under colour of any thing relating to the preſent war. "*And if any removal ſhall be made by the parliament of any* "*head, or other members of the univerſity, that they ſhall enjoy* "*their profits for ſix months after the ſurrendering of Oxon, and* "*ſhall have convenient time allowed them for the removal of* "*themſelves and their goods; provided that this ſhall not extend* "*to retard any reformation there intended by the parliament,* "*or give them any liberty to intermeddle with the government.*†"

But the heads of colleges did not think themſelves obliged by this capitulation, nor any thing contained in it, becauſe they were not made parties, nor called upon to give their

* Miniſt. Account, p. 52. † Ruſhworth, p. 283.

ſeparate

ſeparate conſent to the articles, though they took advantage of every thing that was ſtipulated in their favour.*

May 1, 1647, an *ordinance* paſt both houſes for viſiting the univerſity, and nominating the following gentlemen, lawyers, and divines, for that ſervice, *viz.*†

Sir Nath. Brent	William Draper, *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *eſq*;
Sir William Cobb	Gabriel Beck, *of* Lincoln's-Inn,
William Prynne, *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *eſq*; [*eſq*;	John Cartwright, *eſq*; [*eſq*;
John Pulliſton, *of* Lincoln's-Inn,	Mr. William Tipping
Barth. Hall, *of the* Middle-Temple, *eſq*;	Mr. George Greenwood
Tho. Knight, *of* Lincoln's-Inn,	Mr. John Packer
Samuel Dunch, *eſq*; [*eſq*;	Mr. William Cope
	Mr. John Heling, *of* Gray's-Inn.
The Rev. Dr. John Wilkinſon	*The Rev.* Mr. Fran. Cheynell
Mr. Henry Wilkinſon	Mr. John Wilkinſon
Mr. Edw. Reynolds	Mr. John Mills
Mr. Rob. Harris	Mr. Chriſtopher Rogers.
Mr. Edw. Corbet	

The ordinance empowers the viſitors, or any five of them, "To hear and determine all crimes, offences, abuſes, and "diſorders, which by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, or "by the cuſtoms and ſtatutes, rightly eſtabliſhed, of that "univerſity, or by the ſeveral ſtatutes of the reſpective col-"leges or halls, may lawfully be enquired of, heard, or "determined, in the courſe and way of viſitation of the uni-"verſity, or of the colleges, halls, maſters, ſcholars, fellows, "members, and officers, or any of them, reſpectively. They "are more particularly to enquire by oath concerning thoſe "that neglect to take the *ſolemn league and covenant*, and the "*negative oath*, being tendered to them by ſuch as are au-"thorized by parliament; and concerning thoſe who oppoſe "the execution of the ordinance of parliament, concerning "the diſcipline and directory; and thoſe who ſhall teach or "write againſt any point of doctrine, the ignorance whereof "doth exclude from the Lord's Supper. They are likewiſe "to enquire upon oath, concerning all ſuch who have taken "up arms againſt the parliament, or who have been aſſiſting "to the forces raiſed againſt the parliament. And they are

* Fuller's Appeal, p. 70.

† Scobel's Collect. Part I. p. 116. Suff. Cler. p. 126.

"to

" to certify to a committee of the houſe of lords and com-
" mons mentioned in the ordinance, what maſters, ſcholars,
" fellows, members, or officers, have committed any of the
" offences above-mentioned, and the quality and condition of
" the offenders, that ſuch further proceedings may be had
" thereupon as the committee of lords and commons ſhall
" think fit. The *viſitors* are further empowered, to examine
" and conſider all ſuch oaths as are enjoined by the ſtatutes
" of the univerſity, or of any of the halls and colleges, as are
" not fit to be taken, and preſent their opinion to the com-
" mittee above-mentioned; provided always, that if any of
" the maſters, ſcholars, fellows, *&c.* ſhall find themſelves
" grieved by any ſentence given by the viſitors, it ſhall be
" lawful for them to appeal to the committee of lords and
" commons, who are authoriſed finally to hear and determine
" every ſuch caſe brought before them."

Before the viſitation could take place the vice-chancellor, Dr. *Fell*, ſummoned a convocation [June 1,] wherein it was agreed not to ſubmit to the *parliament viſitors*. A paper of reaſons againſt the *covenant*,* the *negative oath*, and the *directory*, drawn up chiefly by Dr. *Sanderſon*, was alſo conſented to, and ordered to be publiſhed to the world both in *latin* and *Engliſh*, againſt the time the viſitors were to come down, under the title of *Reaſons of the preſent judgement of the univerſity of* Oxford, *concerning the* ſolemn league and covenant, *the* negative oath, *and the* ordinances *concerning* diſcipline *and* worſhip, *approved by general conſent in a full convocation*, June 1, 1647; an abſtract of which I ſhall now ſet before the reader.†

To THE PREFACE OF THE COVENANT [tranſcribed under the year 1643.]

They declare, " We cannot ſay *the rage, power, and pre-*
" *ſumption of the enemies of God* (in the ſenſe there intended)

* Dr. *Sanderſon* methodiſed and put into form this paper, or manifeſto; and added what referred to reaſon and conſcience. The law part was drawn up by Dr. *Zouch*, a civilian. But, on the whole, twenty delegates, by the appointment of the univerſity, were concerned in this compoſition. Amongſt whom were Dr. *Sheldon*, afterwards archbp of Canterbury, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Morley*, afterwards biſhop of Wincheſter. Walton's Life of Sanderſon, 1678. p. 78, 79. ED.

† Bp. Sanderſon's Life, Appendix, p. 169.

" *is*

" *is increaſed.* Not that we have conſented to any *ſup-*
" *plication* or *remonſtrance* to the purpoſes therein expreſſed.
" We do not think the taking the *covenant* to be a lawful and
" probable means to *preſerve ourſelves and our religion from*
" *ruin;* nor do we believe it to be *according to the com-*
" *mendable practice of theſe kingdoms, or the example of God's*
" *people in other nations.*"

TO THE COVENANT IN GENERAL.

" We are of opinion, that a *covenant* ought to be a
" *voluntary contract*, and not impoſed. Now we cannot vo-
" luntarily conſent to this *covenant* without betraying our
" liberties, one of which is, *not to be obliged to take any oath*
" *but what is eſtabliſhed by act of parliament*; and without
" acknowledging in the impoſers a greater power than has
" been challenged in former time, or can ſubſiſt with our
" former *proteſtation.* But if the *covenant* were not impoſed,
" but only recommended, we apprehend the taking it to be
" inconſiſtent with our loyalty to the king, eſpecially ſince he
" has by proclamation forbid it."

OBJECTIONS TO THE SEVERAL ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT.

To the firſt Article.

" We cannot ſwear to preſerve the religion of *another*
" *kingdom*, (Scotland) whereof we have very little under-
" ſtanding, which, as far as we are acquainted with it, is much
" worſe than our own in worſhip, diſcipline, and government,
" and in doctrine not at all better; wherein there are ſome
" things ſo far tending to ſuperſtition and ſchiſm, that it ſeems
" reaſonable to us that we ſhould call upon them to reform,
" rather than we ſhould be bound to preſerve it entire.

" Neither are we ſatisfied in the preſent reformation of re-
" ligion in *our own kingdom, in doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline,*
" becauſe, (1.) It gives a manifeſt ſcandal to the *papiſt* and
" *ſeparatiſt*, by giving up the cauſe for which the martyrs and
" biſhops have contended ſince the reformation; by juſtifying
" the papiſts in their recuſancy, who reproach us, by ſaying,
" we know not what religion we are of; nor where to ſtop,
" ſince we have left them; and, that ours is a *parliamentary*
" *religion.*

" *religion.* Beſides, *this would be a tacit acknowledgment,* " *that there has been ſomething in the Church of* England *not* " *agreeable to the word of God, and ſo juſtify the ſeparation,* " *and condemn all the penal laws that have been made to oblige* " *people to conform.** (2.) By the intended reformation we " ſhould wrong ourſelves, by ſwearing to reform that which " we have formerly by our ſubſcriptions approved, and " which we do ſtill believe to be more agreeable to the word " of God than that which by *this covenant* we muſt ſwear to " preſerve; and to which, by the laws ſtill in being, every " *clerk*, at his admiſſion to a benefice, is bound to give his " conſent. (3.) Beſides, we ſhould be in danger of perjury, " becauſe it is contrary to our former proteſtation, which " obliges us *to maintain the doctrine of the church of England,* " which may take in the whole eſtabliſhment; and it is con- " trary to the oath of *ſupremacy*, which gives the ſole power " to the king in matters eccleſiaſtical."

OBJECTIONS *to the ſecond Article.*

" We are very much grieved to ſee the prelacy of the " church of England ranked with popery, ſuperſtition, " hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs, with an intimation, that it " is contrary to ſound doctrine, or the power of godlineſs.† " Nor can we ſwear to the extirpation of it, becauſe, (1.) " We beleive it to be of apoſtolical inſtitution. Or, (2.) At " leaſt that epiſcopal ariſtocracy hath a fairer claim to a divine " inſtitution than any other form of church government. " (3.) That epiſcopal government has continued in the church " without interruption for fifteen hundred years, therefore " to extirpate it would give advantage to the papiſts, who " are wont to charge us with a contempt of antiquity, and " love of novelty, and it would diminiſh the juſt authority " due to the conſent and practice of the catholick church. " (4.) Beſides, we cannot ſwear to the extirpating this go- " vernment, becauſe we have ſubſcribed the thirty-nine " articles, one of which ſays, the book containing the form of " *conſecration* has nothing in it contrary to the word of God. " We have been ordained by biſhops; we have petitioned " the parliament for the continuance of them; and ſome of

* Bp. Sanderſon's Life, Appendix, p. 179. † Ibid. p. 184.

" us hold our livelihoods by the titles of deans, deans and " chapters, &c. (5.) We are not satisfied that the incon- " veniencies of the *new government* will be less than the " *old*, the house of commons having remonstrated [*Dec.* 15, " 1641,] that it was far from their purpose to abolish this " government, but only to regulate it, and that it was a sign " of *malignancy* to infuse into the people that they had any " other meaning. *Lastly*, In respect of our obligation to his " majesty, having acknowledged him to be supreme governor " in all causes ecclesiastical, we cannot endeavour to extirpate " this government without the royal assent, which we are so " far from desiring, that *we are continually praying, that the* " *king may not be prevailed with to do an act so prejudicial to* " *his conscience and honour, and which, by his coronation oath,* " *he is bound to preserve.** By the laws of the land there are " sundry privileges and emoluments arising to the crown " from the ecclesiastical estate, which are a considerable part " of the revenue, which by the extirpation of prelacy will be " cut off; whereas we are bound by the oath of allegiance " to maintain the king's honour and estate. And after all, " the prelatical government is best suited to monarchy, inso- " much that king *James* used to say, *No bishop, no king.*

Objections to the third Article.

" We are dissatisfied with the limitation of our loyalty in " these words, *in the preservation and defence of the true re-* " *ligion, and liberties of the kingdom;* because no such " limitation is to be found in the oath of allegiance, nor in " the word of God; because it leaves the duty of the subject " loose, and the safety of the king uncertain. The conscience " of a papist, or sectary, may swallow an oath with such a " limitation, but the conscience of a good protestant cannot " but strain at it.†"

To the fourth Article,

They reply, " That the imposing the covenant in this " article may lay a necessity upon the son to accuse the father, " in case he be a *malignant*, which is contrary to religion, na- " ture and humanity; or it may open a way for children that

* Bp. Sanderson's Life, Appendix, p. 197. † Ibid. p. 201.

" are

" are ſick of their fathers, to effect their unlawful intentions, " by accuſing them of malignancy; beſides the ſubjecting " ourſelves to an arbitrary puniſhment, at the ſole pleaſure " of ſuch uncertain judges as may be deputed for that effect, " is betraying the liberty of the ſubject.*"

Objections to the fifth Article.

" We cannot acknowledge the happineſs of ſuch a peace " as in the article is mentioned, for no peace can be firm and " well grounded, unleſs the reſpective authority, power, and " liberty of king, parliament, and ſubject, be preſerved full " and entire, according to the known laws, and reſpective " cuſtoms of the kingdom, before the beginning of theſe " diſtractions.†"

Objections to the ſixth Article.

They ſay, " We are not ſatisfied, that the *cauſe of our* " *joining in covenant for the proſecution of the late war, was* " *the cauſe of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, or that* " *the glory of God, and the honour of the king, was concerned* " *in it.* And if it was, we are not ſatisfied that it ought to " be ſupported and carried on by ſuch means as are deſtitute " of all warrant from the word of God, or the laws of the " realm.‡"

In concluſion, ſay they, " Our hearts tremble to think that " we ſhould be required to pray, that *other chriſtian churches* " *may be encouraged by our example to join in the like covenant* " *to free themſelves from the antichriſtian yoke*, for we do not " know any antichriſtian yoke we were under; nor do we " yet ſee ſuch good fruits of this *covenant* among ourſelves, " as to invite us to pray, that other churches ſhould follow " our example; it is as if we ſhould pray, that the God of " love and peace would take away all love and peace, and ſet " the chriſtian world in a combuſtion; that he would render " the reformed religion odious to the world; that chriſtian " princes might be provoked to uſe more ſeverity towards " thoſe of the reformed religion, if not to root it out of their " dominions; for the yoke of antichriſt, if laid upon ſubjects

* Bp. Sanderſon's Life, Appendix, p. 203.

† Ibid. p. 206. ‡ Ib. p. 207.

" by their lawful ſovereigns, is to be thrown off by chriſtian " boldneſs in confeſſing the truth, and ſuffering for it, not by " taking up arms, or violent reſiſting of the higher powers."

After theſe remarks upon the ſeveral articles, they take notice,

(1.) Of the following ſeeming contradictions in the *covenant*, as, " the preſerving, and yet reforming one and the " ſame reformed religion. The reforming church govern- " ment according to the word of God, and yet extirpating " that government which we apprehend agreeable to it. " The extirpating hereſy and ſchiſm, and yet diſſolving that " government in the church, the want of the due exerciſe of " which has been the occaſion of the growth of theſe evils. " The preſerving the liberties of the kingdom, and yet ſub- " mitting to a *covenant* and *oath* not eſtabliſhed by law.*

(2.) They obſerve ſome dark and doubtful expreſſions which they do not well underſtand; as, " Who are the *common* " *enemies?* Which are the *beſt reformed churches?* Who " are *malignants?* How far the *hindering reformation* may be " extended, *&c.*†

(3.) By the uſe that has been made of the *covenant*, they apprehend " the conduct of the parliament to be contrary to " the meaning of it, for inſtead of reforming the worſhip and " ſervice of the church they have quite aboliſhed it; inſtead " of reforming the diſcipline of the church, it is quite de- " ſtroyed, or put upon ſuch a foot as is not agreeable to the " word of God, or the example of any church ſince the cre- " ation. Inſtead of extirpating hereſy and profaneneſs, little " or nothing has been done towards it, but only the extir- " pation of prelacy, and ſomething elſe that looks ſo like " ſacrilege (ſay they) that we do not venture upon it. And " as for *the preſervation of the king's honour and eſtate in de-* " *fence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdom*, though " we apprehend all other things ſhould be ſubordinate to it, " yet by ſome bold ſpeeches that have been made we are " afraid nothing leſs is intended."

* Sanderſon's Life, Appendix, p. 211. † Ibid. p. 213.

Of

Of the SALVOES FOR TAKING THE COVENANT.

(1.) "It has been ſaid, that *we may take it in our own ſenſe.* "But this we apprehend contrary to the nature and end of "an oath; contrary to the end of ſpeech; contrary to the "deſign of the covenant, and contrary to the ſolemn pro- "feſſion at the concluſion of it, (*viz.*) *That we ſhall take it* "*with a true intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer* "*it to the ſearcher of all hearts at the great day.* Beſides, "this would be *jeſuitical*; it would be taking the name of "God in vain; and it would ſtrengthen the objection of thoſe "who ſay, there is no faith to be given to proteſtants.*

(2.) "It has been ſaid, we may take the covenant with "theſe ſalvoes expreſſed, *ſo far as lawfully I may, ſo far as it* "*is agreeable to the word of God, and the laws of the land, ſa-* "*ving all oaths by me formerly taken*, &c. which is no better "than vile hypocriſy; for by the ſame rule one might ſub- "ſcribe to the *council of* Trent, *or the* Turkiſh *alcoran.*

(3.) "It is ſaid, that *we may take the covenant in our preſent* "*circumſtances, notwithſtanding our allegiance to the king, be-* "*cauſe protection and ſubjection are relatives, and the king being* "*unable to protect us any longer, we are free from ſubjection* "*to him.* But we anſwer, that the king's inability to perform "*his* duty does not diſcharge the ſubject from his, as long as "he is able; much leſs when the *non-protection* on the king's "part, is not from want of will, but of power.

(4.) "It is ſaid, *that the parliament being the ſupreme judi-* "*catory of the kingdom, whereſoever the king is in perſon he is* "*always preſent with his parliament in power*; *as what is done* "*in courts of juſtice is not done without the king, but by him,* "*though not perſonally preſent.* But we deny the king to be "always preſent with his parliament in *power*, for then his "actual royal aſſent would not be neceſſary to the making of "laws, but only a virtual aſſent included in the votes of both "houſes: the houſes need not then deſire the royal aſſent, "nor can the king be ſuppoſed to have a *negative voice.* "Beſides, the ſtatute which provides, that the king's aſſent "to any bill ſignified under his great ſeal ſhall be as valid as "if he were perſonally preſent, imports, that the *king's power* "is not preſent with his two houſes, otherwiſe than it appears

* Sanderſon's Life, Appendix, p. 221, &c.

"in

" in his *perſon*, or under his *great ſeal*. As to the analogy of " other courts we conceive it of no conſequence; in other " courts the judges are the king's ſervants, and do all in his " name, and by his authority; they ſit there not by any " proper intereſt of their own, but in right of the king, " whoſe judges they are; but the parliament is the king's " council, and have their ſeveral proper rights and intereſts " diſtinct from the king's, by virtue of which they are diſ- " tinct orders and conſervators of their ſeveral intereſts. " Beſides, the judges of other courts are bounded by the laws " in being, and therefore the king's perſonal preſence is not " neceſſary; but the caſe is quite different in making new " laws, for the making of new laws is the exerciſe of a *le-* " *giſlative* rather than a *judicial power*; now, no act of " legiſlative power can be valid, unleſs it be confirmed by " ſuch perſon or perſons as the ſovereignty of that community " reſideth in. Upon the whole, ſince all *judicial power* is " radically in the king, who is therefore called the *fountain* " *of juſtice*, it ſeems to us, that neither the judges in inferior " courts, nor the lords and commons aſſembled in parliament, " may exerciſe any other power over the ſubjects of this " realm, than ſuch as by their reſpective patents and writs " iſſued from the king, or by the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, " formerly aſſented to by the kings of this realm, does appear " to be derived from them; by which writs, patents, and " laws, it does not appear that the two houſes of parliament " have any power without the king, to order, command, or " tranſact; but only with him to treat, conſult, and adviſe, " concerning the great affairs of the kingdom."

Concerning the NEGATIVE OATH,

They ſay, " We cannot take it without giving up our li- " berties, without abuſing our natural allegiance, and " without diminution of his Majeſty's juſt power and great- " neſs.*"

Concerning the DISCIPLINE AND DIRECTORY.

" We are not ſatisfied to ſubmit to the ordinance for " eſtabliſhing the *directory*, becauſe it has not the royal aſſent, " and yet abrogates acts of parliament made by the joint

* Sanderſon's Life, Appendix, p. 243.

" conſent

" conſent of king, lords and commons, eſpecially one, which " annexes the whole power of ordering all eccleſiaſtical mat- " ters for ever to the imperial crown of this realm; now we " are not ſatisfied that a leſs power can have a juſt right to " abrogate a greater.

" If under the title of *diſcipline* be comprehended the *go- " vernment* of the church alſo, we declare, we cannot conſent " to the eradication of a government of ſuch reverend " antiquity, which has from time to time been confirmed by " the laws of the kingdom, and which the kings at their " ſucceſſive coronations have ſworn to preſerve. If the word " *diſcipline* be diſtinguiſhed from *government*, as in the firſt " article of the *covenant*, yet are we not ſatisfied to place ſo " much power in the hands of perſons (many of whom may " be of mean quality) for the keeping back thouſands of well- " meaning chriſtians from the bleſſed ſacrament, when Saint " *Paul*, in a church abounding with ſundry errors and cor- " ruptions in faith and manners, ſatisfies himſelf with a " general declaration of the danger of unworthy communi- " cating, and enjoins every particular perſon a *ſelf-examination*, " without empowering either miniſters or lay-elders to ex- " clude any from the communion upon their examination.

" As to the *directory* itſelf, we cannot, without regret of " conſcience, and during the continuance of the preſent laws, " conſent to the taking away the *book of common prayer*, which " we have ſubſcribed, and ſolemnly promiſed to uſe no other; " which we believe contains in it nothing but what is juſtly " defenſible; and which we think ourſelves able to juſtify " againſt all papiſts and ſectaries. Beſides, we look upon the " ſtatute enjoining the uſe of the *common prayer* to be ſtill in " force, and will always remain ſo, 'till it ſhall be repealed " by the ſame good and full authority by which it was made; " that is, by the free conſent of king, lords and commons.*"

By comparing theſe reaſons with thoſe of the parliament divines for taking the *covenant*, the reader will be capable of judging how far they are concluſive. Many of them are unqueſtionably good, and had the conſtitution remained entire, and the laws had their free and ordinary courſe, as in times of peace, moſt of them would have been concluſive; but how

* Bp. Sanderſon's Life, Appendix, p. 244.

far

far the neceſſity of the war, and the right of ſelf-defence, will vindicate the extraordinary proceedings of parliament, I ſhall not take upon me to determine for others. I am no advocate for the particulars of the *covenant* any more than for the high and arbitrary principles of *government*, contained in the *univerſity's reaſons*. The *conſciences* of men are not under the direction of their *wills*, but of their *judgments*, and therefore ought not to be conſtrained by *oaths*, *proteſtations*, or *covenants*, to attempt thoſe things in matters of religion for which their *own hearts* muſt condemn them. Religion and civil government ſtand upon a diſtinct foundation, and are deſigned for very different ends; the magiſtrate may demand ſecurity for men's peaceable ſubmiſſion to the civil government, but ought not to force them to be active againſt the light of their conſciences in matters of religion. The univerſity's reaſons are not built upon theſe principles; for thoſe gentlemen were as much for the coercive power of the magiſtrate in caſes of conſcience as the puritans; and whereas they ſay, *the allegiance of the ſubject, and the protection of the king, are not relatives; and that the king's inability to diſcharge his duty does not abſolve the ſubject from his*, I ſhall only obſerve, that upon theſe principles the crown can never be forfeited; a coronation oath is of very little ſignificance; nor may a nation ſubmit to a conqueror even when they can reſiſt no longer. Inability alone in the prince, I grant, may not in all caſes abſolve us from our allegiance; but tyranny, oppreſſion, and open attempts to ſubvert the whole conſtitution and laws of the country, certainly may: upon what other ground can we juſtify the late revolution, and the preſent happy eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant ſucceſſion? When the Oxford divines at the period of the revolution had taken the oath of allegiance to king *James* II. and the corporation oath, which ſays, *it is not lawful to reſiſt, or take up arms againſt the king upon any pretence whatſoever;* what could abſolve them from theſe engagements, or juſtify their joining the *Prince of* ORANGE with a foreign force againſt a king upon the throne? However, the ſtand now made by the univerſity was a bold and adventurous attempt, for which they received the applauſe of the Oxford parliament in the year 1665, when it was reſolved, "that the thanks of the houſe of commons be returned to the "chan-

" chancellor, maſters, and ſcholars, of the univerſity of Ox-
" ford, for their bold oppoſition to the rebellious viſitors; for
" refuſing to ſubmit to their *league and covenant;* and *laſtly*,
" for the illuſtrious performance they printed, entitled, *the*
" *judgment of the univerſity*, &c. in which they have learnedly
" maintained the king's cauſe." This was the faſhionable doctrine of king CHARLES the ſecond's reign, when the laws were ſuſpended and infringed, and arbitrary power in the prince roſe to ſuch a height as in the next reign iſſued in a revolution of government. The univerſity of Oxford did all they could to countenance the triumphs of the prerogative; for in the year 1663 they paſſed a *decree* in full convocation, affirming the neceſſity of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance in the ſtrongeſt terms; but how ſoon were the tables turned! when within five years theſe very gentlemen thought fit to enter into an aſſociation to adhere to the prince of ORANGE againſt the king upon the throne, and have ſince had the mortification to ſee that ſame decree burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

To return to the viſitation, May 15, a citation was iſſued in the names of ten of the viſitors then in London, to the proctors, and heads of houſes, or their vice-principals, requiring them, and all the officers, ſcholars, &c. to appear in the convocation-houſe, on Friday June 4, between the hours of nine and eleven in the morning, and to bring with them a liſt of the ſeveral names of thoſe who were abſent, and of the colleges to which they belonged. At the time appointed the reverend Mr. *Harris*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, Mr. *Cheynel*, Mr. *John Wilkinſon*, Mr. *Dunce*, and Mr. *Draper*, *&c.* opened the viſitation with prayers and a ſermon at St. Mary's church, from whence they proceeded to the convocation-houſe, where the vice-chancellor [Dr. *Fell*] and a few of the ſcholars, had been waiting a conſiderable time; but perceiving the viſitors were like to outſtay the preciſe hour of ſummons, he ordered the ſexton to ſet the clock exactly with the ſun, and as ſoon as it ſtruck eleven he diſmiſſed the ſcholars, marching away with the *beadles* before him; the viſitors met them in their return at the *proſcholium*, where the paſſage being narrow, the *beadle* cried out, *Make way for Mr. vice-chancellor*, which the viſitors did. And the vice-

vice-chancellor having moved his hat, as he paſſed by ſaid, *How do ye, gentlemen, it is paſt eleven o'clock.* But the viſitors went forward, and having conſulted about an hour upon the vice-chancellor's behaviour, reſolved to adjourn till *Michaelmas*, and return to London, in order to obtain further powers from the parliament. In the mean time Dr. *Fell* ſummoned a *committee of the heads of the ſeveral colleges*, who came to the following reſolutions:

1. That no man ſhould appear before the viſitors unleſs the ſummons had five names.

2. That no one ſhould appear upon an *holy day*.

3. That he ſhould demand by what authority he was ſummoned; and, if denied an anſwer, ſhould preſently depart.

4. That if they declared their authority, he ſhould anſwer with a *ſalvis juribus regni, academiæ & collegii, &c.*

5. That he ſhould demand his accuſation in writing, as alſo time to put in his anſwer, and ſhould return it in writing, and no otherwiſe.

Laſtly, That he ſhould utterly refuſe to anſwer on oath, becauſe that would be to accuſe himſelf, and would plainly revive the oath *ex officio*.

Such was the ſtout behaviour of theſe few academics, "who (according to Dr. *Walker*) poured upon the viſitors "all manner of contempt and ſcorn, though they knew "their very lives and fortunes were at their diſpoſal. The "univerſity (ſays he) held out a ſiege of more than a year "and half; the convocation-houſe proved a citadel, and "each ſingle college a fort not eaſy to be reduced;"* a clear evidence of the humanity of the viſitors, and an unanſwerable demonſtration of the neceſſity of the parliament's acting with greater vigour.

The two houſes having reſolved to ſupport their viſitors, and enable them to go through their work, paſſed an ordinance Auguſt 26, empowering them "to adminiſter the "*covenant*, and the *negative oath*; to demand the peruſal of "the *ſtatutes*, *regiſters*, *accompts*, &c. and of all other pa-"pers of the univerſity, and of the reſpective colleges and "halls; and to ſeize and detain in cuſtody any perſon, who

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 122, 123, 128, &c.

"after

" after a perſonal citation refuſed to appear, and produce " their books and papers after a ſecond citation; a jury was " alſo to be impannelled, of members of the univerſity, above " the age of twenty-one, to enquire by oath on the articles " contained in the ordinance of viſitation;"§ and a new commiſſion was drawn up by Mr. Attorney-general *St. John*, with the great ſeal affixed to it (September 27,) authoriſing the perſons above-named, to viſit the univerſity without any further warrant; the commiſſion began in the uſual form, *Charles, by the grace of God, &c. to our truſty and well-beloved Sir* Nath. Brent, *&c. Know ye, that we intending the regulation and reformation of our univerſity of Oxford, &c.* which was a very ſtrange ſtile, conſidering the king was never conſulted about the *viſitation*, much leſs gave any conſent; but the houſes affected this form, from a miſtaken ſuppoſition, that the king was always preſent with his parliament in his legiſlative capacity; though it ſerved no other purpoſe than giving the adverſary an opportunity to expoſe their proceedings, and charge them with aſſuming and acting under a *forged* authority.

Furniſhed with theſe new *powers*, the viſitors returned to Oxford the latter end of September, the mayor, ſheriffs, and other magiſtrates, being commanded to aid and aſſiſt them as there ſhould be occaſion. On *Michaelmas-day* a paper was fixed to the door of Univerſity church, giving notice, that the viſitation would now proceed *de die in diem*.* Next day a *citation* was iſſued to all the heads of houſes, requiring them to bring in their ſtatutes, regiſters, accompts, and all their publick writings, to the warden's lodgings at Merton-college. The *vice-chancellor* was ordered to appear at the ſame time, to anſwer to ſuch queſtions as ſhould be demanded of him, and to ſend by the hands of the perſons who ſerved thoſe orders, all the books and acts belonging to the univerſity. The *proctors* were likewiſe enjoined to bring in their books, keys, and other publick things in their cuſtody. But it is not enough to ſay (ſays the Oxford antiquary) that *every one of theſe orders were diſobeyed*; *they were alſo deſpiſed and contemned.* However, the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges condeſcended to appear at the ſecond ſum-

§ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 128. * Wood's Antiq. Oxon, p. 388.

mons,

mons, October 6, when, inſtead of bringing their books and papers, they demanded to know by *what authority they were ſummoned?* upon which the viſitors produced their commiſſion under the *broad ſeal*, at the ſame time ſerving them with a third citation, to appear four days after with their books and papers, or with their reaſons in writing why they refuſed ſo to do. Next day they ſent for the keys of the *convocation-houſe* and *ſchool*, and for the *beadles ſtaves*, but they were denied. The day following, the *proctors* appeared, and delivered a proteſtation, atteſted by a publick notary, in the name of the vice-chancellor, delegates, and all the ſcholars, to this purpoſe, that "they could not own "any viſitor but the *king*, and that having ſworn to main-"tain his right, they could not, without perjury, ſubmit "themſelves to this viſitation, wherewith they deſire them "to acquaint the parliament."§ Hereupon Dr. *Fell* the vice-chancellor, the very ſame day, was deprived of his vice-chancellorſhip, and publick notice was given to the proctors, and other officers of the univerſity, not to obey him any longer under that character; but the doctor, without regard to his deprivation, or to the prorogation of the term, which the viſitors had adjourned from the 10th to the 15th inſtant, proceeding on the 11th to hold a congregation, and open the term as uſual, was taken into cuſtody, and ſome time after, by order of parliament brought to London; immediately upon which, Dr. *Potter*, preſident of Trinity-college, ordered the *beadles* with their ſtaves to attend him as *pro-vice-chancellor*. November 2d and 4th, the ſeveral heads of colleges then preſent appeared before the viſitors, but *without their ſtatute books and papers*, and being called in ſeverally, were aſked in their turns, Whether they approved of the *judicium univerſitatis*; or the *reaſons of the univerſity above-mentioned? Whether they owned the power of the viſitors?* Or whether they *approved of the anſwer of the proctors in the name of the whole univerſity?** And refuſing to give a direct anſwer, were ſerved with a citation to appear before the *committee for the reformation of the univerſity at Weſtminſter* the 11th inſtant, which they did accordingly; and having owned their approbation of the anſwer of the *proctors* in

§ Wood's Antiq. Oxon. p. 389, 390. * Suff. Cler. p. 130.

the

the name of the univerſity, they tendered a paper to the *committee* in the name of all who had been cited, ſetting forth, "That what they had done was not out of obſtinacy, but "from conſcience; and praying that in an affair of ſo much "conſequence they might be allowed time to adviſe with "council." Their requeſt being readily granted, two gentlemen of the long robe of their own nomination, viz. Mr. HALE and Mr. CHUTE, were appointed their council. The day of hearing was December 9; the poſition they offered to maintain was, that *it was one of the privileges of the univerſity to be ſubject* ONLY *to a royal viſitation*; the council for the univerſity made a learned argument upon this head; but, as Mr. *Collier* obſerves, this queſtion had been debated before the king in council in the year 1637, when archbiſhop *Laud* claimed a right of viſiting the two univerſities *jure metropolitico*.† It was then admitted, that the king might viſit when he pleaſed; yet after a full hearing, his majeſty, with the advice of his council, declared and adjudged the right of viſiting both univerſities, as univerſities, to belong to the archbiſhop and metropolitical church of Canterbury, by themſelves or commiſſaries, and that the univerſities ſhould from time to time be obedient thereunto. Which determination of his majeſty, the archbiſhop moved might be drawn up by council learned in the law, and put under the *broad ſeal*, to prevent diſputes for the future. And the ſame was accordingly done; the univerſity therefore loſt their queſtion in the committee. The council for the viſitors were further of opinion, that the *kingly power was always virtually preſent with his great council of parliament*, and that therefore they might viſit; but ſuppoſing this to be a miſtake, they affirmed, that the parliament had an undoubted right to reform the univerſity *by the articles of capitulation*, in which they had expreſly reſerved this power to themſelves. After a full hearing on both ſides, the committee voted, that *the anſwer of the ſeveral heads of houſes, and of others of the univerſity, was derogatory to the authority of parliament*.

The Oxford divines, not ſatisfied with this determination, appealed ſoon after to the publick, in a letter to the learned

† Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, p. 766.

Mr.

Mr. *Selden* repreſentative for the univerſity, entitled *The caſe of the univerſity of Oxford*; or the ſad dilemma that all the members thereof are put to, to be perjured or deſtroyed.* The letter ſays, "that the only queſtion propoſed by the "viſitors to every ſingle perſon in the univerſity is, *Whether* "*he will ſubmit to the power of the parliament in this viſita-* "*tion?* To which they reply, that unleſs they have the per- "ſonal conſent of the king, they cannot ſubmit to any viſi- "tation without danger of perjury, as appears by the words "of the oath, which are, *You ſhall ſwear to obſerve all the* "*ſtatutes, liberties, privileges, and cuſtoms of the univerſity*; "to which the ſcholar anſwers, *I ſwear*. Now it being one "of our privileges to be viſited by none but the king, or "by the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the archbiſhop being "dead, it follows we can be viſited by none but the king; "to ſubmit therefore to another viſitation, muſt be a breach "of our liberties, and conſequently downright perjury.— "They urged further, the ſtatutes of their ſeveral colleges, "which bind them to certain rules in their electing of proc- "tors, in the calling and meeting of convocations, in the "choice of ſeveral officers in caſe of a vacancy, all which, "inſtead of being referred to the members of the univer- "ſity, is now done by the arbitrary power of the viſitors. "Nothing (ſay they) can be alledged in anſwer to this, but "the pretended ſovereign power of the two houſes to make "and aboliſh laws, which we abſolutely diſbelieve. Upon "the whole, they appeal to *any divine*, whether they ought "to ſubmit to the viſitation as long as they believe their "oaths to be in full force, and are confident, that the two "houſes cannot diſpenſe with them? And conſequently "whether they ought to be turned out of their freeholds "on this account?"

The COMMITTEE at London having waited till the end of the month of December, to ſee if any of the heads of colleges would ſubmit, voted Dr. *Fell* out of his deanery of Chriſt-church for contumacy;‖ and paſſed the ſame ſentence upon

Dr. *Oliver*, preſident of Magdalen-college
Dr. *Potter*, ———— Trinity

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 130. Vol. Pamp. No. 34.
‖ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 131.

Dr.

Dr. *Bayley*, preſident of St. John's
Dr. *Radcliffe*, principal of Brazen-Noſe
Dr. *Gardner*, }
Dr. *Iles*, } Canons of Chriſt-church.
Dr. *Morley*, }

When theſe reſolutions were ſent to Oxford, the proper officers refuſed to publiſh them, and when they were paſted upon the walls of the colleges, they were torn down, and trampled under foot; upon which the *pro-vice-chancellor*, and the two proctors, were ordered into cuſtody; but they abſconded, and Dr. *Oliver* aſſumed the office of pro-vice-chancellor. The parliament, provoked at this uſage, paſſed an ordinance Jan. 22, 1647-8, conſtituting the earl of *Pembroke* chancellor of Oxford, and March 8, they ordered him to repair thither in perſon, to ſupport the viſitors, and place the ſeveral perſons whom the committee had choſen, in the reſpective chairs of thoſe they had ejected.†

April 11, the chancellor made his publick entrance into the city, attended with a great number of clergy, and gentlemen of the country, and about one hundred horſe out of Oxford itſelf; the mayor welcomed him at his entrance into the city with a congratulatory ſpeech; and when he came to his lodgings, Mr. *Button*, one of the new proctors, made a ſpeech to him in Latin, but not one of the *heads of colleges* came near him; the *inſignia* of the univerſity were not to be found, and the ſcholars treated the *chancellor* and his retinue with all that rudeneſs they had been taught to expreſs towards all who adhered to the parliament.

Next morning the *earl*, attended with a guard of ſoldiers, went to Chriſt-church, and having in vain deſired Mrs. *Fell* the dean's wife, to quit the lodgings peaceably, he commanded the ſoldiers to break open the doors, and carry her out in a chair into the middle of the quadrangle;* he then put the new-elected dean Mr. *Reynolds*, afterwards biſhop of *Norwich*, into poſſeſſion; from thence his lordſhip, with the viſitors, went to the hall, and having got the *buttery-book*, ſtruck out Dr. *Fell*'s name, and inſerted that of Mr. *Reynolds*; the like they did by Dr. *Hammond*, ſub-dean, and publick

† Whitlocke, p. 290. * Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 133.

orator;

orator; by Dr. *Gardner*, Dr. *Rayne*, Dr. *Iles*, and Dr. *Morley*,* placing in their ſtead Mr. *Corbet*, who was made publick orator; Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Mills*, Mr. *Corniſh*, Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, ſen. and Mr. *Langley*; Dr. *Sanderſon* being ſpared, becauſe he was out of town when the laſt ſummons was iſſued.

In the afternoon they held a convocation, which was opened with an elegant Latin oration, pronounced by Mr. *Corbet* their new orator.† When the *chancellor* had taken the chair in the convocation-houſe, he declared Mr. *Reynolds* vice-chancellor, to whom an oath was adminiſtered that he would obſerve the ſtatutes and privileges of the univerſity, ſubject to the authority of parliament. Mr. *Button* and Mr. *Croſs* were declared proctors, and all three returned their thanks to the chancellor in Latin ſpeeches. On this occaſion degrees were conferred upon divers learned men. Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Callicott*, and Mr. *Harris*, were made doctors of divinity; Mr. *Palmer* doctor of phyſick; Mr. *J. Wilkins*, [afterwards biſhop] Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Corniſh*, and Mr. *Cheynell*, batchelors of divinity; the young earl of *Carnarvon*, the chancellor's two youngeſt ſons, and ſeveral other gentlemen, maſters of arts.‖

Next morning, April 13, the chancellor and viſitors, with a guard of muſqueteers, went to Magdalen-college, and having broke open the doors of the preſident's lodgings, [Dr. *Oliver*] who was out of the way, they gave Dr. *Wilkinſon* poſſeſſion. In the afternoon they went to All-Souls, where Dr. *Sheldon* the warden appearing, and refuſing to ſubmit, returned to his lodgings, and locked the doors; which being

* Dr. *Grey*, on the authority of biſhop *Sanderſon*'s biographer and Mr. *Wood*, ſays that Dr. *Morley* was not turned out. But Dr. *Richardſon* ſays, that being deprived of all his eccleſiaſtical benefices in 1648, he withdrew from the kingdom firſt to the Hague and then to Antwerp. De Præſulibus Angliæ Commentarius, p. 244. Dr. *Grey* appears to have miſtaken the paſſage in *Sanderſon*'s life, which relates only the ſteps that a friend *would have taken* to ſecure Dr. *Morley*'s continuance in the univerſity, and concludes with his memorable and generous reply, which ſhews that he *declined* availing himſelf of his friend's kindneſs, ſaying; "that when all the reſt "of the college were turned out, except Dr. *Wall*, he ſhould take it to be "if not a ſin, yet a ſhame to be left alive with him only." Ed.

† Ruſhworth, p. 1064. ‖ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 133, 134.

broke

broke open, the doctor was taken into cuſtody for contempt, and Dr. *Palmer* put in his place; from thence they went to Trinity-college, and having broke open the lodgings, Dr. *Harris* was put into poſſeſſion in the room of Dr. *Potter*. In like manner Dr. *Cheynel* had poſſeſſion given him of St. *John*'s in the room of Dr. *Bayly*; Mr. *Wilkins* was appointed preſident of Wadham college in the room of Dr. *Pit*; and Mr. *Greenwood* was put into poſſeſſion of Brazen-noſe college in the room of Dr. *Radcliffe*, allowing thoſe they diſplaced a month's time to remove their effects. But ſome of the ſtudents of Chriſt's-church having got the *buttery-book*, impudently cut out the names of thoſe whom the *viſitors* had inſerted; ſo that they were forced to return the next day, and write over again the names of their new dean and canons.§ The heads of colleges being thus fixed in their ſeveral ſtations, the chancellor took leave of the univerſity, and departed for London; and having reported his conduct April 21, received the thanks of the two houſes.

But Dr. *Wilkinſon*, ſen. and Mr. *Cheynel*, who returned with the chancellor, having repreſented to the parliament, that the fellows, ſcholars, and under-officers, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to their orders, it was reſolved, "that the viſitors "ſhould cite all the officers, fellows, and ſcholars, before "them, and that ſuch as refuſed to appear, or upon ap-"pearance did not ſubmit, ſhould be ſuſpended from their "places, and their names returned to the committee, who "were authorized to expel them the univerſity; and the "*new heads* (on ſignification of ſuch ſentence from the com-"mittee) in conjunction with the viſitors, were empowered "to put others in their places. They reſolved further, that "the *burſars* ſhould make no dividend of money till they "had orders from the committee; and that the tenants "ſhould pay their rents to none but the *heads* appointed "by the authority of parliament."* But the *barſars* abſconded, and were not to be found.

By virtue of theſe orders the viſitors cited the fellows, ſcholars of houſes, gentlemen commoners, and ſervitors, to appear before them at ſeveral times; the only queſtion demanded of them was, *Will you ſubmit to the power of the*

§ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 134. * Ibid. p. 134.

parliament in this viſitation? To which they were to give their anſwer in writing, and according to it were confirmed or diſplaced. Great numbers were abſent from the univerſity, and did not appear; others who diſowned the power of the parliament at firſt, afterwards ſubmitted, but the main body ſtood it out to the laſt: Dr. *Walker* ſays, that one hundred and eighty withdrew;§ that of about ſix hundred ſeventy-ſix who appeared, five hundred forty-eight refuſed at firſt to own the authority of the viſitation, but that afterwards many ſubmitted and made their peace.* In another place he ſuppoſes *one-fourth* ſubmitted; and makes the whole number of fellows and ſcholars deprived three hundred and ſeventy-five; and then by a liſt of new elections in ſome following years, reduces them to three hundred fifty-ſix; but conſidering that ſome may have been omitted, he gueſſes the whole to be about four hundred. The Oxford hiſtorian Mr. *Wood* ſays, the number of thoſe that refuſed to ſubmit was about three hundred thirty-four, but that they were not preſently expelled; for though the viſitors were obliged to return their names to the committee, and were empowered to expel them, yet they deferred the execution of their power, in hopes that time might bring them to a compliance; which it is very likely it did, becauſe it appears by the regiſter, that in the eight ſucceeding years, *i. e.* between the years 1648 and 1656, there were no more than three hundred ninety-ſix new elections, which, allowing for deaths and removals, muſt infer the *deprivations* at this time could not be very conſiderable; however, had their numbers been much greater than they really were, the parliament were obliged, in their own defence, to diſpoſſeſs them.

The few ſcholars that remained in the univerſity treated the viſitors with inſufferable rudeneſs; ſcurrilous and invective ſatires, equal if not ſuperior in raillery and ill language to *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, and the reſt of the *browniſtical* pamphlets in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, were diſperſed in the moſt publick places of the city every week; as *Mercurius Academicus*; *Pegaſus*, or the *Flying Horſe from Oxon*; *Pegaſus taught to dance the tune of* Lachrymæ; *News from*

§ Life of Mr. Phil. Henry, p. 12.

* Sufferings of the Clergy, part i. p. 135; and part ii. p. 138, 139.

Pembroke

Pembroke and Montgomery, or Oxford Mancheſtered. The Owl at Athens; or the Entrance of the Earl of Pembroke *into Oxford April* 11. *The Oxford Tragi-Comedy*, in heroick Latin verſe. *Lord have mercy upon us;* which is the inſcription put upon houſes that have the plague; and many others; which the viſitors took no further notice of, than to forbid the bookſellers to print or ſell the like for the future.* If the puritans had publiſhed ſuch pamphlets againſt the exorbitancies of the high-commiſſion court in the late times, the authors or publiſhers muſt have loſt their ears, as the *browniſts* did their lives towards the latter end of queen *Elizabeth*; and ſurely the univerſity might have evinced their loyalty without offering ſuch unmannerly provocations to gentlemen, who were diſpoſed to behave towards them with all gentleneſs and moderation.

The viſitors being informed that an inſurrection was deſigned among the ſcholars in favour of the king, and in concert with the loyaliſts in other parts of the kingdom, acquainted the commanding officers of the garriſon, who gave immediate orders to ſearch the colleges for arms; and on the 26th of May, 1648, the viſitors ordered all the members of the univerſity to deliver a peremptory anſwer in writing within ſeven days, *Whether they would ſubmit to the authority of the parliament in this viſitation or no?* And that none ſhould depart the univerſity without leave from the *pro-vice-chancellor.* The day following both houſes of parliament paſſed an order, "that for as much as many doctors, and "other members of the univerſity, notwithſtanding the ex- "ample that had been made of ſome of them, did ſtill per- "ſiſt in their contempt of the authority of parliament, which "might be of dangerous conſequence; therefore the com- "mittee for reforming the univerſity ſhould have power to "ſend for them under the cuſtody of a guard, and commit "them to priſon." When this order came to Oxford, the viſitors declared, that whoſoever ſhould not plainly, and without reſerve, declare his ſubmiſſion to the viſitation, ſhould be deemed as flatly denying its authority, and be taken into cuſtody; and that whoſoever laid claim to any place in the univerſity, ſhould within fifteen days declare his ſubmiſ-

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 135.

ſion, or be deprived; accordingly, at the expiration of the time, ſuch as did not appear were deprived of their fellowſhips, and expelled the univerſity: But ſtill the ſcholars would not remove, being too ſtubborn to be evicted by votes at London, or papers and *programma's* at Oxford. The viſitors therefore, after having waited above ſix months, were obliged to proceed to the laſt extremity; and July 5, 1649, ordered a ſerjeant, attended with ſome files of muſquetiers, to publiſh by beat of drum before the gates of the ſeveral colleges, that "if any of thoſe who had been expelled by "the viſitors, ſhould preſume to continue any longer in the "univerſity, they ſhould be taken into cuſtody, and be made "priſoners by the governor." This not anſwering the propoſed end, the Oxford hiſtorian adds, that four days after they publiſhed a further order by beat of drum before the gate of every college, "that if any one who had been "expelled, did preſume to tarry in the town, or was taken "within five miles of it, he ſhould be deemed as a ſpy, and "puniſhed with death." And to enforce this order, general *Fairfax*, who was then in the field, gave publick notice, that he would proceed accordingly with ſuch as did not depart in four days, unleſs they obtained leave from the vice-chancellor and viſitors to continue longer. At length their courage cooled, and the young gentlemen were prevailed on to retire. Thus the univerſity of Oxford was cleared of the royaliſts, and the viſitors at liberty to fill up their vacancies in the beſt manner they could; in all which one cannot tell which moſt to admire, the unparallelled patience and forbearance of a victorious parliament for almoſt two years, or the ſtubborn perverſeneſs and provoking behaviour of a few academics, againſt a power that could have battered their colleges about their ears, and buried them in their ruins in a few days.

About ten of the old heads of colleges, and profeſſors of ſciences, ſubmitted to the viſitors, and kept their places, and about nineteen or twenty were expelled. Thoſe who ſubmitted were,

Dr. Langbain, *provoſt of* Queen's } College
Dr. Hood, *rector of* Lincoln }

Dr.

Dr. Saunders, *provoſt of* Oriel
Dr. Hakewell, *rector of* Exeter
Sir Nath. Brent, *warden of* Merton
Dr. Zouch, *principal of* Alban-Hall
Dr. Lawrence, *maſter of* Baliol
} College

Dr. Pocock, *Arabick profeſſor*,
Dr. Clayton, *anatomy profeſſor*,
Mr. Philips, *muſick profeſſor*.

The following characters of theſe gentlemen, with thoſe of their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors, I have taken for the moſt part from writers not to be ſuſpected of partiality in favour of the puritans.

Dr. *Gerard Langbain*, provoſt of Queen's college, was a great ornament to his college; he was elected keeper of the archives or records of the univerſity, being in general eſteem for his great learning and honeſty. He was an excellent linguiſt, an able philoſopher and divine, a good common lawyer, a publick-ſpirited man, a lover of learning and learned men, beloved of archbiſhop *Uſher*, *Selden*, and the great *Goliahs* of literature. He was alſo an excellent antiquary, indefatigable in his ſtudies, and of immenſe undertakings. He died Feb. 10, 1657-8, and was buried in the inner chapel of Queen's college.*

Dr. *Paul Hood*, rector of Lincoln college, had been many years governor of this houſe, and continued in it through all changes till his death; he was vice-chancellor of the univerſity in the year 1660, when he conformed to the eſtabliſhed church, and died in the year 1668.‡

Dr. *John Saunders*, provoſt of Oriel college, diſowned the authority of the viſitors at firſt, but afterwards complied; for as Dr. *Walker* obſerves, there was no other provoſt till after his death, which was in the year 1652.‖

Dr. *George Hakewell*, rector of Exeter college, had been chaplain to prince *Charles* and archdeacon of *Surry*; upon the promotion of Dr. *Prideaux* to the ſee of Worceſter, he was choſen rector of this college, but reſided little there, retiring during the war to his rectory of Heanton in Devon,

* Wood's Athen. vol. ii. p. 140. ‡ Wood's Faſti, p. 127.
‖ Walker, p. 131.

where

where he led a recluſe life, and died in April 1649. He was (according to Dr. *Walker*) a great divine, a very good philoſopher, and a noted preacher.‡

Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, warden of Merton college, was probationer fellow in the year 1594, and proctor of the univerſity in 1607, he afterwards travelled into ſeveral parts of the learned world, and underwent dangerous adventures in Italy to procure the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, which he tranſlated into Engliſh, and therefore, ſays Mr. *Wood*,‖ deſerves an honourable mention. By the favour of archbiſhop *Abbot* he was made commiſſary of the dioceſe of Canterbury, and vicar-general to the archbiſhop, being doctor of laws, and at length judge of the prerogative. In 1629, he was knighted at Woodſtock, and at the commencement of the civil war took part with the parliament, for which reaſon he was ejected his wardenſhip of this college, but reſtored again when it came into the parliament's hands in 1646. He was one of the viſitors of the univerſity, and eſteemed a very learned and judicious civilian. He reſigned his wardenſhip in the year 1650, and died at London in 1652, after he had lived ſeventy-nine years.

Richard Zouch, L. L. D. principal of Alban-Hall, was of noble birth, and ſerved in parliament for the borough of Hythe in Kent. He was chancellor of the dioceſe of Oxon, principal of St. Alban-hall, in 1625, and at length judge of the high court of admiralty; he was very able and eminent in his own profeſſion, a ſubtle logician, an expert hiſtorian, and for the knowledge and practice of the civil law the chief perſon of his time. As his birth was noble (ſays Mr. *Wood**) ſo was his behaviour and diſcourſe; and as he was perſonable and handſome, ſo naturally ſweet, pleaſing and affable; he kept his principalſhip and profeſſorſhip till till his death, which happened March 1, 1660-1.

Dr. *Thomas Lawrence*, maſter of Baliol college, and *margaret profeſſor of divinity*, had been chaplain to king *Charles* I. and prebendary of Litchfield, and by the intereſt of archbiſhop *Laud* preferred to the maſterſhip of this college in 1637. He ſubmitted to the authority of the viſitors, and

‡ Walker, p. 114. ‖ Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 92.

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 166.

had

had a certificate under their hands, dated Auguſt 3, 1648, wherein they atteſt, *that he had engaged to obſerve the directory in all eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations, to preach practical divinity to the people, and to forbear preaching any of thoſe opinions that the reformed church had condemned.*‖ Dr. *Walker* ſays, he reſigned all his preferments in the univerſity in the year 1650, but does not ſay upon what occaſion; only that he grew careleſs, and did much degenerate in his life and manners; that he died in the year 1657, but that if he had lived three years longer, he would notwithſtanding have been conſecrated an Iriſh biſhop.†

The *profeſſors of ſciences* who ſubmitted to the viſitors, and were continued, were,

Dr. *Edward Pocock*, profeſſor of the Hebrew and Arabick languages; one of the moſt learned men of his age, and juſtly celebrated at home and abroad for his great ſkill in the oriental languages, and for many works that he publiſhed. He was afterwards ejected from his canonry of Chriſt-church for refuſing the engagement 1651,* but was ſuffered to enjoy his profeſſorſhip of Arabick and Hebrew; he conformed in the year 1660, and lived in great reputation till the year 1691.§

Thomas Clayton, M. D. *king's profeſſor of anatomy*; which profeſſorſhip he reſigned to Dr. *William Petty*, in Jan. 1650. He was made warden of Merton college upon the reſignation of Dr. *Reynolds*, March 26, 1661, and the next day was knighted by the intereſt of his brother-in-law Sir *Charles Cotterel*.

Mr. *Arthur Philips*, *profeſſor of muſick*, of whom I have met with no account.

‖ Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 136. † Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 100.

* He was very near being ejected from his living of Childrey for "ignorance and inſufficiency;" but Dr. *Owen*, the learned independant, intereſted himſelf in his behalf, and prevented his ejectment. When he was in the Eaſt, into which he made two voyages, the Mufti of Aleppo laid his hand upon his head, and ſaid; "this young man ſpeaks and underſtands Arabick as well as the Mufti of Aleppo." He was the firſt Laudian profeſſor of Arabick. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 270, 8vo. Ed.

§ Athen. Oxon. p. 868.

The

The heads of colleges ejected by the viſitors, with their ſucceſſors, may be ſeen in the following table.

Heads of colleges turned out.	Colleges.	*Succeeded by*
Dr. Fell, *vice-chancellor, from*	*Deanry of Chriſt Church*	Dr. Reynolds, *afterwards biſhop of* Norwich
Dr. Pit, *warden of*	*Wadham college*	Dr. J. Wilkins, *afterwards biſhop of* Cheſter
Dr. Walker	*Univerſity col.*	Dr. Joſhua Hoyle
Dr. Radcliffe	*Brazen-Noſe col.*	Dr. D. Greenwood
Dr. Sheldon	*All Souls coll.*	Dr. Palmer, *M. D.*
Dr. Newlin	*Corp. Chriſti coll.*	Dr. Ed. Staunton
Dr. Bayly	*St. John's coll.*	Dr. Cheynel
Dr. Oliver	*Magdalen coll.*	Dr. John Wilkinſon
Dr. Han. Potter	*Trinity coll.*	Dr. Robert Harris
Dr. Manſell	*Jeſus coll.*	Dr. Mic. Roberts
Mr. Wightwick, *B.D.*	*Pembroke coll.*	Dr. H. Langley
Dr. Stringer, *Prof. Gr. Lang.*	*New coll.*	Mr. Geo. Marſhall Mr. Harmar, *Prof. Gr. Lang.*

Profeſſors of Sciences turned out.	Profeſſorſhips.	*Succeeded by*
Dr. Rb. Sanderſon	*Reg. Pr. of Div.*	Dr. Croſſe
Mr. Birkenhead, *A. M.*	*M. Philoſ. Prof.*	Dr. Hen. Wilkinſon, *jun.*
Mr. Rob. Warin	Camb. *Hiſt. Prof.*	Dr. L. du Moulin
Dr. Jn. Edwards	*Nat. Phil. Prof.*	Dr. Joſhua Croſſe
Dr. Turner, *M. D.*	Savil *Prof. Geo.*	Dr. John Wallis
Mr. J. Greaves, *A.M.*	*Profeſſ. Aſtron.*	Dr. Ward, *after. bp.* Saliſbury
Dr. Hen. Hammond	*Univerſity orator.*	Mr. Burton, *A.M.* Mr. Corbet, *who quitted.*

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, warden of All-Souls college, was ejected April 3, 1648, and lived retired with his friends in Staffordſhire

Staffordſhire till 1659, when he was reſtored to his wardenſhip upon the death of Dr. *Palmer*. After the reſtoration he was ſucceſſively biſhop of London, chancellor of Oxford, and archbiſhop of Canterbury; he built the noble theatre at Oxford, and did a great many other works of charity,[a] but never gave any great ſpecimens of his piety or learning to the world.[b]

Dr. *Samuel Fell*, vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and dean of Chriſt-church, diſpoſſeſſed of his deanery April 12, 1648.[c] He gave the viſitors all the diſturbance he could, and was therefore taken into cuſtody for a time, but being quickly releaſed he retired to his rectory at Sunningwell in Berkſhire, where de died Feb. 1, 1648-9. He had been a *calviniſt*, but changed his ſentiments, and after great creepings and cringings to archbiſhop *Laud* (ſays Mr. *Wood*[d]) he became his creature, and if the rebellion had not broke out, would, no doubt, have been made a biſhop. He left no remarkable traces of his learning behind him.

Dr. *Samuel Radcliffe*, principal of Brazen-Noſe college, was elected to this headſhip 1614, and was in an infirm condition when he was ejected for diſowning the authority of the viſitors, April 13, 1648, and died the June following.[e] Neither Mr. *Wood* nor *Walker* ſay any thing of his learning, nor are any of his works extant.

Dr. *Robert Newlin*, preſident of Corpus-Chriſti college, and pro-vice-chancellor in the year 1648. He was reſtored to his preſidentſhip again in the year 1660, and died in it 1687.[f] But neither *Wood* nor *Walker* have given him any character.[f]

Dr. *Richard Bayly*, preſident of St. John's college, a kinſman of archbiſhop *Laud*, and one of his executors; he had been preſident of this college twenty years when he was

[a] His benefactions, publick and private, amounted to 66,000l. Much of this money was appropriated to the relief of the neceſſitous in the time of the plague, and to the redemption of chriſtian ſlaves. The building only of the theatre in Oxford coſt him 16,000l. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 231, 8vo. ED.

[b] Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 98. [c] Walker, p. 102.

[d] Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 93. [e] Walker, p. 101.

[f] Walker, p. 111.

ejected;

ejected; but was reſtored in 1660, and died at Saliſbury 1667.[a] He was hoſpitable and charitable, but very faulty (ſays Mr. *Wood*) in uſing ſome kind of oaths in common converſation.[b] I do not know that he publiſhed any thing.

Dr. *John Oliver*, preſident of Magdalen college, had been domeſtick chaplain to archbiſhop *Laud*, and was a man (ſays Dr. *Walker*[c]) of great learning and ſound principles in religion, (that is, of the principles of the archbiſhop;) he was reſtored to his preferments 1660, but died ſoon after October 27, 1661.

Dr. *Hannibal Potter*, preſident of Trinity college, elected 1643, and turned out with the reſt who diſowned the authority of the viſitors, April 13, 1648. He afterwards accepted of a curacy in Somerſetſhire, and was ejected for inſufficiency; but Dr. *Walker* ſays,[d] it was becauſe he uſed part of the church ſervice. He was reſtored in 1660, and died in 1664.

Dr. *John Pitt*, warden of Wadham college, elected April 16, 1644, after that city was garriſoned for the king; he behaved very refractorily towards the viſitors, and died ſoon after his ejectment.[e]

Dr. *Francis Manſel*, principal of Jeſus college, elected to this principalſhip in the year 1630, and ejected May 22, 1648. He was reſtored again in 1660, and died in 1665, having been an eminent benefactor to his college.

Dr. *Thomas Walker*, maſter of Univerſity college, elected 1632, and diſpoſſeſſed by the viſitors July 10, 1648. He was reſtored in the year 1660, and died in 1665. He was related to archbiſhop *Laud*, and was one of his executors, and (according to *Lloyd*) a deſerving modeſt man and a great ſufferer.[f]

Mr. *Henry Wightwick*, B. D. elected to the maſterſhip of Pembroke college in direct oppoſition to the order of parliament, July 13, 1647, for which reaſon he was ſoon after removed. In the year 1660, he was reſtored, but turned out again in 1664, for what reaſons Dr. *Walker* ſays he does not know. He died in Lincolnſhire 1671.[g]

[a] Walker, p. 116.

[b] Dr. *Grey* aſks, "where does *Wood* ſay this? No where that I can "meet with." Nor can I find the paſſage. ED.

[c] Walker, p. 122. [d] Ibid. p. 133. [e] Ibid. p. 136.

[f] Ibid. p. 114. [g] Ibid. p. 132. Dr.

Dr. *Henry Stringer*, elected to the wardenſhip of New college, after the ſame manner, in direct oppoſition to the viſitors, Nov. 18, 1647, for which reaſon he was deprived Aug. 1, 1648. He was profeſſor of the Greek language, but reſigned, and died at London 1657.[i]

The profeſſors ejected by the viſitors were,

Dr. *Robert Saunderſon*, regius profeſſor of *divinity*; a very learned man, and an excellent caſuiſt;[k] he was nominated one of the *aſſembly of divines*, but did not ſit among them. He had a very conſiderable hand in drawing up *the reaſons of the univerſity againſt the covenant, and the negative oath*. After his ejectment he retired to his living at Boothby, where he continued preaching, though not without ſome difficulties, till the reſtoration, when he was preferred to the biſhoprick of Lincoln, and died 1662-3.[l]

Mr. *John Birkenhead*, A. M. *moral philoſophy* reader; he was employed by the court to write the *Mercurius Aulicus*, a paper filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt the parliament, for which he was rewarded with this lectureſhip. After his ejectment he lived privately till the reſtoration, when he was knighted, and choſen burgeſs in parliament for the borough of Wilton. He was alſo created *L. L. D.* and maſter of the faculties, and died in 1679, leaving behind him (according to *Wood*) a very ſorry character.[l]

Mr. *Robert Waring*, *Cambden hiſtory* profeſſor; he bore arms for the king in the garriſon at Oxford, and was not elected to this profeſſorſhip till after the viſitation began. He was reckoned (ſays *Wood*) among the wits of the univerſity, and was a good poet and orator. He died 1658.[m]

[i] Walker, p. 127.

[k] "He was, eſpecially in the former part of his life, remarkable for his "exceſſive modeſty: an infirmity," obſerves my author, "oftner ſeen in "men of the quickeſt ſenſibility, and of the beſt underſtanding, than in "the half-witted, the ſtupid, and the ignorant." Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 238, 9. 8vo. He diſapproved of and wrote againſt the uſual mode of lending money on intereſt. But he adopted another way of advancing it more advantageous to the lender, and ſometimes to the borrower. He would give 100l. for 20l. for ſeven years. Calamy's Church and Diſſenters compared as to Perſecution, p. 80. ED.

[l] Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 476.

[m] Walker, p. 106. Athen. Ox. vol. ii. p. 143.

John

John Edwards, M. D. *natural philoſophy* lecturer; who behaved rudely towards the viſitors, and was therefore not only diſpoſſeſſed of his preferment, but expelled the univerſity;[n] but neither *Wood* nor *Walker* give any character of him.

Peter Turner, M. D. *Savillian* profeſſor of *geometry*; he ſerved his majeſty as a voluntier under the command of Sir *J. Byron*, and being a zealous loyaliſt, was expelled the univerſity by the viſitors, after which he retired to London, and died 1650. He was a good mathematician, well read in the fathers, an excellent linguiſt, and highly eſteemed by archbiſhop *Laud*.[o]

John Greaves, A. M. profeſſor of *aſtronomy*, was ſent by archbiſhop *Laud* to travel into the eaſtern parts of the world to make a collection of books in thoſe languages.[p] After his return he was preferred to this profeſſorſhip, but was ejected by the viſitors, and Nov. 9, 1648, expelled the univerſity, for ſending the college treaſure to the king, and other offences of the like nature. He died at London 1652, with the reputation of a good ſcholar, having been well reſpected by Mr. *Selden* and others.[q]

Dr. *Henry Hammond*, univerſity *orator*, was a very learned man, and a great divine, highly eſteemed by king *Charles* I. He aſſiſted at the treaty of Uxbridge, and attended the king as his chaplain when he was permitted. After his ejectment he retired to the houſe of Sir *John Packington*, of Worceſterſhire, where he employed his time in writing ſeveral valuable and learned treatiſes in defence of the hierarchy of the church of England, and in the ſtudy of the New Teſtament. He died April 25, 1660.

The heads of colleges who ſucceeded thoſe that were ejected by authority of parliament, were,

[n] Walker, p. 118. [o] Wood, vol. ii. p. 84.

[p] This he did with indefatigable induſtry, and at the peril of his life. He alſo collected for archbiſhop *Laud* many oriental gems and coins. He took a more accurate ſurvey of the pyramids than any traveller who went before him. During his ſtay at Rome, on his return from the Eaſt, he made a particular enquiry into the true ſtate of the ancient weights and meaſures. He was a great man.

Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 119, 20. 8vo. Ed.

[q] Walker, p. 125.

Dr.

Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and dean of Chriſt-Church in the place of Dr. *Fell*; he was probationer-fellow of Merton college in the year 1620, which he obtained by his uncommon ſkill in the Greek tongue; he was a good diſputant and orator, a popular divine, and in great eſteem in the city of London, being preacher to the honourable ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn. Mr. *Wood* confeſſes,[r] he was a perſon of excellent parts and endowments, of a very good wit, fancy, and judgment, and much eſteemed by all parties for his floriu ſtile. Sir *Thomas Brown* adds, that he was a divine of ſingular affability, meekneſs and humility; of great learning, a frequent preacher, and a conſtant reſident. He conformed at the reſtoration, and was made biſhop of Norwich, and died 1676.

Dr. *John Wilkins*, promoted to the wardenſhip of Wadham college in the place of Dr. *Pit*. He was educated in Magdalen-hall, and was chaplain to *Charles* count *Palatine* of the Rhine. A little before the reſtoration he came to London, and was miniſter of St. Lawrence-Jury, and preacher to the ſociety at Lincoln's-Inn. Mr. *Wood* admits,[s] that he was a perſon of rare gifts, a noted theologiſt and preacher, a curious critick, an excellent mathematician, and as well ſeen in mechaniſm, and the new philoſophy, as any in his time. In the year 1656, he married the ſiſter of *O. Cromwell*, then lord-protector of England, and had the headſhip of Trinity college in Cambridge conferred upon him, which is the beſt preferment in that univerſity. He was afterwards a member of the *royal ſociety*, to which he was a conſiderable benefactor. Dr. *Burnet* ſays, that biſhop *Wilkins* was a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, of as eminent virtue, and as good a ſoul, as any he ever knew. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* gives him an equal character; and ſeveral members of the *royal ſociety* acknowledge him to have been an ornament to the univerſity, and Engliſh nation. He was created biſhop of Cheſter in the year 1668, and died of the ſtone in the houſe of Dr. *Tillotſon*, 1672.[t] Dr.

[r] Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 421. [s] Ibid. p. 371.

[t] To Mr. *Neal*'s character of biſhop *Wilkins*, it may be added: that he was a man of an enlarged and liberal mind, which ſhewed itſelf in his great moderation on the points agitated between the conformiſts and non-conformiſts;

Dr. *Joſhua Hoyle*, preferred to the headſhip of Univerſity college in the room of Dr. *Walker*; he was educated at Magdalen-hall, Oxford, but being invited into Ireland became fellow of Trinity college, and profeſſor of *divinity* in the univerſity of Dublin. In the beginning of the Iriſh rebellion he came over to England, and was made vicar of Stepney, a member of the aſſembly of divines, and at length maſter of this college, and king's profeſſor of *divinity* in the room of Dr. *Sanderſon*. Mr. *Wood* ſays,[y] he was a perſon of great reading and memory, but of leſs judgment. He was exactly acquainted with the *ſchoolmen*, and ſo much devoted to his book, that he was in a manner a ſtranger to the world; he was indefatigably induſtrious, and as well qualified for an academick as any perſon of his time. He died 1654.

Dr. *Daniel Greenwood*, principal of Brazen-Noſe college, in the room of Dr. *Radcliffe*; he had been fellow of the college for a conſiderable time, and had the reputation of a profound ſcholar and divine. Mr. *Wood* ſays,[x] he was a ſevere and good governor, as well in his vice-chancellorſhip as in his principalſhip; he continued in his college with an unſpotted character till the reſtoration, when he was ejected

conformiſts; and in his free, generous way of philoſophizing. He diſdained to tread in the beaten track, but ſtruck out into the new road pointed out by the great lord *Bacon*. He formed inſtitutions for the encouragement of experimental philoſophy, and the application of it to affairs of human life, at each univerſity: and was the chief means of eſtabliſhing the royal ſociety. His chimæras were thoſe of a man of genius.* His character was truly exemplary, as well as extraordinary. His great prudence never failed in any undertaking. Sincerity was natural to him. With a greatneſs of mind he looked down upon wealth as much as others admire it. What he yearly received from the church, he beſtowed in its ſervices: and made no ſavings from his temporal eſtate; acting up to his frequent declaration, "I "will be no richer." Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 405, 6. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 247, 8, 8vo. and Lloyd's Funeral Sermon, p. 41, 2, 3. Ed.

* Such was his attempt to ſhew the poſſibility of a voyage to the moon; to which the dutcheſs of *Newcaſtle* made this objection: "Doctor, where am I to "find a place for baiting at, in the way up to that planet?" *Madam*, ſaid he, *of all the people in the world, I never expected that queſtion from you, who* have built ſo many *caſtles in the air, you that may lie every night at one of your own.* Granger, ut ſupra, the note. Ed.

[y] Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 113. [x] Wood's Faſti, vol. iii. p. 770.

by

by the king's commiſſioners, after which he lived privately till 1673, when he died.

Dr. *John Wilkinſon* had been principal of Magdalen-hall before the civil wars, but when that univerſity was garriſoned by the king, he fled into the parliament's quarters, and was ſucceeded by Dr. *Thomas Read*, who was admitted by the king's mandate, October 16, 1643, but in 1646, Dr. *Wilkinſon* was reſtored. The year following (1647) he was made preſident of Magdalen college in the room of Dr. *Oliver*; he was a learned and pious man, died Jan. 2, 1649, and was buried in the church of Great-Milton, Oxfordſhire.

Dr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, jun. commonly called *Dean Harry*, principal of Magdalen-hall; he was a noted tutor, and moderator in his college before the commencement of the civil wars, upon the breaking out of which he left Oxford and came to London, but when that city was ſurrendered to the parliament he returned to the univerſity, and was created *D. D.* made *principal* of his hall, and *moral philoſophy* profeſſor in the room of Mr. *Birkenhead*. Mr. *Wood* ſays,[1] that he took all ways imaginable to make his houſe flouriſh with young ſtudents; that he was a frequent and active preacher, and a good diſciplinarian; for which reaſon the heads of the univerſity perſuaded him earneſtly to conform at the reſtoration, that they might keep him among them, but he refuſed. After his ejectment he ſuffered for his non-conformity, by impriſonments, mulcts, and the loſs of his goods and books; though, according to the ſame author, he was very courteous in ſpeech and carriage, communicative of his knowledge, generous, charitable to the poor, and ſo publick-ſpirited, that he always regarded the common good more than his own private concerns. He publiſhed ſeveral learned works, and died 1690, *æt.* 74.

Dr. *Robert Harris*, preſident of Trinity college in the room of Dr. *Potter*, was educated in Magdalen-hall, and had been a famous preacher in Oxfordſhire for about forty years; upon the breaking out of the war he came to London, where he continued till appointed one of the viſitors of the univerſity, and *head* of this college, over which he preſided ten years, though he was now ſeventy. He was a

[1] Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 646.

perſon

perſon of great piety and gravity, an exact maſter of the Hebrew language, and well verſed in chronology, church-hiſtory, the councils and fathers. He governed his college with great prudence, and gained the affections of all the ſtudents, who reverenced him as a father, though he had been ſtigmatiſed by the royaliſts as a notorious pluraliſt.—To which the writer of his life replies, that whatever benefices he might have been nominated to, he declared he did not receive the profits of them. The inſcription upon his tomb-ſtone ſays, that he was *Præſes æternum celebrandus; perſpicaciſſimus indolum ſcrutator, poteſtatis arbiter mitiſſimus, merentium fautor integerrimus, &c.* He died 1658.[z]

Dr. *Henry Langley*, maſter of Pembroke college in the room of Mr. *Wightwick*, was original fellow of his college, and made maſter of it in 1647. He kept his place till the reſtoration, after which he ſet up a private academy among the diſſenters; having the character of a ſolid and judicious divine, and being a frequent preacher. He died 1679.[a]

Dr. *Francis Cheynel*, preſident of St. John's college in the room of Dr. *Bayly*, was probationer fellow of Merton college in the year 1629, and afterwards rector of Petworth, a member of the aſſembly of divines, and this year made preſident of that college, and *margaret profeſſor* in the room of Dr. *Lawrence*, both which he quitted after ſome time for refuſing the *engagement*, and retired to his living at Petworth, from whence he was ejected at the reſtoration. He was a perſon of a great deal of indiſcreet zeal, as appears by his behaviour at the funeral of the great Mr. *Chillingworth*, already mentioned. Biſhop *Hoadly* ſays, he was exactly orthodox, and as pious, honeſt, and charitable, as his bigotry would permit; and Mr. *Eachard* adds, that he was of conſiderable learning and great abilities.[b]

Dr. *Michael Roberts*, principal of Jeſus college in the room of Dr. *Manſel*, was a good ſcholar, and would, no doubt, have conformed at the reſtoration, had he been inclined to have accepted any preferment, but he had reſigned his principalſhip into the hands of the protector, 1657, and being rich choſe a private life.[c] He publiſhed a Latin

[z] Clark's Lives, p. 314.
[a] *Wood*'s Faſti, vol. ii. p. 747, 771.
[b] Athen. Ox. vol. ii. p 245.
[c] Faſti, vol. ii. p. 752.

elegy

elegy upon general *Monk*, duke of Albemarle, and died in Oxford 1679.

Dr. *Edmund Staunton*, preſident of Corpus-Chriſti college in the room of Dr. *Newlin*, was admitted fellow of this college 1616, and afterwards miniſter of Kingſton-upon-Thames. He took the degrees in divinity 1634, and was afterwards one of the aſſembly of divines. He kept his principalſhip till he was ejected by the king's commiſſioners at the reſtoration; he was a diligent popular preacher, a good ſcholar, and continued his labours among the non-conformiſts till his death, which happened 1671.*

John Palmer, M. D. warden of All-Souls in the room of Dr. *Sheldon*, had been batchelor of phyſick of Queen's college, and was now created M. D. in preſence of the chancellor; he was a learned man, and held his preferment till his death, which happened March 4, 1659; at which time, there being a near proſpect of the reſtoration, Dr. *Sheldon* was reſtored to his wardenſhip.†

Upon the death of Dr. *Pink*, the viſitors nominated old Mr. *White* of Dorcheſter to ſucceed him, but I think he refuſed it, being very much advanced in years.‖

The profeſſors of ſciences, who ſucceeded the ejected ones, were,

Dr. *Seth Ward*, profeſſor of aſtronomy in the place of Dr. *Greaves*, and according to Mr. *Wood*, the moſt noted mathematician§ and aſtronomer of his time; he was educated in Sidney-college, Cambridge, and in the year 1643, ejected for adhering to the king, but having afterwards changed

* Athen. Ox. vol. ii. p. 352-3. † Faſti, vol. ii. p. 747.

‖ Wood's Faſti, p. 68.

§ He was the firſt who brought mathematical learning into vogue in the univerſity of Cambridge. He was a cloſe reaſoner and an admirable ſpeaker, having, in the houſe of lords, been eſteemed equal, at leaſt, to the earl of *Shafteſbury*. He was a great benefactor to both his biſhopricks: as by his intereſt, the deanery of Barien in Cornwall was annexed to the former, though it has been ſince ſeparated from it; and the chancellorſhip of the garter to the latter. He was polite, hoſpitable, and generous. He founded in his life-time, the college at Saliſbury for the reception and ſupport of miniſters' widows; and the ſumptuous hoſpital at Buntingford in Hertfordſhire, the place of his nativity.

Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 244-5, 8vo. Ed.

his mind, he made friends to the committee for reforming the univerſity of Oxford, and was nominated to this preferment; he was afterwards maſter of Trinity college, and upon his majeſty's reſtoration preferred, firſt to the biſhoprick of Exeter, and then to that of Saliſbury, where he died 1668.‡

Dr. *John Wallis*, *Savilian* profeſſor of geometry in the room of Dr. *Turner*; the fame of this gentleman's learning is well known to the world; he was of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards fellow of Queen's college in the ſame univerſity, then miniſter of St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, London, one of the ſcribes in the aſſembly of divines, and now, by the appointment of the committee, geometry profeſſor;* he conformed at the reſtoration, and maintained his poſt, and was an ornament to the univerſity, to a very advanced age.†

Lewis du Moulin, M. D. of the univerſity of Leyden, *Cambden* profeſſor of hiſtory in the place of Mr. *Robert Wareing*, was incorporated in the ſame degree at Cambridge, 1634; he was ſon of the famous *Peter du Moulin*, the French proteſtant, and kept his preferment till the reſtoration, when he was turned out by his majeſty's commiſſioners, and perſiſted in his non-conformity till his death. He was a valuable and learned man, as appears by his writings; but Mr. *Wood* obſerves,§ he was a violent independent, and ill-natured: He died in London 1680.

Joſhua Croſſe, L. L. D. natural philoſophy reader in the room of Dr. *Edwards*, and one of the proctors of the univerſity; he was fellow of Magdalen college, and kept his reader's place till the reſtoration, after which he lived privately in Oxford till his death, which happened in 1676.

‡ Athen. Ox. vol. ii. p. 627-8. * Wood's Faſti, p. 72, 106.

† Mathematical ſcience is greatly indebted to Dr. *Wallis*, for ſeveral important improvements and inventions. The modern art of decyphering was his diſcovery: and he was the author of the method of teaching deaf and dumb perſons to ſpeak, and to underſtand a language. His Engliſh grammar, in which many things were entirely his, ſhewed at once the grammarian and the philoſopher. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 286, 8vo. He is ſaid to have applied his art of decyphering to the king's letters taken at Nazeby. Ed.

§ Wood's Faſti, vol. ii. p. 753-4.

He

He was a gentleman much honoured for his becoming converſation.‡

Ralph Button, A. M. univerſity orator in the room of Dr. *Hammond*, and one of the proctors of the univerſity; he was originally of Exeter college, where he made ſo great a progreſs in philoſophy, and other literature, that when he was only batchelor of arts he was recommended by Dr. *Prideaux* to ſtand for a fellowſhip in Merton college, and was accordingly choſen 1633. He was afterwards a celebrated tutor in his houſe, but was obliged to quit Oxford in the beginning of the civil wars, becauſe he would not bear arms for the king. When the war was over he reſumed his employment as tutor, and upon the refuſal of *Edward Corbet* was made canon of Chriſt-church, and univerſity orator; he was ejected at the reſtoration, and afterwards taught academical learning at Iſlington, near London, till 1680, when he died. He was an excellent ſcholar, a moſt humble upright man, and a great ſufferer for non-conformity.‖

Mr. *John Harman*, A. M. profeſſor of the Greek language in the room of Dr. *Stringer*, was educated in Magdalen college, and took his degrees 1617, he was afterwards maſter of the free-ſchool at St. Albans, and one of the maſters of Weſtminſter ſchool; from thence he was removed to the Greek profeſſorſhip in this univerſity. He was (ſays Mr. *Wood**) a great philologiſt, a tolerable Latin poet, and one of the moſt excellent Grecians of his time, but otherwiſe an honeſt weak man. He was turned out at the reſtoration, and afterwards lived privately at Steventon in Hampſhire till the year 1670, when he died.

Theſe were all the changes that were made among the heads of colleges, and profeſſors at this time; and upon the whole, though it muſt be allowed, that many of the ejected loyaliſts were men of learning and great merit, it is certain, thoſe that kept their places, and the ſucceſſors of ſuch as were ejected, were men of equal probity and virtue, and no leſs eminent in their ſeveral profeſſions, as appears by the monuments of their learning, ſome of which are remaining to this day.

‡ Calamy's Abridg. p. 58. ‖ Ibid. p. 60.

* Athen. Ox. vol. ii. p. 347-8.

The very enemies of the new heads of colleges have confeſſed, that they were ſtrict in the government of their ſeveral houſes, that they kept a more than common watch over the morals of the ſtudents, and obliged them to an exact compliance with their ſtatutes. The profeſſors were indefatigable in inſtructing their pupils both in publick and private; drunkenneſs, oaths, and profanation of the Lord's day, were baniſhed; ſtrict piety, and a profeſſion of religion, were in faſhion; the ſcholars often met together for prayer and religiousc onference; ſo that, as Mr. *Philip Henry*, who lived then in the univerſity, obſerves, *If thoſe of the old ſpirit and way were at firſt the better ſcholars, theſe were the better men.*

Let the reader now judge of the ſpirit and candor of thoſe writers, who inſinuate, "that the new profeſſors could "neither pronounce Latin, nor write Engliſh; that in the "room of the ejected loyaliſts there ſucceeded an illiterate "rabble, ſwept up from the plough-tail, from ſhops, and "grammar-ſchools, and the dregs of the neighbouring uni-"verſity; that the muſes were driven from their ancient "ſeats; that all loyalty, learning, and good ſenſe, were ba-"niſhed; and that there ſucceeded in their room nothing "but barbariſm, enthuſiaſm, and ignorance, till the dawn "of the reſtoration."† Lord *Clarendon* was a declared enemy to theſe changes, and has painted them in the moſt odious colours, yet the force of truth has obliged him to confeſs, that "though it might have been reaſonably ex-"pected, that this wild and barbarous depopulation (as he "calls it) would have extirpated all the learning, religion, and "loyalty, which had flouriſhed there, and that the ſucceeding "ill huſbandry, and unſkilful cultivation, would have made "it fruitful only in ignorance, profaneneſs, atheiſm, and "rebellion, yet by God's wonderful providence that fruitful "ſoil could not be made barren by all that ſtupidity and "negligence; it choaked the weeds, and would not ſuffer "the poiſonous ſeeds that were ſown with induſtry enough, "to ſpring up, but after ſeveral tyrannical governors mu-"tually ſucceeding each other, and with the ſame malice "and perverſeneſs endeavouring to extinguiſh all good "literature and allegiance, it yielded an harveſt of extra-

† Walker's Suff. Cler. p. 140.

"ordinary

" ordinary good knowledge in all parts of learning; and " many who were wickedly introduced applied themſelves " to the ſtudy of good learning, and the practice of virtue, " and had inclinations to that duty and obedience they had " never been taught, that when it pleaſed God to bring " king *Charles* II. back to his throne he found the univerſity " abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and " obedience little inferior to what it was before its deſo- " lation." Conſidering the ill-nature that runs through this paragraph, it muſt be acknowledged to be an unanſwerable teſtimony to the learning and application of the *new profeſſors*, and with equal juſtice it may be added, that the univerſity was in a much better ſtate for learning, religion, and good ſenſe, at the reſtoration, than before the civil wars, as all the eminent philoſophers and divines of the eſtabliſhment, who did ſo much honour to their country in the three ſucceeding reigns, owed their education to theſe profeſſors, *viz.* the *Tillotſons*, *Stillingfleets*, *Patricks*, *Souths*, *Caves*, *Sprats*, *Kidders*, *Whitbys*, *Bulls*, *Boyles*, *Newtons*, *Lockes*, and others. The univerſity was in high reputation in foreign parts, and produced as many learned performances as in any former period. So that admitting the new profeſſors were not introduced into their places in a legal way, according to the ſtatutes, becauſe of the *neceſſity of the times*, yet it is certain, they proved wiſe and watchful governors, ſtrict obſervers of their ſtatutes, and induſtrious promoters of piety and the liberal arts; and were far from deſerving the brand of *ignorant*, *illiterate*, *hypocritical blockheads*, *enemies to the legal conſtitution of their country*, or of being pronounced unworthy the high preferments they enjoyed.

There were no doubt, at firſt, very conſiderable vacances in the ſeveral colleges; many of the fellows and ſcholars being dead, or killed in the king's ſervice, and others having reſigned their places in the univerſity for benefices in the church, beſides thoſe who were expelled by the viſitors as already mentioned; but to ſupply the deficiency of *fellows* and *tutors*, the committee encouraged ſeveral learned graduates in the univerſity of Cambridge to tranſlate themſelves to Oxford, and accept of preferments according to their merits. Many who had deſerted the univerſity when it became a garriſon

garriſon for the king, returned to their colleges, and were promoted according to their ſeniority. Great numbers of youth, who had been kept at home becauſe of the publick commotions, were now ſent to Oxford by their parents, to perfect their education; and if it be conſidered further, that there had been no admiſſions from Weſtminſter, Eton, St. Paul's, Merchant-Taylors, and other publick ſchools, for five or ſix years paſt, it is not to be wondered that there was an unuſual flow of youth to the univerſity at this time, ſo that the damage occaſioned by this revolution of affairs was quickly repaired, and the muſes returned to their ancient ſeats.

The long interruption of education in the univerſity produced a very great ſcarcity of orthodox and learned miniſters in the countries, ſome being ſilenced for refuſing the covenant, and others diſperſed, or killed in the wars. Many pulpits alſo were vacant by reaſon of the ſcandal or inſufficiency of the incumbents, which was one occaſion of the increaſe of lay-preachers, for the country people would go to hear any body rather than have no ſermons; beſides, the preſbyterian clergy would authorize none to preach, except ſuch as would take the *covenant*, and conſent to their diſcipline. To remedy theſe evils, the northern counties petitioned the houſes to erect a new univerſity in the city of York, but the confuſion of the times prevented their proſecuting the deſign. The *independants*, who were leſs zealous about clerical orders, encouraged or at leaſt connived at the lay-preachers, apprehending that in caſes of neceſſity, pious men of good natural parts might exerciſe their gifts publickly to the edification of the church; till under this cover they ſaw every bold enthuſiaſt almoſt begin to uſurp the office of a teacher. To bring things therefore into a little better order, the following petition was preſented to both houſes of parliament, October 6, under the title of *The humble petition of many citizens of London, and others.*

" YOUR petitioners are deeply ſenſible of the extreme " want of preaching the goſpel throughout this kingdom, " there being many hundreds of towns and villages altoge-

" ther

" ther deſtitute of any preaching miniſters, and many others " are not well ſupplied; by reaſon whereof ignorance, " drunkenneſs, profaneneſs, diſaffection to the parliament, " and to others in authority, every where abounds, there " being ſcarce ſo much as the face of religion in many places. " There is a great cry of people from ſeveral counties of " the kingdom, for men to preach to them the word of " eternal life; and there are many men of competent gifts " and abilities, of good life and honeſt converſation, who " being willing to employ their talents in the Lord's work, " and to ſubmit themſelves for approbation to moderate and " judicious men, are yet, by occaſion of ſome ſcruples about " ordination, diſcouraged from engaging in this work of " publiſhing the goſpel, wherein they might be helpful to " many. And ſeeing that in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, " *upon occaſion of people's neceſſities*, many ſuch men were " ſent forth to publiſh the goſpel, who had no formal act of " miniſterial ordination paſt upon them, whoſe endeavours " the Lord bleſſed to the good of many ſouls, and the fur- " thering of the kingdom's peace; and ſince alſo we nothing " doubt, but the propagation of the goſpel throughout this " kingdom, and the information of men in the things of " their peace, and the peace and ſafety of the kingdom, are " worthy of your greateſt zeal, and are not the leaſt of " your care;

" Therefore your petitioners humbly pray, that thoſe who " ſhall be approved of as men meet to diſpenſe the myſteries " of the goſpel, by ſuch judicious, moderate, and able men, " whom you in wiſdom ſhall appoint thereunto, may receive " from this honourable houſe encouragement and protection " in preaching the goſpel in any place of this kingdom, or " dominion of Wales, where need requires, that ſo the word " of the Lord may have free courſe and be glorified; igno- " rant men may be inſtructed; drunkenneſs, profaneneſs, and " diſaffection to the parliament, and to others in authority, " may be abandoned; and both the temporal and ſpiritual " peace and proſperity of all ſorts of men be the more ad- " vanced."*

* Ruſhworth, p. 834.

The

The houſes thanked the petitioners for their good affection, but did nothing upon it.

By an ordinance of Feb. 11, this year "all ſtage-players "were declared to be rogues puniſhable by the acts of the "39th of queen *Elizabeth*, and 7th of king *James*, not-"withſtanding any licence they might have from the king, "or any other perſon. All ſtage galleries, ſeats and boxes, "are ordered to be pulled down by warrant of two juſtices "of peace; all actors in plays for time to come being con-"victed ſhall be publickly whipped, and find ſureties for "their not offending in like manner for the future; and "all ſpectators of plays for every offence are to pay five "ſhillings."†

The controverſies about church-government, and liberty of conſcience, ran ſtill as high as ever; the *preſbyterians*, who had the government of the city of London in their hands, were for preſſing *covenant uniformity* in their ſermons, which the *independants*, and others of more catholick principles, endeavoured to oppoſe with all their might. Lord *Clarendon* is pleaſed to repreſent this in a ludicrous manner; "the pulpit ſkirmiſhes (ſays his lordſhip) were now higher "than ever; the *preſbyterians* in thoſe fields loſing nothing "of their courage; having a notorious power in the city, "notwithſtanding the emulation of the *independants*, who "were more learned and rational, who, though they had "not ſo great congregations of the common people, yet "infected and were followed by the moſt ſubſtantial citizens, "and by others of better condition. To theſe men *Cromwell* "and moſt of the officers of the army adhered; but the "divinity of the times was not to be judged by the preach-"ing and congregations in churches, which were now "thought not to be the fit and proper places of devotion, and "religious exercíſes, where the biſhops had exerciſed ſuch "illimited tyranny, and which had been polluted by their "conſecrations. *Liberty of conſcience* was now become the "great charter, and men who were inſpired preached and "prayed when and where they would. *Anabaptiſts* grew "very numerous, with whom the *independants* concurred,

† Scobel, p. 143.

"ſo

" ſo far as to join with them for the aboliſhing of tithes, as " of judaical inſtitution—If any honeſt man could have been " at ſo much eaſe as to have beheld the proſpect with de- " light, never was ſuch a ſcene of confuſion as had ſpread " itſelf at this time over the whole kingdom."* And yet it is certain, that the laws againſt vice and immorality were ſtrictly executed, the *Lord's day* was duly obſerved, the churches were crowded with attentive hearers, family devotion was in repute, neither ſervants nor children being allowed to walk in the fields, or frequent the publick-houſes. In a word, notwithſtanding the difference of men's opinions, and political views, there was a zeal for God, and a much greater appearance of ſobriety, virtue, and true religion, than before the civil war, or after the bleſſed reſtoration.

Among the puritan divines who died this year, was the reverend Mr. *Herbert Palmer*, B. D. of whom mention has been made among the Cambridge profeſſors; his father was Sir *Thomas Palmer*, of Wingham in Kent, his mother the eldeſt daughter of *Herbert Pelham*, of Suſſex, eſq.‡ Our divine was born at Wingham, and baptized there March 29, 1601, he had a polite education in his father's houſe, and learned the French language almoſt as ſoon as he could ſpeak. In the year 1615, he was admitted fellow commoner in St. John's college, Cambridge. In 1622, he took the degree of *M. A.* In 1623, he was choſen fellow of Queen's college in that univerſity; the year following he was ordained to the miniſtry, to which he had devoted himſelf from his infancy: his firſt exerciſe was at a lecture in the city of Canterbury, where he preached once a week, till it was put down with the reſt of the afternoon ſermons. In the year 1632, he was preſented by archbiſhop *Laud* to the vicarage of Aſhwell in Hertfordſhire, where he preached twice every Lord's day, and catechiſed the children of his pariſhioners. The ſame year he was choſen one of the univerſity preachers of Cambridge, by which he had authority to preach, as he ſhould have occaſion, in any part of England. In the year 1640, he and Dr. *Tuckney* were choſen clerks of the convocation for the dioceſe of Lincoln. In the year 1643, he was

* Clarendon, vol. v. p. 115, 116.

‡ Clarke's Lives in his Martyrology, p. 183.

called

called to be a member of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, and after ſome time choſen one of their *aſſeſſors*, in which place he behaved with great wiſdom and integrity. April 11, 1644, he was conſtituted maſter of Queen's college, Cambridge, by the earl of *Mancheſter*; here he ſet himſelf induſtriouſly to the promoting of religion and learning, being very ſolicitous that none ſhould be admitted to a ſcholarſhip or fellowſhip in his college, but ſuch as were qualified in both theſe reſpects, the good effects of which appeared in the reputation and credit of that ſociety, beyond moſt others of the univerſity in his time. Mr. *Palmer* was a gentleman of a low ſtature, and a weakly conſtitution, but indefatigable in buſineſs; his leiſure was employed in works of devotion and charity, and as he had a competent eſtate, and choſe a ſingle life, he had an opportunity of doing a great deal of good; he maintained ſeveral poor ſcholars at his own expence in the college, and when he died left a conſiderable benefaction to the ſame purpoſe. His laſt ſickneſs was not long, his conſtitution being ſpent; but his behaviour was uncommon; he looked the king of terrors in the face with an unſhaken reſolution, and reſigned his life this ſummer with a firm expectation of the mercy of the God to eternal life, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and was buried in the new church at Weſtminſter.

Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, B. D. was born in Yorkſhire, and educated at Merton college, Oxford. In the year 1586, he was choſen probationer-fellow, and proceeded in arts; after ſome time he was made B. D. and in the year 1601, became paſtor of Waddeſdon in Bucks. He was a perſon of conſiderable learning and piety, and being an old puritan (ſays Mr. *Wood**) was elected one of the aſſembly of divines in 1643, but he ſpent the chief of his time and labours among his pariſhioners at Waddeſdon, by whom he was greatly beloved; here he died in a very advanced age, March 19, 1647-8, and lies buried in his own church.

Mr. *John Saltmarſh*, deſcendant of an ancient family in Yorkſhire, was educated in Magdalen college, Cambridge, and graduated there; he was eſteemed a perſon of a fine active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher; he

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 59.

was

was firſt miniſter at Northampton, afterwards at Braiſted in Kent, and at length chaplain in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s army, where he always preached up love and unity: he meddled not with preſbytery or independency, but laboured to draw ſouls from ſin to Chriſt. He publiſhed ſome treatiſes, by which it appears he was of *antinomian* principles. The manner of his death was extraordinary; December the 4th, 1647, being at his houſe at Ilford in Eſſex, he told his wife he had been in a trance, and received a meſſage from God which he muſt immediately deliver to the army. He went that night to London, and next day to Windſor; being come to the council of officers he told them, that the Lord had left them; that he would not proſper their conſultations, but deſtroy them by diviſions among themſelves, becauſe they had ſought to deſtroy the people of God, thoſe who had ſtood by them in their greateſt difficulties. He then went to the *general*, and without moving his hat told him, that God was highly diſpleaſed with him for committing of ſaints to priſon. The like meſſage he delivered to *Cromwell*, requiring him to take effectual meaſures for the enlargement of the members of the army, who were committed for not complying with the general council. He then took his leave of the officers, telling them, he had now done his errand, and muſt never ſee them any more. After which he went to London, and took leave of his friends there, telling them his work was done, and deſiring ſome of them to be careful of his wife. *Thurſday* December 9, he returned to Ilford in perfect health; next day he told his wife, that he had now finiſhed his work, and muſt go to his Father. *Saturday* morning December 11, he was taken ſpeechleſs, and about four in the afternoon he died.‖

‖ Ruſhworth, p. 944.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The ſecond Civil War. The Concluſion of the Aſſembly of Divines. The Progreſs of Preſbytery. The Treaty of the Iſle of Wight. Death and Character of King CHARLES I. *His Works. And, the Authors of his unhappy Sufferings.*

ANNO 1648.

THE king was all laſt winter a cloſe priſoner in Cariſbrook caſtle, attended only by two ſervants of his own, and debarred of all other converſation, without the knowledge of the governor; nevertheleſs, by the aſſiſtance of ſome particular friends, he ſent and received ſeveral letters from the queen, though his correſpondence was diſcovered oftner than he was aware. His majeſty made ſeveral attempts to eſcape, but was always prevented; captain *Burley* attempted to raiſe the iſland for him, but was apprehended and executed. However, in purſuance of the ſecret treaty with the Scots, already mentioned, an army was raiſing in that kingdom, to be commanded by duke *Hamilton;* but the Engliſh cavaliers, impatient of delay, without concerting proper meaſures among themſelves, or with the *preſbyterians*, took up arms in ſeveral counties, to deliver the king from his confinement, and to reſtore him without any treaty with his parliament. The Welſh appeared firſt, under major-general *Langhorn*, colonel *Poyer* and *Powel*, three officers in the parliament army, who had privately accepted commiſſions from the prince of *Wales*.* Theſe were followed by others in Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, Suſſex, Surrey, Lincolnſhire, Norfolk, Kent, Northamptonſhire, Eſſex, and in the city of London itſelf. The inſurrection in the city began on *Sunday* April 9, in Moorfields, by a company of young fellows with clubs and ſtaves, crying out, for *God and king Charles*. But after they had done ſome miſchief in the night, and frighted the mayor into the Tower, they were diſperſed next morning by the general at the head of two regiments. The Kentiſh

* Ruſhworth, p. 1007.

men

men under the earl of *Norwich*, having plundered ſome houſes, were defeated near Maidſtone, and having a promiſe of pardon, the main body laid down their arms; notwithſtanding which, the earl with five hundred reſolute men, croſſed the Thames at the Iſle of Dogs, and came as far as Mile-end green, expecting aſſiſtance from the city; but being diſappointed, he joined the Eſſex cavaliers under Sir *Charles Lucas* and Lord *Capel*, who ſurprized the parliament's committee at Chelmsford, and then ſhut themſelves up in Colcheſter, where they maintained themſelves againſt general *Fairfax* for ten weeks, till being reduced to the laſt extremity, they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion Aug. 28,‡ after which the general marched round about the country, and having quieted all inſurrections in thoſe parts, returned to his head-quarters at St. Albans about Michaelmas. While *Fairfax* was in Kent and Eſſex, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* reduced the Welch about the end of June. At the ſame time, the earl of *Holland* and duke of *Buckingham* appeared at the head of five hundred horſe and ſome foot near *Kingston-upon-Thames*, but they were ſoon diſperſed; the earl was taken priſoner at St. Neot's in Huntingdonſhire by colonel *Scroop*, and the duke of *Buckingham*, with great

‡ Dr. *Grey* is diſpleaſed with Mr. *Neal*, that he does not inform his readers, what uſe general *Fairfax* made of the power with which this unconditional ſurrender inveſted him. He ſeized Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*, and made them inſtant ſacrifices to military juſtice. All the priſoners exclaimed againſt this as an unuſual piece of ſeverity: and ſome hiſtorians have cenſured it as a bloody ſtep. Mrs. *Macaulay* repreſents it as an inſtance of the humanity of the general, that, though he had been provoked by many irritating circumſtances in the conduct of the beſieged, he ſelected the two chief commanders only, to avenge the innocent blood they had cauſed to be ſpilt. The fact was, that theſe two gentlemen had ſhewn themſelves moſt implacable; had prevented the ſoldiers from accepting terms of indemnity offered by the parliament in the beginning; that the beſieged had been expoſed to the utmoſt extremities of famine; and that the independants regarded the engaging the kingdom in a ſecond war as an unpardonable crime. When Sir *Charles Lucas* urged that the ſentence of the general was unprecedented, a parliament ſoldier ſtanding by, told him, "that he had put to death with his own hand ſome of the parliament's "ſoldiers in cold blood." At which he was diſmayed. A few days after, a gentleman in mourning for Sir *Charles Lucas* appearing in his preſence, the king wept. Mrs. Malaulay's Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 362-3. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 328, 29, 30. ED.

difficulty,

difficulty, eſcaped into the Low Countries. About the ſame time ſeveral of the parliament's ſhips revolted to the prince of *Wales*, then in Holland, who went on board, and with prince *Rupert*, lord *Hopton*, and others, ſailed to the coaſt of England, with a deſign to relieve Colcheſter; but although diſappointed, he landed five hundred men about Deal and Sandwich, and blocked up the Thames mouth; but when the earl of *Warwick* came up with the parliament's fleet, he ſailed back to Holland, and moſt of the ſhips returned to the obedience of the parliament.

It was not without great difficulty that the king's friends in Scotland prevailed with the parliament of that kingdom to conſent to the raiſing an army againſt England, the commiſſioners of the kirk, and the whole body of their miniſters, being vehemently againſt it; and when it was put to the vote, eighteen lords and forty commoners entered their proteſts, from a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that by the vaſt reſort of loyaliſts to Edinburgh, there was a private agreement between *Hamilton* and that party, to lay aſide the *covenant*, and reſtore the king without any conditions; to prevent which the Scots parliament gave expreſs orders, that none ſhould be received into their army, or join with them at their entrance into England, except ſuch as ſhould take the *covenant*; but *Hamilton*, who betrayed their cauſe, found means to evade the order, by which means he ruined himſelf, and the party he intended to ſerve.*

The Scots army entered England July 11th, to the number of twenty thouſand foot‖ and ſix thouſand horſe, under the

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 550, 553, folio. Hamilton's Mem. p. 339.

* Biſhop *Burnet* endeavours to exculpate the duke from ſuch a charge, and imputes the miſcarriage of the expedition, in which he was leader, to his yielding to the counſels of others. The biſhop ſets againſt the report of his betraying the army ſeveral inſtances of his generous and diſintereſted conduct, in his care to preſerve the army and to act for the king's advantage, to the riſk of his own liberty and ſafety. Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton, p. 365. ED.

‖ Dr. *Grey*, here cenſures Mr. *Neal* for often ſpeaking at random: becauſe biſhop *Burnet*, on the authority of *Turner*, the adjutant-general, ſays, that "the forces of the Scots amounted only to ten thouſand foot and four "thouſand horſe." Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 356. But it may afford a ſanction

the command of duke *Hamilton*, and were afterwards joined by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* at the head of four thouſand foot, and ſeven or eight hundred horſe; but theſe being Engliſhmen and cavaliers, who had not taken the *covenant*, were not incorporated with the Scots forces, but were obliged to march a day before them, which was *Hamilton*'s contrivance to evade his orders; nevertheleſs, they compoſed *one* army, *Langdale* being to receive all his orders from *Hamilton*, and to act only by his directions. But though there was a private underſtanding between the *generals*, the ſubalterns and ſoldiers of both parties were not acquainted with it, and had the ſame incurable jealouſy of each other as formerly; from the ſame motive, the preſbyterians in the parliament at Weſtminſter commiſſioned their army to oppoſe the Scots, though they came into England with an avowed intention of reſtoring the king upon the terms of the *covenant*; which was the ſupreme object of their wiſhes.

It may ſeem ſurpriſing, however, that there was no good underſtanding between the two parliaments, when thoſe of England ſent commiſſioners to Edinburgh to accompliſh it; but the Scots, being ſtrongly perſuaded that the parliament at Weſtminſter was ſtill governed by an army of *independants*, all that Mr. *Marſhall* and the reſt could ſay was not ſufficient to divert them from their enterprize, which is the eaſier accounted for, when the ſtrength of the *Hamiltonian faction*, and their obligations to the king by their ſecret treaty, are conſidered. This engagement appears from the *duke*'s letter to *Lambert*, in which he acquaints him, that he was commanded to enter England with an army, *for maintaining the* ſolemn league *and* covenant; *for ſettling religion; for delivering the king from his baſe impriſonment; and freeing the parliament from the conſtraint put upon them.** The ſtate of affairs had undergone a conſiderable change by the riſing of the Engliſh cavaliers; the army was in the field, and divided into ſeveral diſtant parts of the kingdom, and the *preſbyterians* in as full poſſeſſion of the government as ever; they

ſanction to Mr. *Neal*'s repreſentation, that, ſince he wrote, Mrs. *Macaulay* and Mr. *Hume* have given the ſame eſtimate of the army, led by Duke *Hamilton* into England. With theſe agree *Whitlocke*. Memoirs, p. 327. ED.

* Ruſhworth, p. 1194.

were

were renewing the treaty with the king, and ſending propoſitions to the Scots to join with them; but the good underſtanding between the two nations having been interrupted laſt winter, by the growing influence of the army, who were no friends to *covenant uniformity*, the Scots would not be ſatisfied with the preſent diminution of their power, unleſs they were entirely diſbanded, and therefore had not changed the inſtructions to their general. On the other hand, the parliament could not with ſafety diſband their army while the *cavaliers* were in the field; nor could they forbid their oppoſing the Scots, who had joined the *common enemy*, and were marching into England with an armed force, to deliver the king from his impriſonment, although they had concerted no meaſures with the two houſes, or communicated their ſecret treaty with his majeſty in the Iſle of Wight. Thus the two parliaments of England and Scotland oppoſed each other, when both had the ſame views, and were actuated by the ſame principles. If the Scots army had been commanded by a general the *preſbyterians* could have confided in, and had marched directly for London, without joining the *cavaliers*, the parliament of England would have gladly received them, and the citizens of London have opened their gates; for the Engliſh *preſbyterians* wiſhed them well; but by joining the common enemy, who were in arms all over the kingdom, they were ſtaggered; and duke *Hamilton*, who betrayed their cauſe, by trifling away a whole month in the north, gave the Engliſh army, which was diſtributed into various parts, time to re-unite and defeat all their enterprizes.*

The Scots, invading England in this hoſtile manner, and in the midſt of ſo many inſurrections, awakened men's fears, and made them apprehend the cauſe was to be fought over again. And while the parliament was alarmed on every ſide, the Engliſh army gave them ſtrong aſſurances they would ſtand by them, and march whereſoever the committee of the two houſes (appointed to manage their motions) ſhould direct. However, general *Fairfax*, who engaged heartily againſt the *cavaliers*, refuſing to march againſt the Scots, becauſe they had openly declared for the *covenant*, colonel *Lambert*

* Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 337, 345, 353, &c.

was

was ordered into the North, with a flying ſquadron to harraſs them, till lieutenant-general *Cromwell* could come out of Wales to his aſſiſtance. The Scots having been joined by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who had ſeized the important town of Berwick, marched through Cumberland and Weſtmorland into Lancaſhire without oppoſition; but upon the 17th of Auguſt, *Cromwell*, having joined *Lambert* and refreſhed his troops, faced them near Preſton with eight or ten thouſand men, and after a ſharp engagement with the *cavaliers* under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who were almoſt a day's march before the *duke*, routed the whole Scots army, and took eight or nine thouſand priſoners, with all their artillery and baggage; *Hamilton* fled with three thouſand horſe, but was ſo cloſely purſued by *Lambert*, that he ſurrendered without ſtriking another ſtroke, and all his men were diſperſed or made priſoners. *Cromwell*, after this action purſued his victory, marching directly for Edinburgh, which opened its gates; and having entered the city and changed the magiſtracy to his mind, he left three regiments of horſe to keep the country quiet, and returned into England Oct. 11, laden with martial glory and renown.†

Before the army left London, and while their influence over the parliament continued, the commons, having taken into conſideration the affair of ſettling the government, voted unanimouſly, that the government of the kingdom ſhould be ſtill by *king*, *lords*, and *commons*, and that the propoſitions at Hampton-Court ſhould be the ground-work for a ſettlement, which ſhews, that there was no deſign, as yet formed, of changing the government into a commonwealth, at leaſt nothing appeared, though the *agitators*, who were the chief managers of the army, began to mutter, that if the king could not be brought to reaſon he muſt be ſet aſide, and the duke of *Glouceſter*, or one of his younger children, placed on the throne.*

† "So he did," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "but 'twas in the ſame ſenſe, that a "company of *highwaymen*, or *banditti*, would return laden with *martial* "*glory* and *honour*, after obtaining a good *booty* from the lawful owners "of it." This remark ſhews the ſtrain and ſpirit of Dr. *Grey*'s examination of Mr. *Neal*. Lord *Clarendon*, ſpeaking of this tranſaction, with more truth and candour calls it "this great victory." Ed.

* Ruſhworth, p. 1074.

The army had no ſooner left the neighbourhood of the city, but the *preſbyterians* reſumed the management of publick affairs. May 5, the parliament reſolved to maintain the *ſolemn league and covenant*, and to unite with the kingdom of Scotland upon the propoſitions of Hampton-court.‖ The *militia* of the city of London was reſtored to the lord-mayor and common-council; the eleven impeached members, and the ſeven peers, were diſcharged; and, in ſhort, all that had been done againſt the preſbyterian greatneſs by the influence of the army laſt winter was reverſed; ſo that as from Auguſt 6, 1647, to the beginning of May, 1648, the parliament may be ſuppoſed to have lain under ſome reſtraint from the army; from that time to the end of the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, it was at full liberty, and entirely under preſbyterian direction.* Petitions came now from divers counties, and from the city of London itſelf, for a perſonal treaty with the king; upon which the *commons* ſet aſide their votes of non-addreſſes, and at the requeſt of the lords conſented to treat with the king, without his ſigning any preliminary propoſitions, hoping as matters then ſtood, his majeſty would not delay a moment to grant their demands, that he might be releaſed from his confinement, and placed upon his throne, before the army ſhould be at leiſure to throw further obſtacles in the way; but here was the fatal overſight, the king and his friends would not condeſcend, nor the preſbyterians relax, till both were driven out of the field, and the army become irreſiſtible.

Let the reader pauſe a little, and reflect with grief upon the miſerable diſtractions of this unhappy kingdom; in this *criſis* were three or four powerful parties with ſeparate views ſtriving for maſtery. The KING, a cloſe priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, was the *prize* contended for; he had little or no weight to throw into either ſcale, though by ſigning the Scots treaty he was reputed the author of that invaſion, and of the ſecond civil war; the CAVALIERS were in arms to preſerve the EPISCOPAL CHURCH of England; but having concerted no meaſures among themſelves were eaſily diſperſed. The SCOTS came into England in purſuance of

‖ Rapin, p. 504, 508, 511, 518. * Ruſhworth, p. 1127.

the

the COVENANT, and the ſecret treaty in the Iſle of Wight, but two miſtakes ruined their enterprize; one was, their not communicating the contents of that *treaty* to the Engliſh *preſbyterians*, which they might have done by their commiſſioners without the knowledge of the Engliſh army, before they had marched into England; the other was, duke *Hamilton*'s acting in concert with the Engliſh *cavaliers*, allowing them to march in the *van*, which gave their enemies in the parliament at Weſtminſter a fair opportunity of engaging the whole military power of England againſt them; for without all doubt, if the duke had prevailed, not only the *independant*, but the *preſbyterian cauſe* had been betrayed into the hands of the *cavaliers*, which muſt in the end have been equally fatal to both parties, and loſt them all the advantages of the war. This fatal conjunction broke the ſtrength of the Engliſh *preſbyterians*, and played the game into the hands of a third party, who deſtroyed the other two. The ARMY, with whom were the *independants*, *anabaptiſts*, and other ſectaries, was governed by the *agitators*, who had given up the king, and had an incurable averſion to the *cavaliers*, and all who adhered to them, as their moſt determined enemies; nor could they confide in the *preſbyterians*, becauſe in all their paſt treaties they had ſeen themſelves made a ſacrifice to *covenant uniformity*. Upon the whole, all parties were ſtiff in their demands, diſunited in their councils, and infinitely jealous of each other. Among the *preſbyterians*, ſome were for fighting only with the *cavaliers*, and others for oppoſing the Scots as *invaders*. Some of the *cavaliers* were for reſtoring the king by their own valour, and others for availing themſelves of the aſſiſtance of the Scots. The army was no leſs diſtracted; thoſe who ſerved under general *Fairfax* were unwilling to march againſt the Scots *preſbyterians*; thoſe under *Cromwell* were for encountering every power that would not ſecure them that liberty of conſcience for which they had been contending; and deſpairing of this, not only from the king, but from the Scots and Engliſh *preſbyterians*, they unhappily ran upon thoſe extravagant meaſures which ended in the deſtruction of the king and overthrow of the whole conſtitution.

Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum!

But to return: the aſſembly of divines having finiſhed their main buſineſs, was reduced to a ſmall number, moſt of the country miniſters having returned home, and thoſe who remained about London were employed chiefly in the examination of ſuch miniſters as preſented themſelves for ordination, or induction into livings; thus they ſubſiſted till Feb. 22, 1648-9, about three weeks after the king's death, having ſat five years, ſix months, and twenty-two days, in which time they had one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-three ſeſſions. They were afterwards changed into a committee for the purpoſes laſt-mentioned, and met every Thurſday morning till March 25, 1652, when the long parliament being turned out of the houſe by *Oliver Cromwell*, they broke up without any formal diſſolution.*

The works of the aſſembly, beſides ſome letters to foreign churches, and occaſional admonitions, were,

1. Their humble advice to the parliament for ordination of miniſters, and ſettling the preſbyterian government.
2. A directory for publick worſhip.
3. A confeſſion of faith.
4. A larger and ſhorter catechiſm.
5. A review of ſome of the thirty-nine articles.

The annotations on the bible, which go under their name, were neither undertaken, nor reviſed by them, but by a committee of parliament, who named the *commentators*, and furniſhed them with books; nor were they all members of the aſſembly, as appears by the following liſt.

Thoſe with *aſteriſms* were not of the aſſembly.

	WAS WRITTEN BY
The commentary on the five books of *Moſes*, — —	Rev. Mr. *Ley*, ſubdean of Cheſter
The two books of *Kings*,	Dr. *Gouge*
The two books of *Chronicles*,	
Ezra, — —	
Nehemiah, — —	
Eſther, — —	
The *Pſalms*, — —	*Mr. *Meric Cauſabon*
Proverbs, — —	Mr. *Francis Taylor*
Eccleſiaſtes, — —	Dr. *Reynolds*

* MS. penes me.

	WAS WRITTEN BY
Solomon's Song, — —	*Mr. *Smalwood*, recommended by archbiſhop *Uſher*
Iſaiah, — —	Mr. *Gataker*
Jeremiah, — —	
Lamentations, — —	
Ezekiel, — —	*Mr. *Pemberton* in the firſt edition *Bp. *Richardſon* in the ſecond
Daniel, and the ſmaller prophets, — —	
Matthew, — —	Mr. *Ley*
Mark, — —	
Luke, — —	
John, — —	
St. *Paul's Epiſtles*, — —	Dr. *D. Featley*; but his notes are broken and imperfect, the author dying before he had reviſed them.

There were two other perſons concerned in this work, who might probably have the other parts of ſcripture allotted them, not here mentioned, viz. Mr. *Downham* and Mr. *Reading*.

When poſterity ſhall impartially review the labours of this *aſſembly of divines*, and conſider the times in which they ſat, they will have a juſt veneration for their memory; for though their ſentiments in divinity were in many inſtances too narrow and contracted, yet with all their faults, amongſt which their perſecuting zeal for religion was not the leaſt, they were certainly men of real piety and virtue, who meant well, and had the intereſt of religion at heart; and moſt of them poſſeſſed as mech learning as any of their contemporaries; the names of *Lightfoot*, *Selden*,* *Gataker*, *Greenhill*, *Arrowſmith*, *Twiſſe*, biſhop *Reynolds*, *Wallis*, &c. will always meet with eſteem from the learned world; and had they not graſped at *coercive power*, or juriſdiction over the conſciences of men, their characters would have been unblemiſhed. Mr. *Baxter*, who knew moſt of them, ſays, "They were men "of eminent learning, godlineſs, miniſterial abilities, and "fidelity; and being not worthy to be one of them myſelf,

* Biſhop *Warburton* here aſks, with a ſneer, "What has *Selden* here to "do with miniſters, puritans, and perſecutors?" The anſwer is, he was one of the Weſtminſter aſſembly. ED.

"(ſays

" (ſays he) I may more fully ſpeak the truth which I know, " even in the face of malice and envy, that as far as I am " able to judge by the information of hiſtory, and by any " other evidences, the chriſtian world, ſince the days of the " apoſtles, had never a ſynod of more excellent divines than " this ſynod, and the ſynod of Dort."† The DIVINE RIGHT of the *preſbyterian government* firſt threw them into heats, and then divided them, engaging them firſt with the *parliament*, and then with the *independants* and *eraſtians*; their oppoſing a toleration raiſed them a great many enemies, and cauſed a *ſeceſſion* in their own body; for after they had carried the queſtion of DIVINE RIGHT, the *independants* and *eraſtians* deſerted them, after which they found it very difficult to muſter as many as would make a houſe. Had the parliament diſſolved them at that juncture they had ſeparated with honour, but they dwindled by degrees, as has been related; the buſineſs of the church being now tranſlated to the provincial aſſemblies.

We have already remembered the two former of theſe aſſemblies; the third met May 3, this year, and choſe the Rev. Mr. *Whitaker* moderator. In the fourth ſeſſion they agreed to preſent a ſecond petition to the parliament in the name of the province, humbly to deſire, 1. " That they " would renew the conſideration of their former petition. " 2. That they would eſtabliſh the two catechiſms of the " aſſembly of divines, and appoint them to be publickly " taught throughout the kingdom. 3. That they would " add their civil ſanction to the new confeſſion of faith. 4. " That the directory for publick worſhip may be better ob- " ſerved; and that better care may be taken for the obſer- " vation of the Lord's-day." In their twelfth ſeſſion, Oct. 6, they agreed to the report of their *committee concerning the cauſe of the decay of religion*, and of the increaſe of wickedneſs, which they ſay was chiefly owing to tne want of able and ſettled miniſters, there being above forty pariſh churches and congregations within the province which had no miniſters ſettled among them by allowance of authority, a catalogue of which churches was ſubjoined. The reaſon of this defect being chiefly want of maintenance, they pray the

† Baxter's Life, p. 73.

houſes,

houſes, "to agree upon ſome method, that the dean and "chapter lands, and the impropriations belonging to biſhops, "lying within this province, may be applied for the aug- "mentation of the clergy's maintenance; and that there may "be a fixed maintenance in every pariſh recoverable by the "incumbent."

The fourth provincial aſſembly met Nov. 3, the reverend Mr. *Edmund Calamy* moderator. In their third ſeſſion, Nov. 23, they ordered, that the ſeveral miniſters of the province of London do begin the work of catechiſing; that they uſe the aſſembly's catechiſm, and no other; that the perſons to be catechiſed be children and ſervants not admitted to the Lord's table; that the time be in the afternoon before ſermon; and that they exhort their pariſhioners to encourage it. In their fourth ſeſſion Nov. 30, they reſolved, that the twelve claſſes of the province of London obſerve their courſe for ordination of miniſters; and that at the cloſe of every publick ordination notice be given which *claſſis* is to ordain next. But the nation being in confuſion, and the clouds gathering thick over their heads, they did little more this winter than keep a weekly faſt* among themſelves, to avert the judgments of God, which threatened the life of the king, and the diſſolution of the whole government.

The county of Lancaſter being formed into another *preſbyterian province* this year, aſſembled at Preſton, Feb. 7, 1648, and publiſhed a kind of paſtoral letter, or ſolemn exhortation to the ſeveral churches within their province, to the practice of thoſe duties that were requiſite to the ſupporting and carrying on the *preſbyterian diſcipline*, ſubſcribed by the reverend

Mr. *James Hyatt*, moderator,
Mr. *Tho. Johnſon*, aſſeſſor,
Mr. *Edw. Gee*, ſcribe.†

* Biſhop *Warburton*'s remark on this is, "Theſe were glorious ſaints, "that fought and preached for the king's deſtruction; and then faſted and "prayed for his preſervation, when they had brought him to the foot of "the ſcaffold!" This remark goes on the ſuppoſition, that, to oppoſe the king's arbitrary views and meaſures was to fight and preach for his *deſtruction*. If it eventually proved ſo, from whence could it ariſe but from his adherence to his deſigns, till conceſſions came too late? ED.

† Vol. Pamph. No. 73.

They

They likewiſe appointed a committee to examine the paper called THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE, [hereafter to be mentioned] and tendered to the *conſideration of the nation by the officers of the army, with a deſire that they would by ſubſcription declare their concurrence to it;* but it was carried in the negative.* The deſign of this paper was to change the form of government into a kind of commonwealth, without a king or houſe of lords. It was publiſhed by way of probation, that they might learn the ſenſe of the nation; but the article relating to religion being peculiar, and giving great offence to the *preſbyterian* clergy, ſhall be tranſcribed entire: "We do not empower our repreſenta-
"tives (ſay they) to continue in force, or make any laws,
"oaths, or covenants, whereby to compel by penalties, or
"otherwiſe, any perſon to any thing, in or about matters
"of faith, religion, or God's worſhip; or reſtrain any per-
"ſon from profeſſing his faith, or exerciſe of his religion
"according to his conſcience, in any houſe or place, except
"ſuch as are or ſhall be ſet apart for the publick worſhip.
"Nevertheleſs, the inſtruction or direction of the nation
"in a publick way, for matters of faith, worſhip or diſci-
"pline, ſo it be not compulſive or expreſs popery, is referred
"to their diſcretion." The AGREEMENT adds, "It is in-
"tended that the chriſtian religion be held forth, and recom-
"mended as the publick profeſſion in this nation, which we
"deſire may, by the grace of God, be reformed to the
"greateſt purity in doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline, ac-
"cording to the word of God. The inſtructing the people
"thereunto in a publick way, provided it be not compulſive;
"as alſo the maintaining of able teachers for that end, and
"for the confutation and diſcovery of hereſy, error, and
"whatſoever is contrary to ſound doctrine, is allowed to be
"provided by our repreſentatives; the maintenance of
"teachers may be out of a treaſury, and we deſire not by
"*tithes.*" But beſides theſe, "*All who profeſs faith in God*
"*by Jeſus Chriſt, however differing in judgment from the*
"*doctrine, diſcipline, and worſhip publickly held forth, ſhall*
"*be protected in the profeſſion of their faith, and exerciſe of*
"*their religion according to their conſciences, ſo as they abuſe*

* Ruſhworth, p. 1258.

"*not*

"*not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or the diſturbance* "*of the publick peace.*" Theſe were juſt and generous ſentiments; however the ſynod forbad their people to ſubſcribe them, not only becauſe the AGREEMENT imported a change in the civil government, but becauſe of the miſchiefs that would attend a *toleration*; their reaſons for which they publiſhed to the world March 6, 1648, ſubſcribed by fifty-nine miniſters.

The provincial aſſemblies of London met regularly every half year, to the year 1655, when finding themſelves without power, and not being willing to apply† to the *protector* and his parliament for ſupport they deſiſted; but there were none legally formed in any other counties of England. However, the country miniſters entered into voluntary aſſociations, and erected a ſort of claſſes for ordination of miniſters, and promoting friendſhip and peace among themſelves, many of the *independant* miniſters joining with them: the aſſociations met once a month, at one or other church in the county, and, after prayers and a ſermon, conferred upon the ſtate of religion, and gave their advice upon ſuch caſes as were brought before them in a neighbourly and friendly manner.

To return to the parliament, which was now recruited with ſuch *preſbyterian* members as had abſconded, or deſerted their ſtations, while the army was quartered in the neighbourhood of the city; theſe gentlemen, finding they had the ſuperiority in the houſe, reſumed their courage, and took the opportunity of diſcovering their principles and ſpirit, in paſſing ſuch a law againſt hereticks as is hardly to be paralleled among proteſtants.§ It had been laid aſide by the influence of the army for above nine months, till May 1,

† Biſhop *Warburton* ſays, that they did apply to the protector, "and received ſuch an anſwer as they deſerved." A deputation of the London miniſters went to him to complain, that the cavalier epiſcopal clergy got their congregations from them, and debauched the faithful from their miniſters. "Have they ſo?" ſaid the protector: "I will take an order with them;" and made a motion, as *if* he was going to ſay ſomething to the captain of the guards; when turning ſhort, "But hold!" ſaid he, "after *what manner* do the cavaliers debauch your people?" "By preaching," eplied the miniſters. "Then preach BACK again," ſaid this able ſtateſman; nd left them to their own reflections. ED.

§ Scobel's Collect. cap. cxiv. p. 149.

when

when it was voted, that all ordinances concerning church government referred to committees, be brought in and debated; and that *the ordinance concerning blaſphemy and hereſy* be now determined, which was done accordingly. This was one of the moſt ſhocking laws I have met with in reſtraint of religious liberty, and ſhews, that the governing *preſbyterians* would have made a terrible uſe of their power, had they been ſupported by the ſword of the civil magiſtrate.* The ordinance is dated May 2, 1648, and ordains, "That "all perſons who ſhall willingly maintain, publiſh, or de- "fend, by preaching or writing, the following hereſies with "obſtinacy, ſhall, upon complaint, and proof, by the oaths "of two witneſſes, before two juſtices of the peace, or con- "feſſion of the party, be committed to priſon, without bail "or mainprize, till the next gaol delivery; and in caſe the "indictment ſhall then be found, and the party upon his trial "ſhall not abjure his ſaid error, and his defence and main- "tenance of the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer the pains of death,† as "in caſe of felony, without benefit of clergy; and if he "recant or abjure, he ſhall remain in priſon till he find ſure- "ties that he will not maintain the ſaid hereſies or errors "any more; but if he relapſe, and is convicted a ſecond "time, he ſhall ſuffer death as before. The hereſies or er- "rors are theſe following:

* Mr. *Neal* has done himſelf honour by the ſtrong terms of reprobation, in which he ſpeaks of this intolerant, iniquitous, and cruel ordinance. It cannot be condemned in too ſevere terms: though Dr. *Grey* inſinuates, that there was *occaſion* for it in the "monſtrous opinions," as he calls them, which prevailed in thoſe times; and for which he refers to Edwards's Gangræna. "Beſides the ſeverity of the penalties, which this ordinance de- "nounced, the mode of proceſs which it appointed," as I have obſerved in another place, "was arbitrary and repugnant to the conſtitution of this "country in particular, as well as oppoſite to the general principles of "equity and juſtice: for it allowed neither the privilege of a jury, nor the "liberty of an appeal. Such is the operation of religious bigotry." See a REVIEW of the life, character, and writings of the Rev. *John Biddle*, p. 52. The nature of this ordinance is fully conſidered from p. 48—56. ED.

† Death, under *Conſtantius*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, was made the puniſhment of Idolatry: the like ſentence is here inflicted upon the worſhippers of the one only living and true God, the creator and governor of the world. "How fluctuating and convertible," obſerves an excellent writer, "are all penal laws in religion."

Dr. Diſney's Life of Dr. Jortin, p. 136, 7. ED.

1. "That

1. "That there is no God.

2. "That God is not omnipreſent, omniſcient, almighty, "eternal, and perfectly holy.

3. "That the father is not God, that the ſon is not God, "that the Holy Ghoſt is not God, or that theſe three are "not one eternal God; or, that Chriſt is not God equal "with the Father.

4. "The denial of the manhood of Chriſt, or that the "godhead and manhood are diſtinct natures; or, that the "humanity of Chriſt is pure and unſpotted of all ſin.

5. "The maintaining that Chriſt did not die, nor riſe "again, nor aſcend into heaven bodily.

6. "The denying that the death of Chriſt is meritorious on the behalf of believers; or, that Jeſus Chriſt is "the ſon of God.

7. "The denying that the holy ſcriptures of the old and "new teſtament are the word of God.

8. "The denying of the reſurrection of the dead, and a "future jndgment."

The ordinance proceeds to ſpecify ſome other errors of leſs demerit, and ſays, "That whoſoever ſhall maintain or "defend them, ſhall, upon conviction by the oaths of two "witneſſes, or by his own confeſſion before two juſtices of "peace, be ordered to renounce the ſaid error or errors "in the publick congregation of the pariſh from whence "the complaint comes, or where the offence was committed, "and in caſe of refuſal he ſhall be committed to priſon till "he find ſureties that he ſhall not publiſh or maintain the "ſaid error or errors any more. The errors are theſe "following:

1. "That all men ſhall be ſaved.

2. "That man by nature hath free will to turn to God.

3. "That God may be worſhipped in, or by pictures "or images.

4. "That the ſoul dies with the body, or after death goes "neither to heaven, or hell, but to purgatory.

5. "That the ſoul of man ſleeps, when the body is dead.

6. "That the revelations, or workings of the ſpirit, are "a rule of faith or chriſtian life, though diverſe from, or "contrary to the written word of God.

7. "That

7. "That man is bound to be believe no more than by "his reaſon he can comprehend.

8. "That the moral law contained in the ten command- "ments is no rule of the chriſtian life.

9. "That a believer need not repent, or pray for par- "don of ſin.

10. "That the two ſacraments, of baptiſm and the "Lord's ſupper, are not ordinances commanded by the "word of God.

11. That the baptiſm of infants is unlawful and void; "and that ſuch perſons ought to be baptized again.

12. "That the obſervation of the Lord's day, as en- "joined by the ordinances and laws of this realm, is not ac- "cording, or is contrary to the word of God.

13. "That it is not lawful to join in publick or family "prayer, or to teach children to pray.

14. "That the churches of England are no true churches, "nor their miniſters and ordinances true miniſters and or- "dinances; or, that the church government by preſbyters "is antichriſtian or unlawful.

15. "That magiſtracy, or the power of the civil magiſ- "trate, by law eſtabliſhed in England, is unlawful.

16. "That all uſe of arms, though for the publick de- "fence (and be the cauſe never ſo juſt) is unlawful."

This *black liſt of hereſies* was taken from the ſpeeches or writings of the *papiſts*, *arminians*, *antinomians*, *arians*, *baptiſts*, and *quakers*, *&c.* of thoſe times. The ordinance was a comprehenſive engine of cruelty,* and would have tortured great numbers of good chriſtians and good ſubjects. The preſbyterians of the preſent age are not only thankful that the confuſion of the times did not permit their predeceſſors to put this law into execution, but wiſh alſo that it could be blotted out of the records of time, as it is impoſſible to brand it with the cenſure equal to its demerits.

* The indignation which the liberal mind feels at the principles and ſpirit of thoſe, who, themſelves recently ſuffering under the hard hand of intolerance, could frame and paſs ſuch a law, is ſomewhat relieved by finding that it did not paſs without much oppoſition.

Whitlocke's Memor. p. 302. ED.

June

June 21, the army being ſtill in the field, and the parliament at liberty, the ordinance for the more effectual ſettling the *preſbyterian* government, without limitation of time, was read the ſecond time and committed, and on the 29th of Auguſt it was perfected, and received the ſanction of both houſes, under the title of *A form of church government to be uſed in the churches of England and Ireland.*‖ It is a collection of the ſeveral ordinances for eſtabliſhing the branches of preſbyterial government already mentioned, and ordains, that "all pariſhes and places whatſoever within England "and Wales ſhall be under the government of congrega-"tional, claſſical, provincial, and national aſſemblies, except "the houſes or chapels of the king and his children, and "of the peers of the realm, which are to continue free for "the exerciſe of divine duties, according to the *directory*, "and not otherwiſe; it gives directions for the choice of "ruling elders in every pariſh, and for proper perſons to be "judges of the qualifications of the perſons choſen; it ap-"points commiſſioners to divide the whole kingdom into "diſtinct claſſical preſbyteries; it gives direction about the "conſtituting of provincial and national ſynods, with the "extent of their ſeveral powers; it determines the method "of ordination of miniſters, of diſpenſing church cenſures, "and ſuſpenſion from the ſacrament; and laſt of all, it gives "direction for excommunication and abſolution," but lays no penalty upon *recuſants*, or ſuch as do not come to the ſacrament, or ſubmit to their diſcipline; which was the utmoſt length that *preſbytery* obtained in this kingdom.

The parliament having agreed to treat with the king without any preliminary conditions, ſent the earl of *Middleſex*, Sir *John Hippiſly*, and Mr. *Bulkely*, to acquaint his majeſty with their reſolutions, and to deſire him to appoint what place he pleaſed in the Iſle of Wight for the congreſs: his majeſty ſeemed pleaſed with the meſſage, and ſent a letter to the two houſes Aug. 10, deſiring them to recal their votes, which forbad the acceſs of his friends, and to direct that men of neceſſary uſe in this affair may be permitted to aſſiſt him; and that the Scots be parties in the treaty.* His ma-

‖ Scobel, cap. cxvii. p. 165.

* Ruſhworth, vol. ii. p. 1236.

jeſty

jeſty then appointed Newport in the Iſle of Wight for the place of conference. To all which the lords agreed without any reſtriction; but the commons inſiſted, that no perſon lately in arms againſt the parliament be of the number; that the Scots be not included; and that if his majeſty be at liberty as at Hampton-Court, he paſs his royal word not to go out of the iſland during the treaty, nor twenty-eight days after, without conſent of parliament.

Upon theſe conditions his majeſty was conducted to Newport, and left at liberty upon his *parole of honour*. Several noblemen, gentlemen, divines, and lawyers, were appointed to aſſiſt him in the treaty, who were to ſtand behind his majeſty's chair and hear the debates, but not to ſpeak, except when the king withdrew into another room for their advice; the names of his divines were,† Dr. *Juxon* biſhop of London, Dr. *Duppa* biſhop of Saliſbury, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Oldiſworth*, Dr. *Saunderſon*, Dr. *Turner*, Dr. *Haywood*; and towards the end of the treaty Dr. *Uſher* archbiſhop of *Armagh*, Dr. *Bramhall*, Dr. *Prideaux*, Dr. *Warner*, Dr. *Ferne*, and Dr. *Morley*; Dr. *Brownrigge*, biſhop of Exeter, was alſo ſent for, but he was under reſtraint. And Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Dr. *Oldiſworth*, being alſo under reſtraint, were not permitted to ſtand.

The parliament appointed five noblemen, and ten commoners, with four divines, to aſſiſt them in their debates touching religion, viz. Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryl*, Dr. *Seaman*, and Mr. *Marſhall*. The treaty was to continue forty days, and to proceed upon the propoſitions of Hampton-court.‖ Sept. 12, the parliament obſerved a day of publick faſting and prayer, for a bleſſing; and ſome days after, the king and his houſhold did the like, when after the publick ſervice the following prayer was read, drawn up by his majeſty's direction.

† According to Dr. *P. Williams*'s MS. collections, to which Dr. *Grey* pays great deference, the order was limited to Dr. *Juxon* and Dr. *Duppa*: and Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Dr. *Oldiſworth*, were not permitted to go to the king, being under reſtraint. But Mr. *Neal*'s liſt, except as to theſe three, is confirmed by *Whitlocke*, with this difference, that Dr. *Uſher*, *Bambridge*, *Prideaux*, *Warner*, *Fern*, and *Morley*, were not included in the firſt appointment; but were allowed to attend the king in conſequence of a meſſage from him on the 3d of November. Memor. p. 341. Ed.

‖ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 559. "O MOST

" O MOST merciful Father, Lord God of peace and " truth, we, a people ſorely afflicted by the ſcourge of an " unnatural war, do earneſtly beſeech thee to command a " bleſſing from heaven upon this preſent treaty, begging " for the eſtabliſhment of an happy peace. Soften the moſt " obdurate hearts with a true chriſtian deſire of ſaving thoſe " men's blood for whom Chriſt himſelf hath ſhed his; or " if the guilt of our great ſins cauſe this treaty to break off " in vain, Lord, let the truth clearly appear, who thoſe men " are, who under pretence of the publick good do purſue " their own private ends; that this people may be no longer " ſo blindly miſerable as not to ſee, at leaſt in this their day, " the things that belong to their peace. Grant this, gra- " cious God, for his ſake, who is our peace itſelf, even " Jeſus Chriſt our Lord." *Amen.*

The conferences opened on Monday September 18, about nine in the morning, at the houſe of Sir *William Hodges*. The firſt day the commiſſioners preſented the king with a draught of three bills; the firſt to eſtabliſh the *preſbyterian* government† for ever in the church of England; the ſecond to relinquiſh the *militia* to the two houſes for thirty years; and the third to recall all his majeſty's declarations againſt the parliament. To the laſt of theſe the king readily conſented, but excepted to the preamble, in which were theſe words, *that the two houſes of parliament had been neceſſitated to enter into a war in their juſt and lawful defence.*§ Inſtead of which, the king propoſed an act of indemnity; but the commiſſioners inſiſting peremptorily upon the words as thoſe without which they could not be ſafe, his majeſty with great

† " The utter extinction of epiſcopacy, and their ſetting up their own " idol in its ſtead, was the ſuperior conſideration for which, it is plain, the " preſbyterians had entered into the hazard of war: This was the chief " cauſe of their quarrel with their old aſſociates, the independants; and the " not being fully gratified on this article by the king, was, in their eyes, " loſing the beſt fruits of their ſucceſs. The parliament's commiſſioners " with earneſtneſs, and even tears, aſſured the king, that all his conceſſions " would be uſeleſs, unleſs he gave up the point of epiſcopacy: he abſolutely " refuſed farther yielding on this article, and the parliament voted his con- " ceſſions unſatisfactory."

Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 365, 66. ED.

§ Ruſhworth, p. 1263.

reluctance

reluctance conſented, having firſt proteſted in writing, that *no conceſſion of his ſhould be binding if the treaty broke off without effect.* His majeſty yielded the *militia* to the parliament for twenty years; and the management of the Iriſh war. He conceded to vacate thoſe titles of honour that had been conferred ſince the carrying away the *great ſeal*, and to confirm the parliament's *great ſeal.* He agreed to the payment of the publick debts, provided they were ſtated within two years; to confirm the charter of the city of London; to impower the parliament to confer offices, and conſtitute magiſtrates for twenty years; and to take away the court of wards, provided he might have fifty thouſand pounds a year in lieu of it.* His majeſty conſented further, that thoſe of his party whom they call *delinquents*† ſhould ſubmit to a fine, or be proſcribed the court, if the parliament ſaw fit; but he abhorred the thought of charging them with treaſon who had acted by his commiſſion, and therefore abſolutely refuſed to conſent to it.

With regard to religion, his majeſty agreed, October 2, that "the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter be confirmed "for three years; that the *directory* and *preſbyterian* go- "vernment be confirmed for the ſame time, provided that "neither himſelf, nor thoſe of his judgment, be obliged to "comply with it; that a conſultation in the mean time be "had with the aſſembly, and twenty divines of his majeſty's "nomination, what form of church government ſhall be "eſtabliſhed afterwards, with a clauſe for the eaſe of tender "conſciences. His majeſty conſented further, that legal "eſtates for lives, or for a term of years not exceeding "ninety-nine, ſhould be made out of the biſhops' lands and

* It appears, by Dr. *Grey*'s authority, *Williams*'s MS. collection, whoſe account is confirmed by the repreſentations which Mr. *Hume* and Mrs. *Macaulay* give of this matter, that Mr. *Neal* is miſtaken about the ſum granted in lieu of the wards; which was not 50,000l. but 100,000l. Since this was written, I find the matter put out of all doubt by Whitlocke, p. 341, who ſays, that 100,000l. was the ſum. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey* has given at length the act propoſed by the parliament's commiſſioners relative to delinquents: whom the king abſolutely refuſed to give up. "The ſevere repentance, which he had undergone for aban- "doning *Strafford*, had no doubt," remarks Mr. *Hume*, "confirmed him "in the reſolution never again to be guilty of the like error." Ed.

"revenue

" revenues, for the ſatisfaction of them that have purchaſed " them, provided that the inheritance may ſtill remain to " the church, and the reſt be preſerved for their mainte- " nance. His majeſty will conſent further, to an act for " the better obſervation of the *Lord's day*; for ſuppreſſing " innovations in churches and chapels; for the better ad- " vancing of preaching God's holy word; and againſt plu- " ralities and non-reſidence. To an act for regulating and " reforming the univerſities, and the colleges of Weſtmin- " ſter, Wincheſter, and Eton; for the better diſcovery of " papiſts, and for the educating their children in the pro- " teſtant religion. To an act for better putting the laws in " execution againſt papiſts, and to prevent the hearing and " ſaying maſs; but as to the *covenant*, his majeſty is not as " yet ſatisfied to ſign or ſwear to it, or conſent to impoſe it " on the conſciences of others."†

Theſe conceſſions about church government being declared not ſatisfactory, as amounting only to a ſort of *interim*, his majeſty deſired to confer with the parliament divines for the ſatisfaction of his conſcience, having been bred and inſtructed (as he ſaid) in the way he ſtands for, by his *father*, the wiſeſt king and beſt man in the world, and therefore could not eaſily yield. There is hardly any thing to be met with in this conference but what has been already taken notice of in his majeſty's debate with Mr. *Henderſon*, and in the anſwer of the *ſineclymnuan* divines to biſhop *Hall*, in the *firſt volume* of this hiſtory; and therefore it will be the leſs neceſſary to enter into the particulars of the debate. His majeſty propoſed ſome ſcruples in law about the obligation of his *coronation oath*, which the commiſſioners undertook to anſwer themſelves; but the papers relating to the *unalterable inſtitution of epiſcopacy* were referred to the *divines* on both ſides, and were as follow:

The king's firſt paper.

" CHARLES REX, Newport, Oct. 2, 1648.

" I conceive that *epiſcopal government* is moſt conſonant to " the word of God and of an apoſtolical inſtitution, as it ap-

† Ruſhworth, p. 1281.

" pears by the ſcripture to have been practiſed by the apoſtles " themſelves, and by them committed and derived to parti- " cular perſons as their ſubſtitutes or ſucceſſors therein, (as " for ordaining preſbyters and deacons, giving rules con- " cerning chriſtian diſcipline, and exerciſing cenſures over " preſbyters and others)‡ and has ever ſince, till theſe laſt " times, been exerciſed by biſhops in all the churches of " Chriſt; and therefore I cannot in conſcience conſent to " aboliſh the ſaid government.

" Notwithſtanding this my perſuaſion, I will be glad to " be informed, if our Saviour and his apoſtles did ſo leave " the church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change " the church government at their pleaſure, which if you can " make appear to me, then I will confeſs that one of my " great ſcruples is clean taken away, and then there only " remains,

" That being by my coronation oath obliged to maintain " epiſcopal government, as I found it ſettled to my hands, " whether I may conſent to the aboliſhing thereof until the " ſame ſhall be evidenced to me to be contrary to the word " of God."*

The parliament divines, in anſwer to the firſt part of his majeſty's paper, admit, that the apoſtles did exerciſe the *extraordinary powers* his majeſty mentions; but deny, that they conferred them upon any particular perſons as their ſubſtitutes or *ſucceſſors*, and inſiſt, that in ſcripture there are only two orders of officers, viz. *biſhops* and *deacons:* Phil. i. 1, *To the ſaints at Philippi that are in Chriſt Jeſus, with the biſhops and deacons*; and that the *name*, *office*, and *work* of a *biſhop* and a *preſbyter* is the ſame, as in *Titus* i. 5, and 7; *For this cauſe left I thee in Crete—that thou ſhouldſt ordain preſbyters in every city*; *for a biſhop muſt be blameleſs.* Acts xx. 27, 28; *Paul* called the *preſbyters* together, and charged them to *take heed to the flock over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them* BISHOPS.‖ 1 *Pet.* v. 1, 2. *The* PRESBYTERS *among you I exhort, who alſo am a* PRESBYTER, *feed the flock*

‡ Acts vi. 6. xiv. 23. 1 Cor. v. 3. xiv. and xvi. 1. 3 John ix. 10. 1 Tim. v. 19, 22. Titus i. 5. iii. 10. Rev. ii. 3.

* Rel. Carol. vol. ii. p. 245. ‖ Ἐπισκοπους.

of

of God among you, performing the office of BISHOPS.* As the apoſtles were extraordinary officers, ſo were *Timothy* and *Titus*, (viz.) evangeliſts, but neither of them are called *biſhops* in ſcripture, much leſs were they fixed to Epheſus or Crete, but travelled up and down to ſettle churches in ſeveral countries. They obſerve further, that in the ſame order of officers there was not any one ſuperior to another; no apoſtle above an apoſtle, no preſbyter above a preſbyter, nor one deacon above another. They add, that the *angels* of the churches in the revelations are never called *biſhops*, nor is the word uſed in any of St. *John*'s writings, who calls himſelf a *preſbyter*; from whence they argue the *identity* of theſe offices in ſcripture, and the equality of the officers. They admit, that not long after the apoſtles' times biſhops are reported to have ſome ſuperiority above preſbyters, but this was not a *divine*, but an *eccleſiaſtical* inſtitution, as is evident from the teſtimony of the moſt ancient fathers, and the moſt conſiderable writers in the Romiſh church; to which they add the ſuffrage of the firſt reformers in king *Henry* the Eighth's reign. The *erudition of a chriſtian man*, printed 1643, ſays expreſsly, that the ſcripture mentions but two orders, *i. e. biſhops* or *prieſts*, and *deacons*. They conclude with obſerving, that the modern epiſcopacy is very different from that which began to obtain in the ſecond and third ages of the church, inſomuch that the preſent hierarchy, being an *human inſtitution*, might be aboliſhed, and the other remain.

After three days his majeſty, with the aſſiſtance of his learned divines, replied to the foregoing paper, and acknowledges, "that the words *biſhop* and *preſbyter* are ſome-"times confounded in ſcripture; he admits, that preſbyters "are *epiſcopi gregis*, biſhops of the flock; but that *biſhops* "are *epiſcopi gregis & paſtorum* within their ſeveral pre-"cincts, *i. e.* biſhops of the flock and of the paſtors too; "and that ſoon after, common uſage appropriated *biſhop* "to the eccleſiaſtical governor, leaving *preſbyter* to ſignify "the ordinary miniſter or *prieſt*, as appears from the ancient "fathers and councils. He admits the calling of the apoſ-"tles and their gifts to be extraordinary, but adds, that

* Επισκοποῦντες.

" their miſſion to *govern* and *teach* was ordinary and perpe-
" tual; that the biſhops ſucceeded them in the former, and
" preſbyters in the latter function.*

" His majeſty ſtill inſiſts, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were
" *biſhops*, as appears from antiquity, and by a catalogue of
" twenty-ſeven biſhops of Epheſus lineally deſcending from
" *Timothy*, as is avouched by Dr. *Reynolds* againſt *Hart*;
" and therefore the diſtinction between an *evangeliſt* and a
" *biſhop* is without fourdation, the work of an evangeliſt
" being no more than *diligence in preaching the word, not-
" withſtanding all impediments*, according to the apoſtle, 2
" *Tim.* ii. 4, 5. His majeſty obſerves, that the parliament
" divines had ſaid nothing to prove that the angels of the
" churches were not *perſonæ ſingulares*, and ſuch as had a
" prelacy over paſtors, *i. e. biſhops*, but that they dealt only
" in generals, and ſeemed unwilling to ſpeak their opinions
" about them.

His Majeſty affirms, " that *biſhops* are the ſucceſſors of the
" apoſtles in all things not extraordinary, ſuch as *teaching*
" and *governing*; and the reaſons why they are not mentioned
" as a *diſtinct order* in the *new teſtament*, are, 1. Becauſe
" the apoſtles reſerved to themſelves the government of thoſe
" churches where they appointed preſbyters, and ſo it is
" probable the *Philippians* had no biſhop when *Paul* wrote
" to them. 2. Becauſe in the epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*,
" the perſons to whom he wrote being themſelves biſhops,
" there was no need to write about the qualifications of any
" other officers than thoſe they wanted, which were preſby-
" ters and deacons only.

His majeſty admits, concerning the ages after the apoſtles,
" That they are but a human teſtimony, and yet may be in-
" fallible in matter of fact, as we infallibly know that *Ariſ-
" totle* was a Greek philoſopher, &c.; he avers the genuine-
" neſs of thoſe epiſtles of *Ignatius*, which give teſtimony to
" the ſuperiority of a biſhop above a preſbyter; and though
" his majeſty's royal progenitors had enlarged the power
" and privileges of biſhops, he conceives the government to
" be ſubſtantially the ſame."

* Rel. Carol. p. 260.

Eleven

Eleven days after the parliament divines replied to the king's ſecond paper, in which they ſay, that they can find no ſuch partition of the apoſtolical office in ſcripture, as his majeſty mentions, (viz.) that the *governing part* ſhould be committed to biſhops, *the teaching and adminiſtering the ſacraments* to preſbyters; but that the whole work, *per omnia*, belongs to preſbyters, as appears from the two words uſed in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* and St. *Peter*'s epiſtle, ποιμαίνειν, and ἐπισκοπεῖν, under the force of which words the biſhops claim their whole right of government and juriſdiction; and when the apoſtle *Paul* was taking leave of the Epheſian preſbyters and biſhops, he commits the *government* of the church, not to *Timothy*, who was then at his elbow, but to the *preſbyters*, under the name of biſhops made by the Holy Ghoſt: from whence they conclude, that biſhops and preſbyters muſt be only two names of the ſame order.§ They obſerve, that the obſcurity of church hiſtory in the times ſucceeding the apoſtles made the *catalogue makers* take up their ſucceſſion upon report; and it is a blemiſh to their evidence, that the nearer they come to the days of the apoſtles, they are the more doubtful and contradictory. Theſe divines are therefore of opinion, that human teſtimony on both ſides ought to be diſcharged, and the point in debate be determined only by ſcripture. And here they take hold of his majeſty's conceſſion, that in ſcripture the names of biſhops and preſbyters are not diſtinguiſhed; and that there is no mention but of two orders, biſhops and deacons. They deſire his majeſty to ſhew them, where the ſcripture has aſſigned any particular work or duty to a *biſhop* that is not common to a *preſbyter*, for they apprehend his majeſty's aſſerting that a biſhop is an eccleſiaſtical governor, and a preſbyter an ordinary miniſter, is without any demonſtration or evidence; a few clear paſſages of ſcripture for the proof of this (they ſay) would bring the point to an iſſue. They deny his majeſty's diſtinction of *epiſcopi gregis & paſtorum*, *biſhop of ſheep and ſhepherds*, as being the point in queſtion, and affirmed without any evidence.—That the office of *teaching* and *governing* was ordinary in the apoſtles, becauſe continued in the church (we crave leave to ſay) is that great

§ Rel. Carol. p. 277.

miſtake

miſtake which runs through the whole file of your majeſty's diſcourſe; for though there be a ſucceſſion in the work of teaching and governing, there is no ſucceſſion in the *commiſſion or office*, by which the apoſtles performed them; a ſucceſſion may be to the ſame work, but not to the ſame commiſſion; and ſince your majeſty cannot produce any record from ſcripture warranting the diviſion of the office of *teaching* and *governing* into two hands, we muſt look upon it as an invention of men to get the power into their hands.

Theſe divines go on with a long proof that *Timothy* and *Titus* were evangeliſts; that is, not fixed to one place, but travelling with the apoſtles from one country to another to plant churches, and accordingly have drawn out an account of their travels from the *Acts* of the *apoſtles*, and St. *Paul*'s *epiſtles*. They obſerve the weakneſs of his majeſty's reaſons, why biſhops are not mentioned as a *diſtinct order* in ſcripture, and add a third of their own, viz. becauſe really *they were not*. As for the apoſtles reſerving in their own hands the *power of governing*, they admit, that they could no more part with it than with their apoſtleſhip. Had they ſet up biſhops in all churches, they had no more parted with their power of *governing*, than in ſetting up preſbyters; preſbyters being called *rulers*, *governors*, and *biſhops*; nor could the apoſtles reaſonably be ſuppoſed to commit the government of the church of Epheſus to the preſbyters, when he was taking his laſt farewell of them, and yet reſerve the power of governing (in ordinary) to himſelf. His majeſty's other reaſon (they ſay) is inconcluſive, and in ſort begging the queſtion. They add, that it is very unaccountable, that if there had been two ſorts of biſhops, one *over preſbyters*, and the other *over the flock*, that there ſhould be no mention, no mark of difference, no diſtinct method of ordination, by which they might be diſtinguiſhed, throughout the whole *new teſtament*.

As to the ages after the apoſtles, they admit there were *preſbyter biſhops*, but not of divine inſtitution; that the catalogues of ſucceſſion are undoubtedly defective, but if they were not, it remains ſtill to be proved, that the *biſhops* in the catalogue were veſted with the *juriſdiction* which the modern biſhops claim.

Theſe

Theſe divines profeſs to honour the pious intentions of his majeſty's anceſtors, and admit, that ornamental acceſſions to the perſon make no ſubſtantial change in the office, but that the primitive epiſcopacy, and the preſent hierarchy, are eſſentially different. They acknowledge a ſubordination of the exerciſe of juriſdiction to the civil power, and the laws of the land; and conclude with thanks to his majeſty's condeſcenſion, in allowing them to examine his learned reply, clothed in ſuch excellence of ſtile, and pray, that a pen in the hand of ſuch abilities may ever be employed on a ſubject worthy of it.

Some days after his majeſty offered his laſt paper, wherein "he acknowledges the great pains of theſe divines to inform "his judgment, and takes particular notice of the decency "of their manner, and of their reſpectful addreſs to him "upon this occaſion, but ſays they miſtook him, when they "ſpoke of a writ of partition of the epiſcopal office; "whereas his meaning was, that the office of *teaching* was "common both to the biſhop and preſbyter, but that *go-* "*vernment* was peculiar to the biſhop."† His majeſty declines anſwering to all the particulars, becauſe he would not draw out the diſpute into a greater length, but ſeems unconvinced by any thing that had been offered; he affirms, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *epiſcopi paſtorum*, biſhops over preſbyters; and that *Timothy* had a diſtinct work from preſbyters, that is, that he *might know how to behave himſelf in the exerciſe of his epiſcopal office.* His majeſty relies on the numerous teſtimonies of ancient and modern writers, for the ſcripture original of biſhops, and adds, that the teſtimonies of an equal number of equal credit to the contrary will ſignify nothing, becauſe one witneſs for the *affirmative* ought to be of more value than ten for the *negative.*—In concluſion his majeſty put them upon evidencing one of theſe three things, (1.) Either that there is no form of church government preſcribed in ſcripture. Or, (2.) If there be, that the civil power may change it as they ſee cauſe. Or, (3.) If it be unchangeable, that it was not *epiſcopal*, but ſome other that they will name, for till this is done he ſhall think himſelf excuſable for not conſenting to the aboliſhing that

† Rel. Carol. p. 324.

government

government which he found ſettled at his coronation; which is ſo ancient, has been ſo univerſally received in the chriſtian world, has been confirmed by ſo many acts of parliament, and ſubſcribed by all the clergy of the church of England. But the miniſters declined entering into ſo large a field, which muſt have brought on a debate concerning the whole eccleſiaſtical polity of the church.

Theſe were all the papers which paſſed on both ſides, and deſerve the notice of thoſe who would enter into this controverſy. His majeſty ſaying, that one witneſs for the affirmative, that *epiſcopacy is of divine inſtitution*, ought to be of more value than ten for the negative, is (I apprehend) one of the weakeſt and moſt frivolous arguments of his letter; for it is only changing the form of the queſtion, and making the preſbyterian ſay, that *preſbytery is of divine inſtitution*, and then aſking his majeſty, or any epiſcopal divine, whether *one affirmative* teſtimony ought not to be of more value than *ten negative ones* of equal merit. His majeſty's ſtile is ſtrong and maſculine, and that of the parliament divines decent and reſpectful. Sir *Phil. Warwick* read the king's papers before the commiſſioners, and Mr. *Vines* thoſe of the miniſters: all was managed with the greateſt propriety, which makes it hard to excuſe lord *Clarendon*'s account of the behaviour of theſe divines, who ſays,* "they "all behaved with that rudeneſs, as if they meant to be no "longer ſubject to a king any more than to a biſhop; that "they inveighed bitterly againſt the pride and luſtre of lord "biſhops; that two of them very plainly and fiercely told "the king, that if he did not conſent to the utter aboliſh-"ing of biſhops he would be damned; the men were *Spur-"ſtow* and *Jenkins*, who, after the return of king *Charles* II. "according to the modeſty of that race of people, came to "kiſs his majeſty's hand." And yet neither of the divines above-mentioned were nominated to aſſiſt at the treaty, nor had any ſhare in the debates. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *all the parliament divines came off with great honour.* But ſuch is his lordſhip's or his *editor*'s candor towards any thing that looks like a preſbyterian!

* Vol. iii. p. 216.

The

The king's ſecond difficulty, relating to his *coronation oath*, by which he apprehended himſelf bound to maintain epiſcopal government as he found it ſettled when he received the crown, the commiſſioners did not think ſo proper for the diſcuſſion of divines, becauſe it depended upon the law of the land, and therefore took this part of the debate upon themſelves. The king conceived, *that the conſent of the clergy themſelves in convocation aſſembled, was neceſſary, before they could be deprived of thoſe poſſeſſions and privileges of which they were legally poſſeſſed.* But the commiſſioners maintained, that the legiſlature alone was to determine in this caſe, as it had done at the reformation; that it was not to be ſuppoſed, that any body of men would conſent to part with their poſſeſſions if they could keep them; but *if the legiſlature judged any part of the king's coronation oath hurtful to the publick, it was certainly in their power, with the conſent of the king, to alter or annul it.*—One may juſtly aſk how this branch of the coronation oath ſhould ſtick ſo much with the king, when it was notorious that his government for almoſt fifteen years had been one continued breach of *magna charta*, and an encroachment upon the civil liberties of his ſubjects?

But neither party would accede to the other, though the article of religion was almoſt the only point that hindered the concluſion of the treaty: his majeſty wondered at the ſhyneſs and reluctance of the parliament divines to debate his three queſtions, and told them plainly, that their endeavours to give him ſatisfaction in them, would have added to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking, it not being probable that they ſhould work much upon *his* judgment, while they were fearful to declare their *own*; or poſſible to relieve *his* conſcience but by a free declaring of *theirs*.‡ But what was all this to the point? the only queſtion before them was, *whether dioceſan epiſcopacy was of divine inſtitution?* if they had ſatisfied his majeſty in that, they had diſcharged their duty; to launch out farther was to loſe time, and protract the treaty beyond its limits. If *dioceſan epiſcopacy* was not *ſcriptural*, it might be aboliſhed, which was all the parliament contended for at preſent.* But the king's divines encouraged him to diſpute every inch of

‡ Ruſhworth, p. 1291. * Ibid. p. 1301, 1302.

ground,

ground, and inſtead of yielding any one point to the miniſters, to ſtart new difficulties, till his ruin was inevitable. However, towards the cloſe of the treaty, when the victorious army was returning towards London, and things almoſt come to an extremity, his majeſty told the *commiſſioners*, "that though he could not with a good conſcience conſent "to the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy, becauſe he believed the "ſubſtance of it to be of apoſtolical inſtitution, he was willing to reduce it to the primitive uſage; and if his two "houſes ſhould ſo adviſe, he would be content to leſſen the "extent, and multiply the number of dioceſes. He ſtill apprehended the entire alienation of the biſhops lands by "ſale to be ſacrilege.—He was willing to aſſent to the calling and ſitting of the aſſembly of divines as deſired.—"He would alſo confirm the publick uſe of the *directory* in "all churches and chapels, and would repeal ſo much of all "ſtatutes as concerned the book of *common prayer* only; "provided the uſe thereof might be continued in his majeſty's chapel for himſelf and his houſhold; and that the "ſame [*i. e.* the *directory*] ſhould be confirmed by act of "parliament for three years, provided a conſultation be had "in the mean time with the aſſembly of divines as before "mentioned.—Touching the articles of religion [the *aſſembly's confeſſion*] his majeſty deſired further time to examine them before he bound up himſelf and his ſubjects "in matters of faith and doctrine.—His majeſty will conſent "to an act for better obſervation of the Lord's-day, and to "prevent ſaying of maſs.—But as to the *covenant*, his majeſty was not ſatisfied to take it, nor to impoſe it upon "others."

Theſe conceſſions being voted unſatisfactory by the two houſes at Weſtminſter, his majeſty conſented further, October 21. 1ſt, "That archbiſhops, chancellors, deans, and the "whole hierarchy, be aboliſhed, except BISHOPS. 2. That "none but the *preſbyterian* government be exerciſed for *three years*. 3. That in caſe no ſettlement ſhould be agreed "upon within that time, that then for the future the power "of ordination ſhould not be exerciſed by *biſhops* without "the counſel and aſſiſtance of preſbyters; that no other "epiſcopal juriſdiction ſhould be exerciſed but ſuch as ſhould

"be

" be agreed upon in parliament; and if within that time his " majeſty ſhould be convinced that *epiſcopacy* is not agree- " able to the word of God, or that Chriſt commanded any " other government, he will embrace it, and take *epiſcopacy* " quite away." The houſes being ſtill diſſatisfied with theſe conceſſions, his majeſty added, Nov. 4, " That he would " make no new biſhops for three years; and for the further " ſatisfaction of the parliament, he would not inſiſt upon the " uſe of the *common prayer* in his own chapel for that time, " but would make uſe of ſome other form of divine ſervice " for himſelf, and forbid maſs to be ſaid in the queen's cha- " pel." This was his majeſty's final anſwer, which the commons voted unſatisfactory, and ordered the commiſſioners to acquaint him with their votes.

The treaty was prolonged three weeks after this, in which time the commiſſioners did all that was in their power to obtain his majeſty's conſent, beſeeching him with tears upon their bended knees, ſince matters were brought to ſo narrow a compaſs, to yield up the point of *religion*. In their laſt paper of Nov. 20, they beſeech him to conſider, " that it " is not the *apoſtolical biſhop* which the parliament deſire him " to aboliſh, but that epiſcopacy which was formerly eſta- " bliſhed by law in this kingdom, and has been found by " experience to be an hindrance to piety, a grievance to the " ſubject, an encroachment upon the power of the civil " magiſtrate, and ſo a burthen to the perſons, purſes, and " conſciences of men. They do not meddle with the *apo-* " *ſtolical biſhop*, nor determine what that biſhop was whom " the apoſtles mention in the ſcripture; but they are for put- " ting *him* down by a law *who* was ſet up by a law; and " certainly nothing can be more proper for parliaments, than " to alter, repeal, or make laws, which appear to them for " the good of the commonwealth.

" But admitting *apoſtolical biſhops* were within the purport " of this bill, we humbly conceive it does not follow, that " therefore in conſcience it muſt not be paſſed, for we may " not grant, that no occaſion can make that alterable which " has foundation only in the *practice* of the apoſtles, and " not in a *precept*.* Some things have certainly been al-

* For the king's anſwer, ſee Dr. *Grey*'s examination, p. 342, &c. Ed.

" tered

"tered which the apoſtles practiſed; circumſtances many "times change the nature of moral actions; for the attain-"ing a great good, or the avoiding a great evil, that which "ſingly conſidered is not fit to be done, and perhaps would "be a fault if it were, may become a duty, and a man may "be bound in conſcience to do it. And if ever circum-"ſtances could have a more powerful and conſiderable in-"fluence than in this juncture, we leave to your majeſty's "conſideration. But this is ſaid only for argument ſake, "admitting but not granting the grounds on which your "majeſty is pleaſed to go, in refuſing to paſs this bill."§ The ſtrength of the commiſſioners, reaſoning upon this head may be ſeen at once in this ſhort ſyllogiſm; *whatſoever is not of divine inſtitution may be very lawfully altered, changed, or reverſed.—But the epiſcopacy which is eſtabliſhed in the church of England is not that epiſcopacy mentioned in ſcripture—therefore the laws which eſtabliſhed it may take it away.*

The commiſſioners go on, "As for the *ſale of biſhops* "*lands*, which your majeſty conceives to be *ſacrilege*, we "humbly offer that, biſhopricks being diſſolved, their lands "revert to the *crown*, which is their foundation and patron, "and heretofore held it no ſacrilege to diſpoſe of biſhops "lands to its own and other uſes by act of parliament, "which was an ordinary practice in your majeſty's prede-"ceſſors, kings and queens of this nation. Beſides, in "all ages, even under the ceremonial law, imminent and "urgent neceſſity has diſpenſed with the alienation of con-"ſecrated things.†

"Your majeſty is pleaſed to ſay, *You cannot communicate* "*in a publick form of divine ſervice, where it is uncertain* "*what the miniſter will offer to God.* But we beſeech your "majeſty to be informed, that the *directory* ſets down the "matter of the prayer which the miniſter is to uſe; words "and expreſſions for enlargement being left to his diſcre-"tion. But give us leave to add, that this ought to be no "objection with your majeſty, for then one muſt not hear "any prayer before ſermon, for here every miniſter has a "ſeveral form, which he varies according to occaſion.

§ Ruſhworth, p. 1335. Whitlocke, p. 351.

† Dr. *Grey*, p. 345, has given his majeſty's reply. Ed.

"Upon

" Upon the whole therefore we humbly hope, that your " majeſty, after a moſt ſerious conſideration, will diſcern the " juſt cauſe which the two houſes have for remaining un- " ſatisfied with your majeſty's conceſſions, *with relation to* " *the church*, for they are apprehenſive that after the ex- " piration of the three years in which epiſcopal government " is to be ſuſpended, a biſhop ſo qualified as your majeſty " expreſſes will riſe again; for if you ſhould not in the mean " time agree with your parliament upon any other form of " government, which depends wholly upon your majeſty's " pleaſure, no other government can be ſet up; and then " this epiſcopacy will return with ſo great power, that the " biſhop may chooſe whether any miniſter at all ſhall be " made in the church of England, and thoſe that ſhall muſt " be at his devotion, he having the negative voice in ordi- " nation, which we humbly conceive is no where declared " in ſcripture to be the prerogative of an *apoſtolical biſhop*.

" We humbly ſay further, that the charging biſhops lands " with leaſes for ninety-nine years is not ſufficient, becauſe " there is a rent reſerved to the biſhop, and the property will " continue as before; ſo that it cannot be expected that the " *preſbyterian government* ſhould be complied with, and ex- " erciſed with profit or comfort to the church, as long as a " door is left open for the return of a ſuperior power upon " the firſt opportunity.

" We hope your majeſty will pardon our preſſing in this " manner; our intention is not to offer violence to your ma- " jeſty's conſcience, but to endeavour to inform it in a mat- " ter that appears to the two houſes of ſo great conſequence. " We again humbly beſeech your majeſty to review our " former papers; call to mind thoſe reaſons and arguments " which in debate have been uſed upon this ſubject, with " ſuch others as your own wiſdom ſhall ſuggeſt, and then " be pleaſed to give your royal conſent to the particulars " above ſpecified, that both yourſelf and your people may " have cauſe to rejoice."

The committee of ſtates in Scotland joined with the parliament commiſſioners in beſeeching his majeſty to accede to

* Ruſhworth, p. 1304.

the

the *propoſition about religion*, which they underſtood to be the point his majeſty moſt ſtuck at, and which they in honour and intereſt were obliged moſt to inſiſt upon, and without which (they add) *his throne cannot be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs.** They alſo wrote to the *prince of Wales* to mediate with his father. The *general aſſembly*, and the commiſſioners of the kirk of Scotland, ſent at the ſame time two angry letters, for (it was ſaid) *they* would ſpeak more plainly in the name of their *maſter*, than the commiſſioners of eſtates would venture to do in their own. But his majeſty was deaf to all remonſtrances and perſuaſions, being determined, if his two houſes did not think fit to recede from the rigor of their demands in theſe particulars, to caſt himſelf (as he ſaid) on his *Saviour*'s goodneſs to ſupport and defend him from all afflictions, how great ſoever, which might befall him, rather than upon politick conſiderations deprive himſelf of the tranquillity of his mind; and therefore, excepting his majeſty's *conſent to licenſe the aſſembly's leſſer catechiſm with a proper preface*, in all other matters in difference he reſolved to abide by his former anſwers.

At the cloſe of the treaty the king made a ſhort ſpeech to the commiſſioners, in which he reminds them how far he had condeſcended for the ſake of peace. He deſired them to put a good interpretation on his vehement expreſſions on ſome part of the debates, there being nothing in his intentions but kindneſs; and that as they had uſed a great deal of freedom, and ſhewed great abilities in their debates, which had taken him off from ſome of his opinions, that they would uſe the ſame freedom with his two houſes, to preſs them to an abatement of thoſe things in which his conſcience was not yet ſatisfied, which more time might do, his opinions not being like the laws of the Medes and Perſians unalterable or infallible; adding his very hearty thanks for the pains they had taken to ſatisfy him, profeſſing that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities.§ He deſired them candidly to repreſent all the tranſactions of the treaty to his two houſes, that they might ſee nothing of his own intereſt, how

* Ruſhworth, p. 1304.

† Clarendon, p. 224. Ruſhworth, p. 1326, 1334.

§ Vol. Pam. No. 83.

near

near or dear ſoever, (but that wherein his conſcience is not ſatisfied) can hinder, on his part, an happy concluſion of the treaty.

The king's conceſſions were certainly a ſufficient foundation for peace with the *preſbyterians*, if they could have been relied upon, and were ſo voted by the parliament when it was too late. His majeſty had given up the main pillars of the hierarchy, by conſenting to aboliſh archbiſhops, deans, and chapters, and that a biſhop ſhould not act without his preſbyters; which was archbiſhop *Uſher*'s ſcheme, and all that the *puritans* at firſt contended for; but the Scots and the Engliſh *preſbyterians*, grown loſty in power, and being leſs apprehenſive of danger from the army, than they ought, concluded they could not fail of their whole eſtabliſhment in a few weeks, though there was not the leaſt proviſion for *liberty of conſcience for diſſenters*, which they might have been ſenſible would occaſion high diſcontents in the army. The commiſſioners were diſpoſed to an accommodation, and took all opportunities to aſſure his majeſty, that if he would but yield for a time, things ſhould be made eaſy to him afterwards. But the truth is, as the king would not truſt the parliament, ſo neither would they the king, becauſe they obſerved, (1.) His dilatorineſs in the treaty, as if he waited for ſome advantageous turn of affairs to revoke his conceſſions. (2.) His reſolute diſputing every inch of ground without yielding a ſingle propoſition, or none of any conſiderable moment. (3.) His majeſty's maxim, *that what was yielded out of neceſſity was not binding when the reſtraint was taken off.* (4.) They ſuſpected his ſincerity, becauſe the duke of *Ormond* was at this very time treating with the Iriſh rebels by his majeſty's commiſſion, which he would not recal.§ (5.)

§ The preceding aſſertions of Mr. *Neal* much diſpleaſe Dr. *Grey*; he contradicts them, and endeavours to confront them with facts. He challenges Mr. *Neal* to produce one ſingle well-atteſted fact to ſupport his reflection on the king's ſincerity. The appeal, for the truth of the charge may be made to the reader, who has accompanied *Charles* through his reign, and obſerved his conduct on various occaſions. The appeal may be made to the facts, that have been collected in Dr. *Harris*'s "Hiſtorical and Critical account of Charles I." p. 72-83, and in "An Eſſay towards a true "Idea of the character of king Charles I." p. 93-102. We may alſo refer to what has been before advanced on this point. It ſuffices to add here the authority of *Ludlow* only; who ſays, "that the duplicity of the king's "dealings

They remembered his majeſty's artful manner of interpreting away his conceſſions. (6.) They gave out that he was not his own maſter, but that his conſcience was under the direction of his *divines*, who would put him upon all extremes for their ſupport. (7.) They were incenſed at the murders and depredations of the cavalier ſoldiers, even after they were beaten out of the field, and were afraid of their recovering the management of publick affairs. And *laſtly*, They were as firmly perſuaded of the divine inſtitution of preſbytery, and the obligation of the *covenant*, as the king and his divines were of the *jus divinum* of epiſcopacy.

" dealings with the parliament manifeſtly appeared in his own papers, taken " at the battle of Naſeby and elſewhere." Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. 1771, p. 114.——Dr. *Grey* aſſerts againſt Mr. *Neal*, that " from the MS. treaty " it is manifeſt, that there was not the laſt delay on the king's part." But he forgets the *duration* of the treaty, which was to continue forty days only; and, commencing on the 18th of September, did not cloſe till towards the end of November: and would not have ended then, if the army had not ſeized his majeſty. For the anſwers of the king were voted " to " be a ground only for the houſe to proceed on to ſettle the peace of the " kingdom." Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 353.—But the length of the treaty could ariſe only from the king's not at firſt yielding to the propoſitions made by the commiſſioners. Mr. *Neal*'s next aſſertion, that the king " diſ- " puted every inch of ground" is implied in the duration of the treaty, and it is proved by the quotation, which Mr. *Neal*, a little farther on, makes from Whitlocke. But Dr. *Grey* attempts to diſprove it, by bringing forward three conceſſions made in one day, the 21ſt of October, by the king. The reader will determine, whether an exception drawn from the tranſactions of *one* day can diſprove an aſſertion which applies to a treaty depending more than ſeventy days: and thoſe conceſſions, he will conſider, were not yielded till the forty days, originally appointed for the continuance of the treaty, were drawing to an end. In oppoſition to our author's fourth reaſon, Dr. *Grey* produces from *Williams*'s MS. collections, a letter of the king, 25th of November, to the commiſſioners, in which he informs them, (ſending at the ſame time the letter itſelf for their peruſal) that he had written to the marquis of *Ormond*, " acquainting him with " ſuch informations as he had received from the two houſes concerning his " proceedings in that kingdom, and requiring him to deſiſt from any far- " ther proſecution of the ſame. And in caſe he ſhall refuſe, his majeſty " will then make ſuch publique declaration againſt his powers and proceed- " ings as is deſired."—Notwithſtanding this, Mr. *Neal* ſpoke on authority. For on the 21ſt of November, the houſe received letters from the Iſle of Wight, " that the king refuſed to paſs any thing againſt the marquis of " *Ormond*, untill the treaty be wholly ended." Whitlocke's Mem. p. 359. See alſo Lord Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 222. Ed.

Yet

Yet under all theſe prepoſſeſſions, lord *Clarendon*‖ obſerves ſome of the commiſſioners found means to advertiſe the king in private, "that they were of his majeſty's judgment about "church government, which they hoped might be pre-"ſerved, but not by the method his majeſty purſued; that "all the reaſonable hope of preſerving the crown was in "dividing the parliament and the army, which could be "done no other way than by giving ſatisfaction with re-"ference to the church. This might probably unite the "parliament and the city of London, and enable them to "bring his majeſty to London with honour, where he might "have an opportunity of gaining more abatements than he "could ever expect by refuſing to ſign the preliminaries. "Many advertiſements came from his majeſty's friends in "London, and other places, that it was high time the treaty "was at an end, before the army drew nearer London, "which it would ſhortly do, as ſoon as thoſe in the north "had finiſhed their works." Sir *J. Browning* intreated his majeſty, in his cloſet, to make all his conceſſions in one declaration, at one inſtant, and in one day. The parliament commiſſioners were no leſs importunate with the king, but he was inflexible, and uſually out of humour. Remarkable are the words of Mr. *Whitlocke*, ſpeaking of the above-mentioned conceſſions: "More than this could not be obtained, "though moſt earneſtly begged of his majeſty by ſome of "the commiſſioners (great perſons) with tears, and upon "their knees, particularly as to the propoſition concerning "*religion*, wherein church government, publick worſhip, "and chiefly the revenues of the church, ſwayed more with "the *king's chaplains* then about him; and they more with "his majeſty (continually whiſpering matters of conſcience "to him) than the parliament, and all his commiſſioners, "could prevail with him for an agreement, though poſſibly "his own judgment (which was above all theirs) might not "be ſo fully convinced by his eager divines about him."* But *theſe* had poſſeſſion of his majeſty's conſcience, and directed his anſwers:§ and though they abhorred the thoughts of

‖ Book xi. p. 217. * Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 325.

§ Dr. *Grey* is diſpleaſed with this repreſentation, and impeaches the truth of it. He ſays, that when Mr. *Vines* took the freedom to obſerve, "that

of depoſing the king, or putting him to death, it ought to be conſidered, whether their ſtiff and imprudent behaviour did not manifeſtly contribute to that *cataſtrophe*.

His majeſty being thus entangled, was pleaſed, before the breaking up of the treaty, to ſend for archbiſhop *Uſher*, and aſked him this queſtion, *Whether he found in all antiquity, that preſbyters alone ordained any?* To which the archbiſhop replied frankly, that he could ſhew his majeſty more than that, *even that preſbyters alone had ſucceſſively ordained biſhops*, and inſtanced in St. *Jerom*'s words, in his *Epiſt. ad Evagrium*, where he ſays, the preſbyters of Alexandria choſe and made their own biſhops from the days of *Mark* the apoſtle till *Heraclus* and *Dionyſius*.* At the ſame time the archbiſhop offered his majeſty his own ſcheme for the reduction of epiſcopacy to the form of preſbytery, which his majeſty had formerly rejected, but was now at length willing to accept, as the archbiſhop himſelf told Mr. *Baxter*; but the Scots and Engliſh *preſbyterians* were grown ſo ſtubborn that they would not acquieſce.

Though the commiſſioners had no power to recede from their inſtructions, the treaty was prolonged from time to time, in hopes that ſomething or other might gain upon the king; but his majeſty was frequently out of temper, and treated the commiſſioners with no degree of confidence. The forty days to which the treaty was limited being ended October 28, it was enlarged for fourteen days, and then for ſeven, and ſo on to the 28th of November, for which (ſays lord *Clarendon*†) his majeſty was nothing glad; nor did his friends in the houſe deſire the prolongation, it being moved by thoſe that wiſhed the treaty might have no good effect, to give the army time to finiſh their ſummer's work, and return to London. On the laſt day of the treaty, when the *commiſſioners* preſſed his majeſty to conſider, that there was

" poſſibly his majeſty's ſcruples were not ſo much his own as other men's," the king a little warmly replied; " That it was a miſtake; for *his ſcruples* " *were really his own*, and contained in his firſt paper." The doctor did not reflect, that few men are willing to have it ſuppoſed, and more unwilling to own, *that they are led*. But however this was, Mr. *Neal* is ſupported by the authority of *Whitlocke*. ED.

* Baxter's Life, p. 206. † Vol. iii. p. 322.

not

not one whole day to determine the fate of the kingdom, and that nothing could ſave his majeſty from the growing power of the army, but giving his two houſes ſatisfaction in the particular of the church, " then (ſays lord *Clarendon**) " his majeſty's own council, and the divines, beſought him " to conſider the ſafety of his perſon, even for the church's " ſake, which had no proſpect of being preſerved but by " his life, that the unavoidable neceſſity that lay upon him " obliged him to do any thing that was not ſin." And why did they not do this ſooner? However, it ſeems *they could only prevail for a ſuſpenſion of the epiſcopal power in point of ordination and juriſdiction, till he and the two houſes ſhould agree what government ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the future.* Which was the ſubſtance of all his majeſty intended by his conceſſions. After ſupper the *commiſſioners* took their leave, and having kiſſed his majeſty's hand, began their journey next morning towards London. It is intrepid language that Mr. *Warwick* puts into the king's mouth on this occaſion: His majeſty ſaid to him one night, " I am " like a captain that has defended a place well, and his ſu- " periors not being able to relieve him he had leave to ſur- " render it; but though they cannot relieve me in the time, " let them relieve me when they can, elſe (ſays he) I will " hold it out till I make ſome ſtone in this building my tomb- " ſtone; and ſo I will do by the church of England."

Lord *Clarendon* is of opinion, " that the major part of " both houſes, as well as the *commiſſioners*, were at this time " ſo far from deſiring the execution of all their conceſſions, " that if they had been able to have reſiſted the wild fury " of the army, they would themſelves have been ſuitors to " have declined the greateſt part of them." And were not the king's counſellors and divines ſenſible of this? Why then did they trifle away a month in fruitleſs debates, when it was evident to all men that the king's condition became more deſperate every day?

Thus ended the famous treaty at Newport, which like all the former proved unſucceſsful, chiefly from an incurable jealouſy between the contending parties, which how reaſonable it was on either ſide muſt be left with the reader.

* Book xi. or vol. iii. p. 227.

The noble hiſtorian obſerves, that the king ſent the prince of *Wales* a journal of the proceedings of the treaty, and an exact copy of all the papers that had paſſed to the 29th of November, together with a letter of ſix ſheets of paper written with his majeſty's own hand, containing the reaſons and motives of all his conceſſions. The concluſion of the letter, his lordſhip ſays, deſerves to be preſerved in letters of gold, as it gives the beſt character of that excellent prince; but the copy does not, in my opinion, reſemble the original. Some paſſages of it are theſe: "—We have la- "boured long in ſearch of peace, do not you be diſheart- "ened to tread in the ſame ſteps.—Prefer the way of peace— "conquer your enemies by pardoning rather than by pu- "niſhing—Never affect more greatneſs or prerogative than "that which is really and intrinſically for the good of your "ſubjects, not the ſatisfaction of favourites. You may per- "ceive that all men entruſt their treaſure where it returns "them intereſt. If princes, like the ſea, receive, and re- "pay all the freſh ſtreams the rivers intruſt them with, they "will not grudge, but pride themſelves to make them up "an ocean—If God reſtore you to your right, whatever "you promiſe keep—Don't think any thing in this world "worth obtaining by falſe and unjuſt means."—Theſe are excellent maxims of government; and if his majeſty had conducted himſelf by them he could not have been reduced to ſuch a low and deſtitute condition, as to have hardly a place in the world to hide himſelf in; "for, ſays lord *Cla-* "*rendon*,‡ there was at that time no court in chriſtendom ſo "honourably or generouſly conſtituted, that it would have "been glad to have ſeen him, and they who wiſhed him well, "did not wiſh his eſcape, becauſe they imagined impriſon- "ment was the worſt that could befal him."

I am unwilling to ſuſpect the genuineneſs of this letter, though there were ſo many forgeries obtruded upon the world about this time to advance his majeſty's piety and virtue, that one can hardly feel the ground he treads on. If ſuch a letter was ſent to the *prince*, it is very ſtrange he ſhould never ſee it; or that his lordſhip, who lived in the prince's family, and extracted his account of the treaty of

* Book xi. or vol. iii. p. 229. ‡ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 231.

Newport

Newport from theſe papers, (as he declares) ſhould never ſhew it his maſter; and yet theſe are the words of biſhop *Burnet*, in the *Hiſtory* of his *Life* and *Times*: "The duke "of *York* ſuffered me to talk very freely to him about re- "ligion, and he told me among other things, that *the letter* "*to the prince of Wales was never brought to him.*"

The army had been ſix months in the field this ſummer engaged againſt the *cavaliers* and Scots, who being now reduced and ſubdued, they began to expreſs a high diſſatisfaction with the *preſent treaty*, becauſe no proviſion had been made for their darling point, *liberty of conſcience*. Here they had juſt reaſon of complaint, but ought not to have relieved themſelves by the methods and at the expence they did. They were thoroughly incenſed againſt the *king and his cavaliers* on one hand, and the *high preſbyterians* on the other. It appeared to them, that the king's ſentiments in religion and politicks were not changed; that he would always be raiſing new commotions till things returned to their former channel; and in the preſent treaty he had yielded nothing but through conſtraint; and that when he was reſtored to his throne, after all the blood that had been ſhed, they ſhould neither be ſafe in their lives or fortunes. On the other hand, if *preſbyterian uniformity* ſhould take place by virtue of the preſent treaty, their condition would be little mended; for (ſaid they) if the king himſelf cannot obtain liberty to have the *common-prayer* read privately in his own family, what muſt the *independants* and *ſectaries* expect? What have we been contending for, if after all the hazards we have run, *preſbytery* is to be exalted, and we are to be baniſhed our country or driven into corners?

While the reſentments of the army were thus inflamed, their officers, who were *high enthuſiaſts*, though men of unblemiſhed morals,‖ obſerved ſeveral days of faſting and prayer

‖ The character of virtuous morals, biſhop *Warburton* conſiders as inconſiſtent with their being, as Mr. *Neal* ſays, "high enthuſiaſts:" "when," his lordſhip adds, "they all acted (as almoſt all enthuſiaſts do) on this "maxim, that the end *ſanctifies the means*, and that the elect (of which "number they reckoned themſelves chief) are above ordinances:" Mr. *Neal*, I preſume, is to be underſtood as ſpeaking of their perſonal virtue, with regard to ſenſual indulgencies, in oppoſition to drunkenneſs and debauchery. ED.

at

at their head-quarters at St. Alban's, till at length in a kind of deſpair, and under the influence of a *religious phrenſy*, they entered upon the moſt deſperate meaſures, reſolving to aſſume the SOVEREIGN POWER into their own hands; to bring the king to juſtice; to ſet aſide the *covenant*; and change the government into a commonwealth. To accompliſh theſe monſtrous reſolutions, which were founded (as they alledged) upon SELF-PRESERVATION, though proſecuted by meaſures ſubverſive not only of the rights of parliament, but of the fundamental laws of ſociety, the officers agreed upon a *remonſtrance*, which was preſented to the parliament by ſix of their council, Nov. 20, eight days before the expiration of the treaty with the king, together with a letter from general *Fairfax* to the houſe, deſiring it might have a preſent reading.

The remonſtrance ſets forth the miſcarriages of the king's government;* his double and dilatory proceedings in treaties, particularly in that now on foot; and then deſires the houſe to return to their votes of non-addreſſes; to lay aſide that bargaining propoſition of compounding with delinquents, and bring them to puniſhment; and among theſe offenders, they propoſe, "(1.) That the KING be brought to juſtice, "as the capital cauſe of all. (2.) That a day be ſet for the "prince of *Wales* and the duke of *York* to ſurrender themſelves, or be declared incapable of the government; and "that for the future, no king be admitted but by the free "election of the people."†

The commons upon reading this remonſtrance were ſtruck with ſurpriſe, and being in the utmoſt conſternation deferred the debate for ten days, *i. e.* to the end of the treaty. But the officers, being apprehenſive of what might happen in that

* Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* apprehended that the diſpute between the king's party and the parliament turned upon this ſimple queſtion, "whether "the king ſhould govern as a God by his will, and the nation be governed "by force like beaſts: or whether the people ſhould be governed by laws "made by themſelves, and live under a government derived from their own "conſent?" Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to, 1771, p. 114. On this point reſts the difference between free and deſpotic governments, and in the *degree* in which a government deviates from the former, it approximates to the latter ſtate. ED.

† Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 236. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 564, folio.

time,

time, ſent colonel *Ewer* to the Iſle of Wight with a party of horſe to ſecure the perſon of the king, and ordered colonel *Hammond* to quit the iſland, and attend the council of officers at their head-quarters at Windſor; the king was ſecured the very day after the expiration of the treaty, and next morning [Nov. 30,] conveyed by a party of horſe to Hurſt-Caſtle, where he continued till he was conducted by colonel *Harriſon* to Windſor, in order to his trial. The ſame day the officers ſent a declaration to the houſe to enforce their late *remonſtrance*, complaining that they were wholly neglected, and deſiring the majority of the houſe to exclude from their councils ſuch as would obſtruct juſtice, or elſe withdraw from them.† This occaſioned warm debates among the members, and a motion that the principal officers who had a ſhare in the remonſtrance might be impeached of high treaſon.‡ Upon which the army marched directly to London, with general *Fairfax* at their head, who wrote to the lord-mayor and common-council, that he was marching to Weſtminſter in purſuance of the late remonſtrance, and deſired 40,000l. of the city in part of their arrears. Dec. 2, he quartered his troops about Whitehall, the Mews, Covent-Garden, and St. James's, aſſuring the citizens, that they ſhould diſturb no man in his property.

Though the houſes were now environed with an armed force, they had the courage to vote, that the *ſeizing the perſon of the king, and carrying him priſoner to Hurſt-Caſtle, was without their advice and conſent*; and next day, after having ſat all night [Dec. 5,] it was carried without a diviſion, that *the king's conceſſions to the parliament's propoſitions were a ſufficient ground for the houſes to proceed upon for ſettling the peace of the kingdom*; two hundred forty-four members being preſent. But the officers being determined to carry their point diſcharged the city trained bands, and placed a regiment of horſe and another of foot, the very next day, at the door of the parliament-houſe, and colonel *Pride*, having a liſt of the diſaffected members in his hand, took about forty of them into cuſtody, and denied entrance to about an hundred more, which determined ſeveral others to withdraw, inſomuch that

† Ruſhworth, p. 1341. Rapin, vol. ii. 565, folio.

‡ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 237.

the

the houſe of commons was left in the poſſeſſion of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred perſons, moſt of them officers of the army, who conducted every thing according to the plan concerted in their council at St. Alban's.—*Oliver Cromwell* was not yet come to London from his northern expedition, but wrote from Knottingſley, Nov. 20, that the officers of his regiments were deeply ſenſible of the miſeries of the kingdom, and had a great zeal for impartial juſtice to be done on offenders, with whom he concurred. December 6, he came to London, and next day had the thanks of the houſe thus garbled for his faithful ſervices to the publick.[a] December 11, a paper called the AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE was preſented to the general and council of officers, as a rule for future government. It was ſuppoſed to be drawn up by *Ireton*, and propoſed a diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and a new one to be choſen, conſiſting of three hundred members,[b] who were to elect a *council of ſtate* from among themſelves, for the management of all publick affairs, under certain reſtrictions; one of which is, that *they do not lay any reſtraints on the conſciences of men for religious differences*, (as has been mentioned) but no proceedings were had upon it, nor did it ever take place.

In the mean time, the houſe of commons (if they now deſerved that name) voted his majeſty's conceſſions at the Iſle of Wight not *ſatisfactory*,[c] and "that no member who "had been abſent when that vote was paſſed ſhould ſit "again in the houſe till he had ſubſcribed it;[d] that no more "addreſſes be made to the king for the future;[e] that no

[a] Dugdale, p. 363.

[b] According to the authority, *Williams*'s MS. Collections, on which Dr. *Grey* relies, it was propoſed, that the repreſentatives ſhould be four hundred; and the ground of the motion was, that the people of England (being very unequally diſtributed by boroughs for election of their repreſentatives) were indifferently proportioned. How has the diſproportion increaſed ſince that time! ED.

[c] They alſo reverſed the vote of the 5th of December, viz. "That the "king's anſwer was a ground on which to proceed upon for the ſettlement "of the peace of the kingdom," as diſhonourable to parliament, deſtructive to the peace of the kingdom, and tending to the breach of the publick faith of the kingdom. Dr. Grey, p. 357. ED.

Ruſhworth, p. 1300. [e] Ibid. 1365.

"malignant,

" malignant, who had aſſiſted againſt the parliament in the " firſt or ſecond civil war, or that had abetted the late tu- " mults, ſhould be capable of being choſen lord-mayor or " alderman of the city of London, or be capable of any " place of profit or truſt, or ſo much as of giving his vote " for chooſing perſons into ſuch offices, for the ſpace of one " year."[f] The ſecluded members publiſhed a proteſtation[g] againſt all theſe proceedings as null and void till they were reſtored to their places; but the lords and commons who remained in the houſes voted their proteſtation falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious.

The army, having vanquiſhed all oppoſition, went on with irreſiſtable violence to change the whole frame of government;[h] and, to make way for it, determined to impeach the king of high treaſon, as having been the cauſe of all the blood that had been ſpilt in the late war.[i] This unheard-of motion met with ſome oppoſition even in that *packed aſſembly*;[k] *Oliver Cromwell* was in doubt, and ſaid, " if any man " moved this of choice or deſign he ſhould think him the " greateſt traytor in the world; but ſince PROVIDENCE and " NECESSITY had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray GOD to " bleſs their councils, though he was not provided on the " ſudden to give them advice." Some ſaid, there was no need to bring the king to a trial; others, that there was no law to try him, nor any judicatory to call him to account; but all this was over-ruled; and becauſe the *lords* rejected the ordinance for the king's trial, lord *Clarendon* tells us, they ſhut up their doors; but Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays, they entered their houſe, and although ſeveral ordinances paſt, the commons would not own them any longer. Thus the con-

[f] Clarendon, p. 240.

[g] Biſhop *Warburton* obſerves, " that theſe very ſecluded members had " voted the biſhops guilty of high-treaſon, for proteſting in the ſame man- " ner, when under the like force." The reader will turn back to vol. ii. p. 494-499, compare the two caſes, and decide whether they were entirely ſimilar. Not but it is too common for men not to diſcern the nature of oppreſſion till they come to feel it: and to condemn in others what they allow in themſelves. ED.

[h] Ruſhworth, p. 1363. [i] Rapin, vol. ii. p. 567.

[k] Dugdale, p. 366.

ſtitution

ſtitution was diſſolved, and all that enſued muſt be conſidered as effected by the *military power.**

Though ſome few petitions had been procured from divers counties, and even from the common-council of London, *that juſtice might be done upon the authors of our troubles, and bloodſhed, in an exemplary way, and without reſpect of perſons*; yet the general voice of the nation was againſt ſuch violence, as appears by the petitions and proteſtations of all orders of people.

The prelatical clergy lay ſtill, either becauſe they could not aſſemble in a body, or becauſe they apprehended they could do no ſervice by appearing; but Dr. *Gauden*, afterwards biſhop of Exeter, publiſhed *a proteſtation againſt the declared purpoſes and proceedings of the army, and others, about trying and deſtroying our ſovereign lord the king*, dated January 5, and ſent it to a colonel to be preſented to lord *Fairfax* at the council of war. Dr. *Hammond* ſent *an humble addreſs alſo to the general and council of war, to prevent the horrid deſign of putting the king to death*, dated January 15. Both theſe papers inſiſted on the *divine right* of kingly government, and that to call the king before the tribunal of the people was contrary to the laws of the land. The famous Mr. *Prynne*, one of the ſecluded members, publiſhed *a brief memento to the preſent unparliamentary junto, touching their preſent intentions and proceedings to depoſe and execute* CHARLES STUART, *their lawful king of England*, dated from the King's-head in the Strand, Jan. 1, 1648.

The officers of the army attempted by their creatures to gain over the London miniſters to their meaſures, or at leaſt to perſuade them to a neutrality. *Hugh Peters*, one of their chaplains, was ſent to the remains of the *aſſembly of divines* at Weſtminſter, for this purpoſe, but *they declared unanimouſly for the releaſe of the king*. He then invited ſeveral of the London miniſters, as Mr. *Marſhal*, *Calamy*, *Whitaker*, *Sedgwick*, *Aſh*, &c. to a conference with ſome officers of the army, upon the ſubject *of the coercive power of the magiſtrate in matters of religion*, which was foreign to the preſent purpoſe; but inſtead of meeting them, theſe divines aſſembled with their brethren at Sion-college, and publiſhed a paper,

* Memor. p. 361.

entitled,

entitled, *A ſerious and faithful repreſentation of the judgment of the miniſters of the goſpel within the province of London, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, contained in a letter to the general, and his council of war, delivered to his excellency by ſome of the ſubſcribers, Jan.* 18, 1648.

In this addreſs, after aſſigning reaſons why they would not conſult with the officers upon matters of religion, they complain of their impriſoning the members of parliament; "We remember (ſay they*) that when the king with a mul- "titude of armed men demanded but a ſmall number of the "members of parliament, it was deemed an unparalleled "breach of the privilege of parliament, and was one reaſon "that an army was raiſed by their authority, and for their "preſervation; but that this very army ſhould ſo far exceed "that act, which was then eſteemed without parallel, is "what we could not believe, had not our eyes been wit- "neſſes of it!

"And though both houſes of parliament ſaw reaſon to "take up arms in their own defence, and in defence of "the proteſtant religion, and the fundamental laws of their "country, yet this cannot be pleaded in juſtification of your "uſurping an authority over king and parliament, who are "but ſo many private perſons and no part of the legiſlature.

"Moreover, though the parliament took up arms in de- "fence of the laws, it was never their intention to do vio- "lence to the *perſon of the king*, or diveſt him of his royal "authority, much leſs to overthrow the whole conſtitution.

"We therefore think ourſelves bound by our proteſtation, "and by our *ſolemn league and covenant*, to appear for our "excellent conſtitution againſt arbitrary and tyrannical "power in the king, on the one hand, and againſt the ille- "gal proceedings of private perſons, tending to ſubvert "the conſtitution and introduce *anarchy* and *confuſion*, on "the other.

"Inſtead therefore of conſulting with you, we earneſtly "intreat you, as the ambaſſadors of Chriſt, that you would "conſider of the evil of your preſent ways, and turn from "them. You cannot but know, that the word of God "commands obedience to magiſtrates, and conſonant to

* Vol. Pamph. No. 52.

"ſcripture

" ſcripture this has been the judgment of proteſtant divines " at home and abroad, with whom we concur; diſclaiming, " deteſting, and abhorring the practices of jeſuits, concerning " the oppoſing of lawful magiſtrates by any private perſons, " and the murthering of kings by any, though under the " moſt ſpecious and colourable pretences. Examine your " conſciences, if any number of perſons of different princi- " ples from yourſelves had invaded the rights of parliament, " impriſoned the king, and carried him about from place to " place, and attempted the diſſolution of the whole govern- " ment, whether you would not have charged them with the " higheſt crimes.

" We deſire you not to infer the juſtice of your proceed- " ings from the ſucceſs, but to diſtinguiſh between God's per- " miſſion and approbation, and that God's ſuffering men to " proſper in their evil courſes is one of the ſevereſt judg- " ments; the providence of God therefore, which is ſo often " pleaded in juſtification of your actions, is no ſafe rule " to walk by, in ſuch actions which the word of God " condemns.

" Nor is it ſafe to be guided by the *impulſes of the ſpirit*, " when they are contrary to the written word of God; we " are to try the ſpirits, and to have recourſe to the law and " the teſtimony; if they ſpeak not according to them, there " is no light in them.

" If you plead *neceſſity* for doing that which yourſelves " confeſs to be irregular, we anſwer, no neceſſity can oblige " men to ſin; beſides, it is apparent, you were under no " neceſſity, the parliament (till forced by you) being full " and free; beſides, you have engaged by oath to preſerve " his majeſty's perſon, and the privileges of parliament, and " no neceſſity can juſtify perjury, or diſpenſe with lawful " oaths.

" We therefore beſeech you to recede from this your " evil way, and learn *John Baptiſt*'s leſſon to ſoldiers, *Do* " *violence to no man, neither accuſe any man falſely, and be* " *content with your wages.* But if you perſiſt in this way, " *be ſure your ſin will find you out.* If our exhortation pre- " vail not, we have diſcharged our duty, and we hope deli- " vered our own ſouls. If it be our portion to ſuffer, as we

' are

" are told, we truſt we ſhall ſuffer as chriſtians; but we hope
" better things of you, and ſubſcribe ourſelves your ſervants
" in the Lord;

James Nalton, *paſtor*, Foſter-lane
Thomas Cawton, St. Bartholomew-Exchange
John Fuller, Biſhopſgate
Francis Roberts, St. Auſtin
Wm. Jenkin, Chriſt-Church
Elidad Blackwell, Alhall. Underſhaft
Wm. Harriſon, Grace-Church
John Sheffield, St. Swithins
Matth. Haviland, Trinity
George Smallwood, Poultry
Wm. Taylor, Coleman-ſtreet
Chriſt. Love, Alderſgate
Robt. Mercer, St. Brides
Thos. Gataker, Rotherhithe
George Walker, St. J. Evang.
Arthur Jackſon, M. Wood-ſtr.
Charles Offspring, St. Antholine's
Hen. Rodborough, Eaſt-cheap
Nic. Profet, Foſter-lane
Thomas Caſe, Milk-ſtreet
Stanly Gower, Ludgate
Andrew Janeway, Alhall *on the* Wall
Sam. Clark, St. Bene't Fink
Thos. Clenden, Alhall. Barkin
John Wale, St. M. Cornhill
James Crawford, St. Chriſt.
Ralph Robinſon, *paſtor*, St. Mary Woolnoth
William Blackmore, St. Peter, Cornhill
Francis Peck, St. Nic. Acorns
Stephen Watkins, St. Saviour, Southwark
William Wickers, St. Andrew Hubbard
John Wallis, Ironmonger-lane
Tho. Manton, Stoke-Newington
Thos. Gouge, St. Sepulchres
Thos. Watſon, Walbrook
Nathaniel Staniforth, St. Mary-Bothaw
Jno. Halk, Alhallows *on the* Wall
John Glaſcock, St. Andrew-Underſhaft
Thos. Whately, St. Mary-Woolchurch
Jacob Tice, Billingſgate
Jonat. Lloyd, Garlickhithe
John Morton, Newington-Butts
Joſhua Kirby
Arth. Barham, St. Helens
Benjamin Needler, St. Margaret-Moſes
John Wells, St. Olave-Jury
Robert Matthew, St. Andrew-Wardrobe."

Notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable and explicit remonſtrance, the epiſcopal divines, in order to throw off all the guilt of the king's misfortunes from themſelves, who by their obſtinate behaviour had in reality reduced him to the laſt extremity, reſolved to fix it upon the *preſbyterians*; as their ſucceſſors have done even till this day. It was therefore given out among the people, that the *preſbyterians* had brought the king to the block, and that the *independants* would cut off his head. To wipe away this calumny the

preſbyterian

preſbyterian clergy publiſhed another paper, entitled, *A vindication of the London Miniſters from the unjuſt aſperſions caſt upon their former actings for the parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the king to capital puniſhment.* It was addreſſed to the people, and after they had repeatedly declared their diſlike of the proceedings at Weſtminſter againſt the king, they conclude in words to this purpoſe: "Therefore according to our *covenant* we do, in the name of the great God, warn and exhort all that belong to our reſpective charges, or to whom we have adminiſtered the ſaid *covenant*, to abide by their vow, and not ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded to ſubſcribe the AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE, which is ſubverſive of the preſent conſtitution, and makes way for the toleration of all hereſies and blaſphemies, and will effectually divide the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. We earneſtly beſeech them to mourn for the ſins of the parliament and city, and for the miſcarriages of the king himſelf in his government, which have caſt him down from his excellency into an horrid pit of miſery, almoſt beyond example; and to pray, that God would give him effectual repentance, and ſanctify the bitter cup of divine diſpleaſure which divine Providence has put into his hands; and that God would reſtrain the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themſelves and the kingdom *the blood of their ſovereign.*"

This was ſigned by fifty-ſeven miniſters, among whom were the following nineteen, whoſe names were not to the above-mentioned repreſentation:

Corn. Burges, *D. D. at* St. Paul's
Wm. Gouge, *D. D.* Blackfriars
Edm. Stanton, *D. D.* Kingſton
Thos. Temple, *D. D.* Batterſea
Edmund Calamy, *B. D.* Aldermanbury
Jer. Whitaker, St. Mary-Magd. Bermondſey
Dan. Cawdrey, St. Martin *in the* Fields
Wm. Spurſtow, *D. D.* Hackney
Laz. Seaman, Bread-ſtreet
Simeon Aſh, Baſſiſhaw
Thos. Thoroughgood, *of* Crayford
Ed. Corbet, Croydon
John Viner, Aldgate
John Croſſe, Friday-ſtreet
Peter Witham, St. Alban, Wood-ſtreet
John Stileman, Rotherhithe
Joſias Ball, North-Grey
Jonathan Devereux, *late of* St. Andrew, Holborn
Paul Ruſſel, Hackney.

It

It was not poſſible for the few *independant miniſters* in London to join the *preſbyterians* in theſe addreſſes, (1.) Becauſe they were not poſſeſſed of parochial livings, nor members of the provincial aſſembly of London, nor admitted to their weekly conſultations at Sion college, but were a ſort of diſſenters from the publick eſtabliſhment. (2.) Becauſe they did not believe themſelves ſo far bound by the *covenant* as to oppoſe a toleration, nor to ſupport any conſtitution that was not conſiſtent with chriſtian liberty, which the preſbyterians would not admit. None of their miniſters, that I know of, declared their approbation of the proceedings of the council of officers in the trial of the king, except Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*. Some of the independent miniſters in the country joined the preſbyterians in proteſting againſt it; thoſe of Oxford and Northampton of both denominations publiſhed their *humble advice and earneſt deſire*, preſented to general *Fairfax* and the council of war, Jan. 25, ſubſcribed by nineteen or twenty names, in which they declare their utter diſapprobation of all proceedings againſt his majeſty's crown and life, as contrary to ſcripture, to the laws of the land, the *ſolemn league and covenant*, and tending to deſtroy the conſtitution, and involve the nation in a war with their neighbours. They declare their diſſent from the late violence upon the parliament—but with reference to religion they ſay, "Though our ſouls abhor that "grand deſign of the devil and his agents to decry all religious and zealous profeſſors under the names of *ſectaries* "and *independants*, we willingly grant, and heartily deſire, "that the intereſt of all godly and honeſt men may be carefully provided for, and ſecured, as far as is conſiſtent with "the word of God, our *covenant*, and the publick peace; "and that men of different apprehenſions in matters of "religion may not be utterly uncapable of all offices of "power and truſt, though we cannot agree to an *univerſal* "*toleration*." They conclude with beſeeching the *general* to ſuſpend all further proſecution againſt the king, and to endeavour a right underſtanding between the king, parliament, and army; but if they cannot prevail, they deſire to waſh their hands of the blood of their *dread ſovereign*, and to approve themſelves innocent of all that confuſion and miſery

miſery in which the depoſing and taking away his majeſty's life will involve them, their poſterity, and all men profeſſing godlineſs in the three kingdoms.[a]

It muſt be confeſſed, the *independants* were a ſort of male-contents, and had reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the treaty of Newport, becauſe they were not only excluded the *new eſtabliſhment*, but debarred of a *toleration*; and yet, as Mr. *Eachard* and Dr. *Bates* the phyſician obſerve, ſeveral of them joined with their brethren in declaring againſt the deſign of putting the king to death, in their ſermons from the pulpit, in conferences, monitory letters, petitions, proteſtations, and publick remonſtrances.[b]

The Scots kirk, by their commiſſioners, declared and proteſted againſt the putting the king to death, as abſolutely inconſiſtent with their *ſolemn league and covenant*. They publiſhed a *proteſtation*, directed to the miniſters of the province of London meeting at Sion college, Jan. 25, 1648-9, with a letter, exhorting them to courage and conſtancy in their oppoſition to the proceeding of the houſe of commons, and to an *univerſal toleration*.

Sundry foreign princes and ſtates, by their ambaſſadors, interceded for the king; ſome from their reſpect to his perſon, and others from a regard to the honour that was due to crowned heads. But it was impoſſible to ſtop the impetuous wildfire of the army, who, having brought the king from Hurſt-Caſtle to Windſor, obtained a vote in the parliament (if we may ſo call it) that all ceremonies due to a *crowned head* be laid aſide; and then came to the following reſolutions, Jan. 4: Firſt, *that the people under God are the original of all juſt power*. Secondly, *that the houſe of commons are the ſupream power of the nation*. Thirdly, *that whatever is declared for law by the commons in parliament is valid, though the conſent of the king and the houſe of peers be not had thereto*.[c] The houſe of lords, which was reduced to ſixteen peers, having unanimouſly rejected the ordinance of the commons for the king's trial, and adjourned for a fortnight, the commons reſolved to act without them, and having

[a] Vol. Pamp. 108.

[b] Each. Hiſt. p. 654, Elench. Cot. Narr. 1ma. p. 118.

[c] Rapin, vol. ii. p. 568, folio.

named

named a committee of thirty-eight perſons to receive informations, and draw up a charge againſt the king, they conſtituted a *high court of juſtice* for his trial,‡ conſiſting of one hundred forty-five perſons, of whom twenty or more might proceed to buſineſs; but *not above one half* would act under this authority; Mr. ſerjeant *Bradſhaw* was preſident; Mr. *Cook*, ſolicitor-general; and Mr. *Steel*, Mr. *Doriſlaus*, and Mr. *Aſke*, were to ſupport the charge. The form of proceſs being ſettled by the commiſſioners, the king, who had been conducted to St. James's, Jan. 15, appeared before his judges in Weſtminſter-Hall, the firſt time on Saturday Jan. 20, 1648, when being ſeated at the bar in a chair of crimſon velvet, and covered, as were all his judges, Mr. *Cook* the ſolicitor exhibited a charge of high-treaſon againſt him; which being read, the king, inſtead of pleading to the charge, excepted to the juriſdiction of the court, which was overruled, the *preſident* replying, that they would not ſuffer their authority to be diſputed, and therefore required the king to think better of it againſt Monday; but his majeſty perſiſting in his refuſal to plead both on Monday and Tueſday, the clerk was ordered to record the default; Wedneſday the

‡ The reader may be amuſed by the relation of an accident which befel the king at Oxford, which appeared to affect his ſpirits, and may be deemed, by ſuperſtition, a prognoſtic of the calamities that befel him and were now thickening on him. On viſiting the publick library, he was ſhewed among other books a Virgil, nobly printed, and exquiſitely bound. Lord *Falkland*, to divert him, would have his majeſty make trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, a kind of augury in uſe for ſome ages. On the king's opening the book, the period which preſented itſelf, was *Dido*'s imprecation on *Æneas*, thus tranſlated by Mr. *Dryden*:

" Yet let a race untam'd and haughty foes
His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppoſe;
Oppreſs'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men diſcouraged, and himſelf expell'd,
Let him for ſuccour ſue from place to place,
Torn from his ſubjects, and his ſon's embrace.
Firſt let him ſee his friends in battle ſlain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain:
And when at length the cruel war ſhall ceaſe,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace.
Nor let him then enjoy ſupreme command,
But fall untimely by ſome hoſtile hand,
And lie unburied on the barran land."

Welwood's Memoirs, p. 90, 1. Ed.

court ſat in the painted chamber, and examined witneſſes againſt the king;* Thurſday and Friday they conſulted how to proceed; and on Saturday his majeſty was brought the laſt time to the bar, when, perſiſting to diſown the juriſdiction of the court, he deſired to be heard in the painted chamber by the lords and commons, but his requeſt was denied, and the *preſident* pronounced ſentence of death againſt him as a traitor, fifty-nine being preſent, and ſignifying their concurrence by *ſtanding up*, as had been agreed. Sundry indignities and inſults were offered to the king by the ſoldiers, as he paſſed along Weſtminſter-Hall, but the far greater number of people deplored his unhappy condition. Tueſday Jan. 30, being appointed for his execution, his majeſty was offered the aſſiſtance of Mr. *Calamy*, *Vines*, *Caryl*, *Dell*, and *Goodwin*, but he refuſed them, and choſe Dr. *Juxon*, biſhop of London, who, according to biſhop *Burnet*, performed his office with ſuch a dry coldneſs as could not raiſe the king's devotion. On the fatal day he was conducted on foot by a ſtrong guard through St. James's park, to a ſcaffold erected in the open ſtreet before the banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, where he made a ſhort ſpeech to the people, in which he made no acknowledgement of the miſtakes of his government, but declared himſelf a martyr for the laws and liberties of the people; after which he laid down his head on the block, which was ſevered from his body at one blow† by

* The evidence of *Henry Goode*, on this examination, proved the king's inſincerity in the treaty of Newport: for he depoſed, that on obſerving to his majeſty, to whom he had acceſs, that he had juſtified the parliament's taking up arms, the king replied, that though he was contented to give the parliament leave to call their own war what they pleaſed, yet he neither did then, nor ſhould, decline the juſtice of his own cauſe.

Ruſhworth in Macaulay's Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 388, note. Ed.

† Mr. *Philip Henry* was a ſpectator of this event, and noticed two remarkable circumſtances which attended it. One was, that at the inſtant when the blow was given, there was ſuch a diſmal univerſal groan among the thouſands of people that were within ſight of it, (as it were with one conſent) as he never heard before, and deſired he might never hear the like again. The other was, that immediately after the ſtroke was ſtruck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing-Croſs towards King-ſtreet, and another from King-ſtreet towards Charing-Croſs, purpoſely to diſperſe and ſcatter the people, and to divert the diſmal thoughts which they could not but be filled with, by driving them to ſhift every one for his own ſafety. P. Henry's Life, p. 16. Ed.

ſome

ſome bold executioner in a maſk, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. His body was interred privately at Windſor, Feb. 28th, following, without ceremony, and with no other inſcription on the coffin, than KING CHARLES, 1648.

The reader will collect the character of this unfortunate prince rather from the preceding facts, than from the keen reflections of his determined enemies, or the flattering encomiums of his friends and admirers, which latter, in their anniverſary ſermons,* have almoſt equalled his ſufferings with thoſe of our bleſſed ſaviour. It muſt be admitted, that king *Charles* I. was ſober, temperate, chaſte, an enemy to debauchery and lewdneſs, and very regular in his devotions. But theſe excellent qualities were balanced with ſome of a very different nature; his temper was diſtant and reſerved to a fault; he was far from being generous, and when he beſtowed any favour did it in a very diſagreeable and uncourtly manner; his judgment in affairs of government was weak and unſteady, and generally under the direction of a favourite. In his treaties with the parliament, he was chargeable with great inſincerity, making uſe of evaſive and ambiguous terms, the explication of which he reſerved for a proper place and ſeaſon. He had lofty notions of the abſolute power of princes, and the unlimited obedience of ſubjects; and though he was very ſcrupulous about his *coronation oath* in regard to the *church*, he ſeems to have paid little attention to it as it reſpected the *laws and liberties of his ſubjects*, which he lived in the conſtant violation of for fifteen years.† He was a perfect dupe to his queen, who had too much the direction of publick affairs both in church and ſtate; no wonder therefore that he had a determined averſion to the *puritans*, and leaned ſo much to the pomp and

* It is the remark of biſhop *Warburton*, that "blackened characters on "the one hand, and impious compariſons on the other, equally offenſive to "charity and religion, in the early days of this returning ſolemnity, turned "an act of worſhip into a day of contention. But theſe," he adds, "were "the unruly workings of a ſtorm juſt then ſubſided. Time, which ſo com-"monly corrupts other religious inſtitutions, hath given a ſobriety and a "purity to the returning celebrations of this." Sermon on the 30th of January, 1760, to the houſe of lords, p. 7, 8. ED.

† Clarendon's Hiſt. p. 430.

ceremony of the church of Rome, that though a proteſtant in judgment he was for meeting the papiſts half way, and for eſtabliſhing one motley religion throughout Great-Britain, in which both parties might unite. He told Dr. *Sanderſon*, that if God ever reſtored him to his crown, he would go bare-foot from the tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, by way of penance, for conſenting to the earl of *Strafford*'s death, and to the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy in Scotland, and deſire the people to intercede with God for his pardon.* Such was his majeſty's ſuperſtition! Upon the whole, though king *Charles* I. had virtues that might have rendered him amiable as a private genteman, his foibles were ſo many as entitle him to the character of a very weak and impolitick prince; far from appearing truly great in any one ſcene of his whole life except the laſt. Mr. *Coke* ſays,† he was wilful, and impatient of contradiction; his actions ſudden and inconſiderate, and his councils without ſecrecy. He would never confeſs any of his irregularities in government, but juſtified them all to his death. If any gave him advice contrary to his inclination, he would never be friends with him again. He was unaffable and difficult of addreſs, requiring ſuch ſtrained ſubmiſſions as were not uſual to his predeceſſors. The ſincerity of his promiſes and declarations were ſuſpected by his friends as well as enemies,‖ ſo that he fell a ſacrifice to his arbitrary principles, the beſt friends of the *conſtitution* being afraid to truſt him. Biſhop *Burnet*§ adds, "that he affected in his behaviour the ſolemn gravity "of the court of Spain, which was ſullen even to moroſe-"neſs; this led him to a grave reſerved deportment, in which "he forgot the civilities and affabilities which the nation "naturally loved; nor did he, in his outward deportment, "take any pains to oblige any perſons whatſoever. He had "ſuch an ungracious way of ſhewing a favour, that the man-"ner of beſtowing it was almoſt as mortifying as the favour

* Life of Sanderſon, p. 79. † Detect. p. 336.

‖ Biſhop *Warburton* grants, that "the king made his conceſſions with ſo ill a grace, that they only ſerved to remind the publick of his former breaches of faith, and to revive their diffidence in the royal word." Sermon before the houſe of lords, 30th Jan. 1760, p. 16. Ed.

§ His Life, vol. i. p. 23, 64, Edin. Ed.

"was

" was obliging. He loved high and rough meaſures, but " had neither ſkill to conduct them, nor height of genius " to manage them. He hated all that offered prudent and " moderate counſels, and even when it was neceſſary to fol- " low ſuch advices he hated thoſe that gave them. His " whole reign, both in peace and war, was a continued " ſeries of errors, ſo that it does not appear that he had a " true judgment of things. He was out of meaſure ſet upon " following his humour, but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe " whom he truſted, chiefly to the queen, and (it may be added " alſo) to the clergy. He had a high notion of the regal " power, and thought that every oppoſition to it was *rebel-* " *lion.* He minded little things too much, and was more " concerned in drawing up a paper than in fighting a battle. " He had a firm averſion to popery, but was much inclined " to a middle way between proteſtants and papiſts, by which " he loſt one without gaining the other. At his death he " ſhewed a calm and compoſed firmneſs which amazed all " people, and ſo much the more, becauſe it was not natural " to him, and was therefore by his friends imputed to an " extraordinary meaſure of ſupernatural aſſiſtance."

After his majeſty's death, the epiſcopal clergy did all they could to canonize him for a *martyr;* they printed *his ſayings, his prayers, his meditations, and forms of devotion under his ſufferings,* and drew his pourtrait in the moſt devout and heavenly attitude. His works, conſiſting of ſundry declarations, remonſtrances, and other papers, have been publiſhed in a moſt pompous and elegant form; among which *one* is of very ſuſpected authority, if not abſolutely ſpurious, I mean his Εικων Βασιλικη, i. e. *Eikoon Baſilikè, or the portraiture of his ſacred majeſty in his ſolitude and ſufferings,* ſaid to be written with the king's own hand: It was firſt printed in the year 1649, and paſſed through fifty editions in divers languages within twelve months.* No book ever raiſed

* It has gone through forty-ſeven impreſſions in England. The number of copies are ſaid to have been 48,500. It produced, at home and abroad, the moſt favourable impreſſions for the king's piety and memory. Lord *Shafteſbury* ſuppoſed that it contributed, in a great meaſure, to his glorious and never-fading titles of ſaint and martyr. Dr. *Grey* is diſpleaſed with Mr. *Neal* for ſuſpecting the authenticity of the book and has beſtowed ten pages

raiſed the king's reputation ſo high as this, which obliged the new *council of ſtate* to employ the celebrated *Milton* to deſtroy its credit, which he attempted in a treatiſe under the title of Εἰκὼν Κλάστης [*Eikono Claſteſe*] or an anſwer to a book entitled *Eikoon Baſilikè*, printed by *Du Garde*, 1652; but the fraud was not fully detected till ſome years after.

The grounds and evidences of the ſpuriouſneſs of this book are theſe, 1. That lord *Clarendon*, in his hiſtory of the *grand rebellion*, makes no mention of it.* 2. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays,‡ the duke of *York*, afterwards king *James* II. told him in the year 1673, that the book called *Eikoon Baſilikè* was not of his father's writing, but that Dr. *Gauden* wrote it; that after the reſtoration, the doctor brought the duke of *Somerſet* to the king and to the duke of *York*, who both affirmed, they knew it to be his [the doctor's] writing, and that it was carried down by the earl of *Southampton*, and ſhewed the king during the treaty of Newport, who read and approved it. 3. The earl of *Angleſey* gave it under his hand, that king *Charles* II. and the duke of *York* declared to him, in the year 1675, that they were very ſure the ſaid book was not written by the king their father, but by Dr. *Gauden* biſhop of Exeter. 4. Dr. *Gauden* himſelf, after the reſtoration, pleaded the merit of this performance in a letter to lord chancellor *Hyde*, who returned for anſwer, that the particular he mentioned [*i. e.* of his being the author of that book] was communicated to him as a ſecret; I am ſorry (ſays his lordſhip) that it was told me, for when it ceaſes to be a ſecret it will pleaſe nobody but Mr. *Milton*.† 5. Dr. *Walker*, a clergyman of the church of England, after invoking the great God, the ſearcher of hearts, to witneſs to the truth of what he declares, ſays, in his treatiſe entitled *A true account of the author*

pages to eſtabliſh the king's right to be conſidered as its author. Since Dr. *Grey* and Mr. *Neal* wrote, the evidence for, and againſt, its ſpuriouſneſs has been fully ſtated by Dr. *Harris*, in his Critical Hiſtory, p. 106—116. Mr. *Hume*'s remark with regard to the genuineneſs of that production, is, that "it is not eaſy for an hiſtorian to fix any opinion which will be entirely to his own ſatisfaction." He afterwards adds, "many have not ſcrupled to aſcribe to that book the ſubſequent reſtoration of the royal family." Hiſtory of Great-Britain, vol. vii. 8vo. 1763, p. 159, 160. ED.

* Vide Bayle's Dict. Title *Milton*. ‡ His Life, p. 51.

† Crit. Hiſt. p. 191.

of

of Eikoon Baſilikè, "I know and believe the book was writ-
"ten by Dr. *Gauden*, except chap. 16th and 24th by Dr.
"*Duppa*. Dr. *Gauden* (ſays he) acquainted me with his
"deſign, and ſhewed me the heads of ſeveral chapters,
"and ſome of the diſcourſes. Some time after the king's
"death, I aſked him whether his majeſty had ever ſeen the
"book? He replied, I know it certainly no more than you;
"but I uſed my beſt endeavours that he might, for I deli-
"vered a copy of it to the marquis of *Hertford*, when he
"went to the treaty of the Iſle of Wight."* Dr. *Gauden* delivered the MS. to this *Walker*, and *Walker* carried it to the preſs; it was copied by Mr. *Gifford*, and both the doctor's ſon and his wife affirm that they believe it was written in the houſe where they lived.

Notwithſtanding all this evidence Mr. archdeacon *Eachard* ſays, the book is inconteſtibly the king's; and biſhop *Kennet* adds, that thoſe who pretend *Eikoon Baſilikè* was a ſham put upon the world, are a ſet of men that delight to judge and execute the royal martyr over again by murdering his name. Dr. *Hollingworth*, *Dugdale*, *Wagſtaff*, and others, have endeavoured to invalidate the above-mentioned authorities, by ſhewing that Dr. *Gauden* was not capable of writing ſuch a book; but ſurely the evidence already produced is as ſtrong and convincing as any thing of this nature can poſſibly be.†

The king's trial and execution, in ſuch an illegal and unheard-of manner, ſtruck the whole chriſtian world with aſtoniſhment. The prince of *Wales*, then in Holland, encouraged the learned *Salmaſius* to write a Latin treatiſe, entitled, *Defenſio Regia*, or a *Defence of king* Charles I. *dedi-*

* Crit. Hiſt. p. 189. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 283.

† "There is full as ſtrong evidence on the other ſide;" ſays biſhop *Warburton*; "all of which this honeſt hiſtorian conceals; evidence of the king's "bed-chamber, who ſwear they ſaw the progreſs of it; ſaw the king write "it; heard him ſpeak of it as his; and tranſcribed parts of it for him." It ſeems that Mr. *Neal* conſidered the evidences of its ſpuriouſneſs to be ſo ſtrong, as to ſuperſede entering into a detail of the evidences for its authenticity. The biſhop, it is to be remarked, though he judges the ſtrongeſt and moſt unexceptionable evidence is on *that* ſide which gives it to the king, yet owns that the queſtion "is the moſt uncertain matter he ever took "the pains to examine." No ſuch great blame, then, can lie on Mr. *Neal* for taking the other ſide of the queſtion. ED.

cated

cated to his ſon Charles II. which was anſwered by *Milton*, in a book entitled, *Defenſio pro Populo Anglicano*, or a *Defence of the People of England*, written in an elegant but ſevere ſtile. This book, ſays Mr. *Bayle*, made the author's name famous over all the learned world. Another performance appeared about the ſame time, entitled, *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum*; or, *The Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven.* It was written in *Latin* by *Peter du Moulin*, jun. and anſwered by *Milton* in the ſame language. But to ſatisfy the Engliſh reader, Mr. *John Goodwin* publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, which he called *A Defence of the Sentence paſſed upon the late King by the High Court of Juſtice; wherein the juſtice and equity of the ſaid ſentence is demonſtratively aſſerted, as well from clear texts of ſcripture as principles of reaſon, grounds of law, authorities and precedents, as well foreign as domeſtic;* a very weak and inconcluſive performance! for admitting our author's principles, that *the original of government is from the people, and that magiſtrates are accountable to them for their adminiſtration*, they are not applicable to the preſent caſe, becauſe the officers of the army had neither the voice of the people, nor of their repreſentatives in a free parliament; the houſe of commons was purged, and the houſe of peers diſperſed, in order to make way for this outrage upon the conſtitution. Our author was ſo ſenſible of this objection, that, in order to evade it, he advances this ridiculous concluſion, that *though the erecting an high court of juſtice* BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ALONE *be contrary to the* LETTER, *yet it being for the people's good it is ſufficient that it is agreeable to the* SPIRIT *of the law.** But who gave a few officers of the army authority to judge what was for the *people's good*, or to act according to the *ſpirit* of a law in contradiction to the *letter?* This would expoſe every man's life and eſtate to the will and pleaſure of an arbitrary tyrant, and introduce a *rule of government*, ſo juſtly complained of in the former part of this reign, in oppoſition to a *rule of law.* The preſident *Bradſhaw*, in his ſpeech at pronouncing ſentence, goes upon the ſame general topics, that *the people are the origin of civil power*, which they transfer to their magiſtrates under what limitations they think fit, and *that the king himſelf is account-*

* P. 20.

able

able to them for the abuſe of it; but if this were true, it is not to the preſent purpoſe, becauſe, as has been obſerved, the *king's judges* had not the conſent of the people of England in their diffuſive or collective capacity. His majeſty's own reaſons againſt this *high court of juſtice*, which he would have given in court, if he might have been heard, are, in my opinion, a ſufficient anſwer to all that can be ſaid on the other ſide.

——" Admitting, but not granting (ſays his majeſty) that " the people of England's commiſſion could grant your pre- " tended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that, for " certainly you never aſked the queſtion of the tenth man " of the kingdom; and in this way you manifeſtly wrong " even the pooreſt ploughman, if you demand not his free " conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pre- " tended commiſſion without conſent, at leaſt of the major " part of the people of England, of whatſoever quality or " condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek, " ſo far are you from having it.——Nor muſt I forget the " privileges of both houſes of parliament, which this day's " proceedings do not only violate, but likewiſe occaſion the " greateſt breach of the publick faith that I believe ever was " heard of, with which I am far from charging the two " houſes.—Then for any thing I can ſee, the higher houſe " is totally excluded; and for the houſe of commons it is too " well known, that the major part of them are detained, or " deterred from ſitting.——And after all, how the houſe of " commons can erect a *court of judicature*, which was never " one itſelf, as is well known to all lawyers, I leave to God " and the world to judge.——"

King *Charles* therefore died by the hands of violence, or by the *military ſword*, aſſumed and managed in an arbitrary manner by a few deſperate officers of the army and their dependents,‖ of ſundry denominations as to religion, without any regard to the ancient conſtitution of their country, or the funda-

‖ They have been deſcribed as " a third party, riſing out of the fer- " ment of the SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE; a ſwarm of armed enthuſiaſts, " who out-witted the patriots, out-prayed the puritans, and out-fought the " cavaliers." Biſhop Warburton's ſermon before the houſe of lords, 30th of January 1760, p. 22. ED.

mental

mental laws of ſociety; for by the former, the king cannot be tried for his life before any inferior court of juſtice; nor could they feign any pretence for the latter, without the expreſs conſent of the majority of the nation, in their perſonal or repreſentative capacities, which theſe gentlemen never pretended. But ſince all parties have endeavoured to throw off the odium of this *fatal event* from themſelves, it may not be improper to ſet before the reader the ſentiments of our beſt hiſtorians upon this head, leaving every one to draw what concluſion from them he pleaſes.

Not to inſiſt upon the king's ſervile fondneſs for his queen and her friends; his reſolute ſtiffneſs for his old principles of government in church and ſtate; his *untimely* and ungracious manner of yielding to what he could not avoid; his diſtant and reſerved behaviour towards thoſe who were only capable of ſerving him; and his manifeſt doubling between the parliament and army, which ſome very reaſonably apprehend were the principal cauſes of all his misfortunes, Mr. *Whitlocke* and Mr. *Coke* lay a good deal of blame upon his majeſty's chaplains: the *latter* reproaches them with inſiſting peremptorily to the laſt upon the divine right of epiſcopacy; and the *former* for continual whiſpering in the king's ears the importance of preſerving the revenues of the church to the hazard of his perſon and kingdom; and ſurely if *theſe warm and eager divines* could have diſentangled his majeſty's conſcience (which Mr. *Whitlocke* apprehends was not fully ſatisfied,) as ſoon as the cavaliers had been diſperſed, and the Scots beaten out of the field, the miſchief that followed might have been prevented. I will not take upon me to ſay how far their influence might reach, though his majeſty's profound deference to their judgment was notorious; but the conviction does not ſeem impracticable, when it is remembered the king was of opinion, that *what he yielded through the neceſſity of his affairs was not binding when he ſhould be at liberty*; but neither his majeſty nor his clergy foreſaw the iſſue.*

Moſt of the writers on the king's ſide, as well as the preachers ſince the reſtoration, in their anniverſary ſermons, have with great injuſtice charged the preſbyterians with

* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 335. Coke's Detect. p. 331, 332.

bringing

bringing the king to the block, contrary to the ſtrongeſt and moſt convincing evidence; for though their ſtiffneſs for the *divine right of preſbytery*, and their antipathy to *liberty of conſcience*, is not to be vindicated, yet I apprehend enough has been ſaid in the foregoing pages, to clear them from this unrighteous charge;* if the zeal of the preſbyterians for their diſcipline and covenant were culpable, the behaviour of the king and his divines in the oppoſition was no leſs ſo, conſidering he was a priſoner, and in the hands of a victorious parliament; neither ſide were ſenſible of the danger till it was too late, but when the ſtorm was ready to burſt on their heads, I do not ſee what men could do more in their circumſtances to divert it, than the preſbyterians did; they preached and prayed, and proteſted againſt it in the moſt publick manner; many of them reſigned their preferments becauſe they would not take the engagement to the new commonwealth; they groaned under all the preceding changes of government, and had a principal ſhare in the reſtoration of the *royal family* in the year 1660, without which theſe anniverſary declaimers would never have had an opportunity of pelting them with their eccleſiaſtical artillery, in the unwarrantable manner they have done.

The forementioned writers, together with Mr. *Rapin*, in his late hiſtory of England, load the independents, as a religious ſect, with all the guilt of *cutting off the king's head*; and with being in a plot, from the commencement of the civil war, to deſtroy equally king, monarchy, epiſcopacy, and preſbyterianiſm; but this laſt-named writer, not being acquainted with their religious principles, conſtantly confounds the independents with the army, which was compounded of a number of ſectaries, the majority of whom were not of that

* Biſhop *Warburton* with Mr. *Neal* acquit the preſbyterians from being parties in the execution of the king: but then he will not allow them merit or virtue, in this inſtance; but would aſcribe it to their not uniting with the independents in other matters, and the oppoſition which that party made to their two darling points, the *divine right of preſbytery*, and the *uſe of force in religious matters*. The reader will judge, how far this is a candid conſtruction of the conduct and motives of the preſbyterians; and, at the ſame time, he will lament, that there ſhould have been any ground for the ſevere reflection which the biſhop ſubjoins: "Thoſe who were capable of puniſh-" ing *Arians* with death, were capable of doing any wickedneſs for the " *cauſe of God*. ED.

denomination.

denomination. There were no doubt among the independents, as well as among other parties, men of republican principles, who had a large ſhare in the reproach of this day; but beſides what has been obſerved, of ſome of their number joining with the preſbyterians in proteſting againſt the king's execution, the divines of this perſuaſion had no difference with the preſbyterians, or moderate epiſcopalians, about forms of civil government; the leading officers would have contributed their part toward reſtoring his majeſty to his throne, when he was with the army, upon more equal terms than ſome other of his adverſaries, had they not diſcovered his deſigns to ſacrifice them when it ſhould be in his power. In their laſt propoſitions they conſented to the reſtoring the king, upon the foot of a toleration for themſelves and the epiſcopal party; leaving the preſbyterians in poſſeſſion of the eſtabliſhment. Both *Whitlocke** and *Welwood*† obſerve, that at the very time of the king's trial the prevailing party were not determined what form of government to ſet up, "many having thoughts of making the duke of *Glouceſter* "king;" which his majeſty being informed of, forbad the duke, in his laſt interview, to accept the crown while his elder brothers were living. And though Mr. *Rapin* ſays, that after the force put upon the members of parliament on the 6th and 7th of December, the houſe conſiſted of none but independent members, it is certain to a demonſtration, that there were then remaining in the houſe men of all parties, epiſcopalians, preſbyterians, independents, anabaptiſts, and others: ſo little foundation is there for this writer's concluſion, that the independents, and THESE ONLY, put the king to death.

Dr. *Lewis du Moulin*, hiſtory profeſſor in Oxford, who lived through theſe times, ſays, that "no party of men, as a "religious body, were the actors of this tragedy, but that "it was the contrivance of an army, which, like that of king "*David*'s in the wilderneſs, was a medley or collection of all "parties that were diſcontented; ſome courtiers, ſome preſ-"byterians, ſome epiſcopalians; few of any ſect, but moſt "of none, or elſe of the religion of *Thomas Hobbes* and Dr. "*Scarborough*; not to mention the papiſts, who had the

* Memor. p. 358. † Ibid. p. 90, vol. ii. p. 367, folio.

"greateſt

" greateſt hand in it of all."* The ſame learned profeſſor, in his book entitled *The Conformity of the Independent diſcipline, with that of the primitive Chriſtians*, publiſhed 1680, had a chapter, entitled, *An Anſwer to thoſe who accuſe the Independents for having an immediate hand in the death of King* CHARLES I. But the times were ſuch that the author was adviſed not to publiſh it.†

Mr. *Baxter* ſays, " Many that minded no ſide in religion " thought it was no policy to truſt a conquered king, and " therefore were wholly for a parliamentary government " without a king; of theſe (ſays he) ſome were for an ariſ- " tocracy, and others for a democracy, and ſome thought " they ought to judge the king for all the blood that had " been ſhed; the vaniſts, the independents, and other ſects, " with the democratical party, being left by *Cromwell* to do " the buſineſs under the name of the parliament of England."‖

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that " *Ireton* was the perſon that " drove it on, for *Cromwell* was all the while in ſuſpenſe " about it; *Ireton* had the principles and temper of a *Caſſius*, " he ſtuck at nothing that might turn England into a com- " mon-wealth; *Fairfax* was much diſtracted in his mind, and " changed purpoſes every day; *the preſbyterians and the* " *body of the city were much againſt it, and were every* " *day faſting and praying for the king's preſervation.* There " were not above eight thouſand of the army about the " town, but thoſe were the moſt engaged in enthuſiaſm, and " were kept at prayer in their way almoſt day and night, " except when they were upon duty, ſo that they were " wrought up to a pitch of fury which ſtruck terror into " all people."‡

Mr. *Eachard* and ſome others are of opinion, that great numbers of papiſts, under hopes of liberty of conſcience, or of deſtroying epiſcopacy, joined with foreign prieſts and

* " There is doubtleſs," ſays biſhop *Warburton*, " a great deal of truth " in all this. *No party of men, as a religious body*, further than as they were " united by one common enthuſiaſm, were the *actors in this* tragedy. (See " what *Burnet* ſays.) But who prepared the entertainment, and was at " the expence of the exhibition, is another queſtion." ED.

† Vind. Prot. Relig. p. 53, 59. ‖ Baxter's Life, p. 63.

‡ Hiſt. Life and Times, vol. i. p. 63, Edin. edition.

jeſuits

" jeſuits againſt the king. The celebrated author of *Foxes* " *and Firebrands* has this remarkable paſſage;* Let all true " proteſtants, who deſire ſincerely to have an happy union, " recollect what a blemiſh the emiſſaries of Rome have caſt " upon thoſe proteſtants named preſbyterian and indepen- " dent, Rome ſaying the preſbyterians brought *Charles* the " firſt's head to the block, and independents cut it off; whereas " *it is certain, that the members and clergy of Rome, under* " *diſſenting ſhapes, contrived this murder.* Nay, the good " king himſelf was informed, that the jeſuits in France, at " a general meeting, reſolved to bring him to juſtice, and to " take off his head by the power of their friends in the " army."† Biſhop *Bramhall* in a letter to archbiſhop *Uſher*, dated July 20, 1654, adds, " Thus much to my knowledge " have I ſeen and heard, ſince my leaving your lordſhip, " which I myſelf could hardly have credited, had not mine " eyes ſeen ſure evidence of the ſame, (viz.) that when the " Romiſh orders, which were in diſguiſe in the parliament " army, wrote to their ſeveral convents, and eſpecially to " the *Sorboniſts*, about the lawfulneſs of taking away the " king's life, it was returned by the *Sorboniſts*, that it was " lawful for any roman catholick to work a change in go- " vernments for the mother church's advancement, and " chiefly in an heretical kingdom, and ſo lawful to make " away with the king."‖ Mr. *Prynne* adds, " that Mr. " *Henry Spotſwood* ſaw the queen's confeſſor on horſeback " among the crowd in the habit of a trooper, with his drawn " ſword flouriſhing it over his head in triumph, as others " did, when the king's head was juſt cut off; and being " aſked how he could be preſent at ſo ſad a ſpectacle, an- " ſwered, there were above forty more prieſts and jeſuits " there beſides himſelf, and when the fatal blow was given, " he flouriſhed his ſword and ſaid, *Now the greateſt enemy* " *we have in the world is dead.*" But this ſtory does not ſeem to me very probable, nor is it eaſy to believe that the papiſts ſhould triumph in the death of a king, who was their friend and protector in proſperity, and whoſe ſufferings are in a great meaſure chargeable upon his too great attachment to their intereſts.§

* Part iii. p. 188. † Ib. p. 168, 169. ‖ Neceſſ. Vind. p. 45.

§ Fox and Firebrand, part ii. p. 86.

But

But the ſtrongeſt and moſt unexceptionable teſtimony, is *the act of attainder of the king's judges paſſed upon the reſtoration of king* Charles II. the preamble to which ſets forth, that the "execrable murder of his royal father was committed by "a party of wretched men, deſperately wicked, and hardened "in their impiety, who having firſt plotted and contrived "the ruin of this excellent monarchy, and with it of the "true proteſtant religion, which had long flouriſhed under "it, found it neceſſary, in order to carry on their pernicious "and traiterous deſigns, to throw down all the bulwarks "and fences of law, and to ſubvert the very being and con-"ſtitution of parliament.——And for the more eaſy ef-"fecting their attempts on the perſon of the king himſelf, "*they firſt ſeduced ſome part of the then army into a compli-"ance, and then kept the reſt in ſubjection, partly for hopes of "preferment, and chiefly for fear of loſing their employments "and arrears*, till by theſe, and other more odious arts and "devices, they had fully ſtrengthened themſelves in power and "faction; which being done, they declared againſt all man-"ner of treaties with the perſon of the king, while a treaty "with him was ſubſiſting; they remonſtrated againſt the "parliament for their proceedings; they ſeized upon his "royal perſon while the commiſſioners were returned to "London with his anſwers, which were voted a ſufficient "foundation for peace; they then ſecluded and impriſoned "ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, and *then there "being left but a ſmall number of their own creatures (not a "tenth part of the whole) they ſheltered themſelves under the "name and authority of a parliament, and in that name pre-"pared an ordinance for the trial of his majeſty*; which being "rejected by the *lords*, they paſſed alone in the name of the "commons of England, and purſued it with all poſſible force "and cruelty till they murdered the king, before the gates "of his own palace. Thus (ſay they) the *fanatick rage of "a few miſcreants*, who were neither true proteſtants nor "good ſubjects, ſtands imputed by our adverſaries to the "whole nation; we therefore renounce, abominate, and "proteſt againſt it. ——"*

* 12 Car. ii. chap. 30.

If

If this be a true ſtate of the caſe, it is evident, from the higheſt authority in this kingdom, that the king's death was not chargeable upon any religious party, or ſect of chriſtians; nor upon the people of England aſſembled in a free parliament, but upon the *council of officers and agitators*, who, having become deſperate by the reſtleſs behaviour of the *cavaliers*, and ill conduct of the ſeveral parties concerned in the treaty of Newport, plotted the overthrow of the king and conſtitution, and accompliſhed it by an act of *lawleſs violence*; that it was only a ſmall part of the army who were ſeduced into a compliance, and theſe kept the reſt in ſubjection till the others had executed their deſperate purpoſes; ſo that though the wiſdom of the nation has thought fit to perpetuate the memory of this fatal day by an anniverſary faſt, as *that which may be inſtructive both to princes and ſubjects*, yet if we may believe the declaration of his majeſty at his trial, or of the act of parliament which reſtored his family, the king's murder was not the act of the people of England, nor of their legal repreſentatives, and therefore ought not to be lamented as a national ſin.

THE SUPPLEMENT.

IT does not appear to have fallen within the deſign of Mr. Neal's hiſtory to enter into the detail of the different ſects, which roſe up during the periods of which he writes the tranſactions. His object was to give a view of the origin and progreſs of that great body of Separatiſts from the church of England, who firſt bore the name of Puritans and Nonconformiſts, and have been, ſince, called Proteſtant Diſſenters. The ſufferings to which their principles expoſed them, and the ſhare they had in the political conteſts of the reigns of the STUARTS, furniſhed him with ample materials, without going into a full account of the parties into which they divided. This may be conſidered as excuſing the curſory manner in which he has paſſed over the hiſtory of thoſe parties, againſt the cenſures that have on this ground been caſt on him.* If, when he hath touched upon their hiſtory, he have not preſerved candour and liberality in the views he has taken of their principles and conduct, it is not ſo eaſy, here, to offer an apology for him. It is to his honour that he was the advocate for liberty and toleration. But his juſt ſentiments concerning the rights of conſcience might not, perfectly, ſecure his mind from prejudice. He may be ſuppoſed to have looked on ſome ſects of chriſtians with a leſs favourable eye than they deſerved: he might not have given due attention to their hiſtory, or may have conſidered it with partiality. But much allowance muſt be made, in his as in other caſes, for the influence of education, and of prevailing, general opinion: yet after every deduction which, ſome may think, ſhould be made from his character for impartiality and liberality, ſtill great praiſe is due to him. The BAPTISTS and the QUAKERS† have made their complaints againſt our hiſtorian: and the editor has pointed out, in the courſe of the notes,

* Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. Preface; and Robinſon's Tranſlation of Claude on the Compoſition of a Sermon.

† See the former references, and Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 83, 4, 5.

ſome inſtances where, he conceives, the antitrinitarians were entitled to more candour from his pen. It will be proper, therefore, with reſpect to theſe parties to review their hiſtory, as certain periods cloſe, and to endeavour to do that juſtice to them which, it may be thought, they have not received from his hands.

The tumultuous reign of *Charles* I. was not very favourable to free enquiry and theological diſcuſſions. Other matters arreſted the attention, and agitated the minds of men. But yet this period was not unfruitful of ſects and opinions. *Edwards*, in his *Gangræna*, gives a liſt of 176 propoſitions, which he characteriſes as errors, hereſies, and blaſphemies. They were reduced, as Mr. *Neal* obſerves, to ſixteen general heads. To all theſe, in general, the powers who were contending for the ſupremacy were equally inimical: nor, which ever ſide gained the aſcendancy, was a toleration to be expected.

The *antitrinitarians*, we have ſeen under the reign of King *James*, were the marked objects of perſecuting indignation. But the execution of a *Legatt*, and of a *Wightman*, was not ſufficient to ſuppreſs their opinions. Others roſe up, in the room of theſe ſufferers, to embrace and propagate their ſentiments, or tenets ſimilar to theirs: and, if they were not burnt, they did not eſcape the animadverſion of the ruling powers.

One *Thomas Webb*, between 20 and 21, about *Sept.* 27th, 1644, was complained of to the aſſembly, who ſent up articles of accuſation againſt him to the houſe of lords: on which he was impriſoned, and remained for ſome time confined, till he gained his liberty by ſigning a form of recantation. But he is repreſented as, after this, propagating his opinions in *Somerſetſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex* and *Kent*; and as aſſerting, that "we might not uſe theſe expreſſions, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, for that was to make three Gods."*

The caſe of *Paul Beſt* is repreſented by Mr. *Neal:* to which it may be added, that *Edwards* charges him with having ſaid, in ſome manuſcript, that the doctrine of the trinity

* Edwards's Gangræna, vol. i. part ii. p. 21.

was

was a myſtery of iniquity, the three-headed Cerberus, a fiction, a tradition of Rome, and *monſtrum biforme, triforme.*

Another perſon, who, in theſe times, became amenable for the ſentiments and language he held concerning the doctrine of the trinity, was *John Fry*, who was charged before the houſe of commons, 3d of February 1648, with ſaying, that "he did not believe Jeſus Chriſt to be God:" and adding, "he is no more God than I am; it is true, he hath more of "God in him than I have, but ſo far as God giveth forth him-"ſelf unto me, I am as much God as he is." To this charge he ſolemnly replied, as in the preſence of God and to the beſt of his recollection, that what he ſaid was this: "That he did not believe Jeſus Chriſt to be God in that manner which he conceived ſome held; for, if he miſtook not their expreſſions, they made Jeſus Chriſt a diſtinct God from God the Father and God the Holy Ghoſt: and that ſo they did of the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo held forth three Gods. This was not his opinion alone of them, but he met with others of the ſame judgment." As to the ſecond charge, he denied it totally. "It was never in my thoughts," ſaid he, "to think Jeſus Chriſt God is not God, or that I ſhall ever partake of the eſſence of God: ſo I do abominate the opinions charged on me."*

By theſe proceedings it appears, that any ſuppoſed deviations from the common doctrine of the trinity, or from the language of the eſtabliſhed creeds concerning it, were watched with jealouſy, and expoſed thoſe who were criminated, on this ground, to the reſentment of the dominant powers.

Notwithſtanding this, there were aſſemblies held in ſeveral pariſhes of *London*, where it was openly preached, that "Chriſt was a prophet and did miracles, but was not God." And Mr. *Nye* declared, that "to his knowledge the denying the divinity of Chriſt was a growing opinion."† Their opinions were, alſo, more publickly advanced from the preſs; particularly, under the recommendation of Mr. *John Bachiler*, who gave to various publications, in ſupport of *antitrinitarianiſm* and other opinions deemed heretical, his Imprimatur. Many of the pieces, which had the ſanction of his licence,

* Dr. Grey's Examination of Mr. Neal, vol. ii. App. p. 133, 134.

† Edwards's Gangræna, vol. i. part i. p. 26.

were not ſo much in ſupport of particular ſentiments, as in defence of univerſal and general toleration. Amongſt theſe was a pamphlet entitled "Religious Peace," by *Leonard Buſher*, firſt printed in 1614: preſented to King *James* I. and the high court of parliament, then ſitting. The deſign of it was to plead for a toleration of *Papiſts*, *Jews*, every perſon and perſons differing in religion; and that it might be lawful for them to "write, diſpute, confer, print and publiſh any matters, touching religion, either for or againſt whomſoever."* So early did juſt and enlarged ſentiments on religious liberty break forth: but ſo long, even to the preſent times, have they been ſtruggling againſt every oppoſition from prejudice, and have not yet gained an univerſal reception, nor eſtabliſhed themſelves on undiſputed grounds.

But the perſon, whoſe name, character, and writings, entitle him to particular notice, as the oppugner of the doctrine of the trinity, was Mr. *John Biddle*, whoſe hiſtory will come before the reader in the next volume. Suffice it to ſay, that the opinions of ſuch laid under a great odium, of which *Edwards's* "*Gangræna*" is a proof: for it was intended, and calculated, to blacken the character of all who differed from the preſbyterian uniformity.

Amongſt theſe, ſcarcely any ſects were looked upon with ſuch ſtrong diſguſt as were the *baptiſts*, or as they were called, by way of reproach, the *anabaptiſts*. We are told, that the materials which had been collected to form an hiſtory of this ſect were put into the hands of Mr. *Neal:* but that he made no more uſe of them than to compriſe within five pages a partial account of this people. Mr. *Robinſon*, on the grounds of this repreſentation, thought that no party, except that of the *baptiſts*, had any juſt cauſe to complain of his fidelity.† It is not neceſſary to offer any thing, beſides the above general reflections, to repel this cenſure: it is our province, rather, to preclude its being alledged againſt this edition of Mr. *Neal*'s work.

In our ſupplemental pages to the reign of *James* I. we have ſaid, that the firſt *Engliſh baptiſts*, on embracing their diſcri-

* Edwards, vol. ii. p. 102.

† Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. preface, p. 2; Robinſon's Tranſlation of Claude, vol. ii. p. 81, note.

minating

minating opinions, ſent over Mr. *Blount* to Amſterdam to receive baptiſm from the *Dutch baptiſts*. This ſtep was, however, looked upon by the more judicious, and the greater number of the *Engliſh baptiſts* as a needleſs trouble, and proceeding from the old popiſh doctrine of a right to adminiſter the ſacrament by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion. For though the true practice of baptiſm was, in their opinion, loſt, they judged that it might be revived, and a reformation begun, by an unbaptiſed perſon baptiſing others.*

In the year 1644, Mr. *Neal* ſtates, that there were 47 congregations of this denomination in the country, and ſeven in London. It cannot be doubted, that they *gradually* roſe into ſuch a number. Mr. *Croſby* ſays, that the *baptiſts*, who had hitherto been intermixed with other nonconformiſts, began to form themſelves into ſeparate ſocieties in 1633. The firſt inſtance of this ſeceſſion was that of part of the *independent* congregation, then under the miniſtry of Mr. *John Lathorp*, which had been gathered in 1616, and of which Mr. *Henry Jacob* was the firſt paſtor. The miniſter of theſe ſeparatiſts was Mr. *John Spilſbury;* their number is uncertain, becauſe, after ſpecifying the number of about 20 men and women, it is added—with divers others. In the year 1638, Mr. *William Kiffin*, Mr. *Thomas Wilſon*, and others, adopted the ſame opinions concerning baptiſm; and having been, at their own requeſt, diſmiſſed from the *independent* church, joined the new congregation. Mr. *Neal* is miſtaken, when he repreſents this ſeparation as taking place under Mr. *Jeſſey;* who did not ſettle with it as a paſtor, till about Midſummer 1637: and did not change his ſentiments on the queſtions concerning baptiſm till the ſummer of 1645, when he was baptiſed by Mr. *Knowles*. The diviſion of the people into two congregations, one continuing with him and the other joining themſelves to Mr. *Praiſe-God Barebones*, on the 18th of May 1640, aroſe not from any difference of ſentiment about baptiſm, but from their becoming ſo numerous, that they could not meet together in one place without being diſcovered.†

In 1639 another congregation of *baptiſts* was formed, which met in Crutched-Fryars; the chief promoters of

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 148, 9. † Jeſſey's Life, p. 7, 11, 83.

which

which were Mr. *Green*, Mr. *Paul Hobſon*, and *Captain Spencer*.

But there are accounts of ſome ſocieties exiſting in the country, long before theſe congregations in London were formed. There is great reaſon to believe that the baptiſt ſociety at Shrewſbury has ſubſiſted, through all the revolutions of time to this day, from the year 1627.* The congregation at Bickenhall, now at Hatch, ſix miles from Taunton, in Somerſet, had, according to the opinion of its oldeſt members about 20 years ago, ſubſiſted near 200 years; and they had a clear tradition of its aſſemblies having been held, ſo early as 1630, in the woods and other places of concealment, on account of the ſeverity of the times.† Even in 1457 there was a congregation of this ſort at Cheſterton, near Cambridge: ſix of them were accuſed of hereſy, and condemned to abjure and do penance, half naked, with a faggot to their backs and a taper in their hands, in the public market-places of Ely and Cambridge.‡

But, notwithſtanding this early appearance of the ſect, it labqured under ſuch difficulties, from the odium with which it was regarded by the people, and from the ſeverities practiſed againſt it by the ruling powers, that its progreſs was for many years impeded. From what biſhop *Jewel* ſays, in the "Defence of his Apology," written about the 7th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, it appears that it was then almoſt totally ſuppreſſed in theſe kingdoms: for while he ſpeaks of them as finding harbour in Auſtria, Sileſia, and Moravia, he adds, "they have no acquaintance with us in England, or any other place, where the goſpel of Chriſt is clearly preached." This is to be concluded alſo from a paſſage in Dr. *Featley*, who ſays, "This fire in the reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and our gracious ſovereign, till now, was covered in England under the aſhes: or if it broke out at any time, by the care of the eccleſiaſtical or civil magiſtrate it was ſoon put out."

But in the times of the civil war, ſo difficult or ſo impoſſible is it to extirpate opinions, this ſect revived; held

* A Letter from the Rev. Joſiah Thompſon to the Editor.

† MSS. Collections concerning the Hiſtory of Proteſtant Diſſenters, communicated by Mr. Thompſon.

‡ Robinſon's Claude, vol. ii. Diſſertation on Preaching, p. 54.

its

its weekly aſſemblies for religious worſhip; and printed various pieces in defence of their ſentiments and practice: the number of converts to it rapidly increaſed, and it boaſted in that prophecy, "that many ſhould run to and fro, and knowledge ſhall be increaſed."*

Amongſt the publications in their own vindication was a piece, in 1641, by *Edward Barber*, entitled "A Treatiſe of Baptiſm, or Dipping; wherein is clearly ſhewed, that our Lord Chriſt ordained dipping: and that ſprinkling of children is not according to Chriſt's inſtitution; and alſo the invalidity of thoſe arguments that are commonly brought to juſtify that practice." In the next year came out another treatiſe, written by A. R. called "The Vanity of Children's Baptiſm." Mr. *Francis Cornwell*, M. A. publiſhed, in 1643, a ſmall tract, dedicated to the houſe of commons, with this title: "The Vindication of the Royal Commiſſion of Jeſus." It was given to divers members at the door of the houſe, which cauſed it to make a great noiſe, and to be much circulated. Its deſign was to ſhew, that the practice of chriſtening children oppoſes the commiſſion granted by our Lord and Saviour; that it was a Romiſh or anti-chriſtian cuſtom; and was eſtabliſhed by pope *Innocent* III. who made a decree, that the baptiſm of the infants of believers ſhould ſucceed circumciſion. This piece gave great offence. Dr. *Featley* made ſeveral remarks upon it; and a piece called "A Declaration againſt *Anabaptiſts*" was publiſhed in anſwer to it.† As they were frequently inveighed againſt, not only on account of their peculiar ſentiments concerning the ſubjects and mode of baptiſm, but were alſo loaded with all the opprobrium which fell on the opinions deemed *heretical*, and were often reproached, both from the pulpit and the preſs, with being *Pelagians*, *Socinians*, *Arminians*, *Soul-Sleepers*, and the like, they publiſhed, in 1643, a "Confeſſion of their Faith," mentioned and quoted by Mr. *Neal*, to vindicate themſelves from theſe reflections, and to ſhew their general agreement with other proteſtants in all points except that of baptiſm. It was the firſt that was ever publiſhed by the

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 160, 61; Wall's Hiſtory of Infant-Baptiſm, vol. ii. p. 212, 13, 14.

† Croſby, vol. i. p. 151, 2, and 345.

Engliſh

Engliſh *baptiſts*, and extends to fifty-two articles, which we ſhall give in the Appendix, No. XI. It paſſed through ſeveral editions in 1644, and 1646. One of which was licenſed by authority, dedicated to the high court of parliament, and put into the hands of ſeveral members. Their greateſt adverſaries, and amongſt them Dr. *Featley* and Mr. *Marſhall*, one of the aſſembly of divines, acknowledged, that it was an orthodox confeſſion.*

This confeſſion muſt be underſtood as expreſſing the ſentiments of thoſe baptiſts only who joined in it, and not as applying to all who differed from other chriſtians on the queſtions concerning baptiſm. For, from the beginning of the reformation, there was a difference between the baptiſts themſelves on doctrinal points: and they divided, particularly, into two parties; one embracing the *Calviniſtic* ſcheme of doctrines, and from the particular point therein, viz. perſonal election, called *particular baptiſts*; the others, profeſſing the *Arminian* or remonſtrant tenets, from their leading principle, viz. univerſal redemption, were ſtiled *general baptiſts*.

It is remarkable, that ſome eminent men, who did not join their communion, were ſtrongly in favour of their ſentiments. *Robert* Lord *Brook* cenſured applying to this people the opprobrious name of ſchiſmatics: and gave it as his judgment that it was very eaſy for thoſe who held that we ſhould go no further than the ſcriptures for doctrine or diſcipline, to err on this point, ſince the ſcriptures ſeem not to have clearly determined it. He went even ſo far as to call into queſtion the accuracy and concluſiveneſs of the argument, urged againſt them, from circumciſion: which he looked upon as a fine rational argument to illuſtrate a point well proved before; but he doubted whether it was proof enough for that which ſome would prove by it; becauſe, beſides the difference in the ordinances, the perſons to be circumciſed were ſtated by a poſitive law, ſo expreſsly as to leave no room for ſcruple: "but "it was otherwiſe with baptiſm, where all the deſignation of "perſons fit to be partakers for ought I know," ſaid his lordſhip, "is only ſuch as *believe:* for this is the qualification "which, with exacteſt ſearch, I find the ſcriptures require in

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 170, 171.

"perſons

" perſons to be baptiſed: and this it ſeems to require in all " ſuch perſons. Now how infants can properly be ſaid to " believe, I am not yet fully reſolved." A divine alſo, of great fame in that age, Mr. *Daniel Rogers*, candidly declared, in a book on the ſacrament, that he was unconvinced by any determination of ſcripture for infant-baptiſm. The learned and eminent Dr. *Jeremiah Taylor*, biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, publiſhed, in 1647, his treatiſe on " The Liberty of Propheſying;" in which he ſtated the opinion of the *antipædobaptiſts* with ſuch advantages of ſtyle and elaborate chain of argument, that he was thought to have ſaid more for the *baptiſts* than they were able to offer for themſelves.* The deſign of this excellent prelate, in exhibiting the weight of the arguments they could alledge and the great probability of truth on their ſide, was to abate the fury of their adverſaries; and to ſhew that they were, if in an error, ſtill entitled to candour and indulgence.†

But neither their own vindications, nor the pleas of ſo generous an advocate, could ſcreen them from that ſpirit of intolerance which actuated the predominant parties of thoſe times. One of the 17 canons, which were paſſed by the convocation of 1640, viz. the 5th canon, particularly decreed, that another canon which was directed againſt the papiſts ſhould be in full force againſt all *anabaptiſts*.‡ In the following years they were inveighed againſt from the preſs and the pulpit. Dr. *Featley* owned, that in writing againſt them he could hardly dip his pen in any thing but gall. The ſevere ordinances of the day were aimed at them as well as the other ſectaries. *Edwards*, in his " *Gangræna*," propoſed a public diſputation with them, and that on their being found in an error, the parliament would forbid all dipping, and take ſome ſevere courſe with all dippers, as the ſenate of *Zurich* did. In this he referred to an edict, publiſhed at Zurich in 1530, which made it death for any to baptiſe by immerſion.§ On this law ſome, called *anabaptiſts*, were tied back to back,

* This part of his treatiſe was reprinted in a detached form under the title of " Thoughts upon Infant Baptiſm," by the late Rev. and learned Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*, for Ward, in 1754.

† Croſby, vol. i. p. 165—169. ‡ Mr. Neal, vol. ii. p. 331.

§ Gangræna, part iii. p. 177.

and

and thrown into the ſea: others were burnt alive, and many ſtarved to death in priſon.* But this was not the wiſh of *Edwards* alone. There was a general cry againſt toleration, eſpecially of theſe people. In the petition of the lord-mayor, court of aldermen and common council, in 1646, that a ſpeedy courſe might be taken to ſuppreſs all private and ſeparate congregations, the *anabaptiſts* were by name ſpecified.†

Sentiments againſt the rights of conſcience, advanced by writers of reputation, and ſanctioned by public acts, muſt be ſuppoſed to be productive of ſufferings to individuals. It is proper to enter into the detail of theſe, as Mr. *Neal* has been thought to paſs them over too generally, or to have repreſented them too partially.

Amongſt others who felt the rage of bigotry was Mr. *Vavaſor Powell:* who was often attacked and aſſaulted by violent men, and repeatedly expoſed to the danger of his life by thoſe who laid in wait, or bound themſelves by oath, to kill him; or made an attempt on it. In 1640, he, and fifty or ſixty of his hearers, when he was preaching in an houſe in Brecknockſhire, were ſeized, about ten o'clock at night, by fifteen or ſixteen men, under the pretence of a warrant from juſtice *Williams*, and ſecured in a church. The next morning they were conducted to the juſtice's houſe, who committed them to the hands of the conſtable. On the following day they were examined before that juſtice and two or three more, and ſix or ſeven clergymen: but, after much conference and many threats, were at that time diſmiſſed. After this Mr. *Powell*, preaching at Launger in Radnorſhire in the field, becauſe the houſe was not large enough to hold the auditory, was ſeized and committed by the high-ſheriff, Mr. *Hugh Lloyd*. The conſtables, ſixteen or ſeventeen, who were charged with the execution of the *mittimus*, except one, refuſed it. This man, taking Mr. *Powell* to his own houſe, and permitting him to lodge there that night, becauſe the priſon was at a great diſtance, was ſo affected with his devotions in the family, that he would proceed no further; but abſconded himſelf, leaving Mr. *Powell* in his houſe; who, to prevent damage to the man, bound himſelf with two ſufficient ſureties to appear at the next aſſizes at Radnorſhire. Accordingly he delivered himſelf up at that ſeaſon, and three bills of indict-

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 183. † Id. p. 184. ment

ment were preferred againſt him. But, after the traverſe, he was acquitted, and invited to dine with the judge; who deſiring him to give thanks, one of them ſaid, "It was the beſt grace he had ever heard in his life." But the high-ſheriff was ſo offended at the lenity ſhewn to him, and the impreſſions made by his conduct and preaching, that on the commencement of the war he perſecuted him out of the county.*

In 1641 Mr. *Edward Barber*, miniſter to a ſmall congregation of *baptiſts* in London, was kept eleven months in priſon for denying the baptiſm of infants, and that to pay tithes to the clergy was a divine ordinance under the goſpel.

In 1643 ſome pious perſons, at Coventry, who had embraced the opinion of *antipædobaptiſm*, invited Mr. *Benjamin Cox*, an aged miniſter of good reputation for learning and piety, the ſon of a biſhop and ſometime miniſter at Bedford, to come to them and aſſiſt them in forming themſelves into a diſtinct church. Several preſbyterian miniſters, amongſt whom was Mr. *Baxter*, had taken refuge in that city: who being alarmed at the ſpread of baptiſtical ſentiments, Mr. Baxter challenged Mr. *Cox* to diſpute with him about the points in difference between them. This was done *vivâ voce* and by writing: but it was broken off by the interference of the committee, who required Mr. *Cox* to depart from the city, and to promiſe not to return to it. As he refuſed this, he was immediately committed to priſon, and remained there for ſome time; till, in conſequence of Mr. *Pinſon*'s application to Mr. *Baxter*, his releaſe was procured.†

Another ſufferer on this ſide was Mr. *Henry Denne*, who had been ordained by the biſhop of St. *Davids*, and held the living of *Pyrton* in Hertfordſhire for ten years. In 1644 he was apprehended in Cambridgeſhire by the committee of that county, and ſent to gaol, for preaching againſt infant-baptiſm, and baptiſing thoſe who had received no other. After he had been confined ſome time, his caſe, thro' the interceſſion of ſome friends, was referred to a committee of parliament, and he was ſent up to London, and detained in the lord *Petre*'s houſe, in Alderſgate-ſtreet, till the committee had heard his

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 217—219; Vavaſor Powell's Life, p. 125, 6, 7.

† Croſby, p. 220, 21; and Baxter's Life, p. 46.

cauſe

cauſe, and releaſed him. In June 1646, he was committed a ſecond time, at Spalding in Lincolnſhire. He was apprehended on a *Lord's-day*, and kept in cuſtody to prevent his preaching. Upon hearing the charge againſt him, which was for baptiſing, as but one witneſs appeared to ſupport it: and according to the maxim of law, *nemo tenetur ſeipſum accuſare*, he refuſed to be his own accuſer. The ceremony had been performed in the night, which indicates the ſeverity of the times, againſt ſuch as held his principles and acted upon them: juſt, as the primitive chriſtians, under perſecution, held their aſſemblies at that ſeaſon.*

About the ſame time Mr. *Coppe*, a miniſter in Warwickſhire, and preacher to the garriſon in Compton-houſe in the ſaid county, for rebaptiſing, was committed to Coventry goal. On publiſhing the ordinance of parliament in 1645, againſt unordained miniſters, the lord-mayor ſent his officers, on a Sunday, to the baptiſt meeting in Coleman-ſtreet, on information that laymen preached there. The officers found the religious exerciſes conducted by Mr. *Lamb*, the elder of the church, and a young man who was a teacher amongſt them. Some of the congregation, incenſed at the diſturbance given to their worſhip, uſed rough language to them: but Mr. *Lamb* behaved reſpectfully, requeſted leave to finiſh the religious ſervice, and engaged to appear before the lord-mayor at 6 o'clock. The officers acquieſced, and withdrew: and at the time appointed Mr. *Lamb* and his aſſiſtant met at his lordſhip's houſe. He was interrogated on what authority he preſumed to preach, and was told that he had tranſgreſſed the ordinance of parliament. Mr. *Lamb* replied, "No: for that he was called and appointed to the office by as reformed a church as any in the world," alluding to the words of the ordinance. But he acknowledged, that he rejected the baptiſm of infants as invalid. After the examination, they were bound over to anſwer before the committee of the parliament: who, after hearing them, committed both to gaol, where they laid till the interceſſion of friends procured their liberty.†

In the ſame year, Mr. *Paul Hobſon*, a baptiſt miniſter, was taken into cuſtody by the governor of Newport-Pagnel, for

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 221—224; where are the examinations taken on the occaſion.

† Croſby, vol. i. 225, 26.

preaching

preaching againſt infant-baptiſm, and reflecting on the order againſt the preaching of laymen. After a ſhort confinement he was ſent priſoner to London. He was ſoon cited before the committee, and having ſeveral friends of rank and influence, he was immediately diſcharged, and preached, publickly, at a meeting-houſe in Moorfields.*

The caſe of Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys* runs into more particulars. He was a man of piety and learning, and had received holy orders from the biſhop of *Peterborough*, but was afterwards a zealous oppoſer of epiſcopacy and the liturgy. Preaching one Lord's day, at the earneſt and repeated requeſt of the church wardens, when they wanted a miniſter, in Bow-church, Cheapſide, he was led by his ſubject to ſpeak againſt the practice of infant-baptiſm. This gave great offence to ſome of the auditory, a complaint was lodged againſt him with the parliament, and, by a warrant from the committee for plundered miniſters, he was apprehended by the keeper of Ely-houſe and kept ſeveral days in priſon and a bail refuſed. At length he was brought to an hearing before the committee, when about thirty of the aſſembly of divines were preſent. The anſwers which he gave on his examination, about his authority to preach, the occaſion of his appearing in the pulpit at Bow-church, and the doctrine he had there advanced, being ſatisfactory, he was diſcharged without blame, or paying fees; and the gaoler was ſharply reproved for refuſing bail, and threatened to be turned out of his poſt.

Soon after this Mr. *Knollys* went into Suffolk, and preached in ſeveral places, as opportunity offered, at the requeſt of friends. But as he was accounted an *antinomian* and *anabaptiſt*, his ſuppoſed errors were deemed as criminal as ſedition and faction, and the virulence of the mob was inſtigated againſt him by the high-conſtable. At one time he was ſtoned out of the pulpit: at another time the doors of the church were ſhut againſt him and his hearers. Upon which he preached in the church-yard, which was conſidered as a crime too great to be connived at, or excuſed. At length he was taken into cuſtody, and was firſt proſecuted, at a petty ſeſſions, in the county, and then ſent up a priſoner to London with articles of complaint againſt him to the parliament. On

* Edwards's Gangræna, vol. i. p. 34, 37.

his

his examination he proved, by witneſſes of reputation, that he had neither ſowed ſedition, nor raiſed a tumult, and that all the diſorders which had happened were owing to the violence and malignity of his oppoſers, who had acted contrary both to law and common civility. He produced copies of the ſermons he had preached, and afterwards printed them. His anſwers were ſo ſatisfactory, that on the report made by the committee to the houſe, he was not only diſcharged, but a vote paſſed, that he might have liberty to preach in any part of Suffolk, when the miniſter of the place did not himſelf preach there. But, beſides the trouble which this buſineſs occaſioned to him, it devolved on him an expence of ſixty pounds.

Mr. *Knollys*, finding how much offence was taken at his preaching in the church, and to what troubles it expoſed him, ſet up a ſeparate meeting in Great St. Helens, London; where the people flocked to hear him, and he had, generally, a thouſand auditors. Great umbrage was taken at this, the landlord was prevailed upon to warn him out of the place, and Mr. *Knollys* was ſummoned before a committee of divines, who uſed to ſit in the room called the Queen's Court, Weſtminſter, to anſwer for his conduct in this matter. The chairman aſked, why he preſumed to preach without holy orders? To which he replied, he was in holy orders. The chairman, on this, was informed, that he had renounced epiſcopal ordination: this Mr. *Knollys* confeſſed, but pleaded, that he was now ordained, in a church of God, according to the order of the goſpel, and then explained the manner of ordination amongſt the *baptiſts*. At laſt he was commanded to preach no more: but he told them, that he would preach the goſpel, both publickly, and from houſe to houſe; ſaying, "it was more equal to obey Chriſt who "commanded him, than thoſe who forbad him:" and ſo went away. A letter, which Mr. *Knollys* wrote to Mr. *Dutton*, of Norwich, in which were ſome reflections on the perſecuting meaſures of thoſe times, and which coming into the hands of the Suffolk committee was ſent up to London, and preſently publiſhed by one of the chief promoters of perſecution, is ſuppoſed to have inflamed the proceedings againſt him.* As

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 226—230; and a very ſhort and partial account in Edwards's Gangræna, vol. i. p. 39.

it

it is ſhort, I will give a copy of it below.* It was too common a practice, then, to ſeize and publiſh the letters of thoſe who were called ſectaries.

This happened to Mr. *John Sims*, who preached at Hampton. He was prevailed on, in a journey to Taunton, to preach in the pariſh church of Middleſoy. On this he was ſeized by virtue of the act againſt unordained miniſters, and the letters, which he was to deliver to ſome pious friends, were taken from him. Theſe with the examination were ſent to London, by way of complaint againſt him, and printed. The charges ſpecified in the examination were for preaching and denying infant-baptiſm. He admitted the latter, and pleaded againſt the former, that "as Peter was called, ſo was he."†

The next name on the liſt of ſufferers is Mr. *Andrew Wyke.* On his examination he refuſed to anſwer to the queſtions concerning the doctrines he held, or his authority for preaching; alledging, that as a freeman of England he was not bound to anſwer to any interrogatories, either to accuſe himſelf or others: but if they had ought againſt him, they ſhould lay their charge, and produce their proofs. This conduct was looked upon as great obſtinacy, and expreſſive of high contempt of authority; and he was therefore ſent to gaol, 3d June 1646. The duration of his impriſonment is not known;

* "*Beloved Brother,*

"I ſalute you in the Lord. Your letter I received the laſt day of the week; and upon the firſt day I did ſalute the brethren in your name, who re-ſalute you, and pray for you. The city preſbyterians have ſent a letter to the ſynod, dated from Sion-College, againſt any *toleration*; and they are faſting and praying at Sion-College this day, about further contrivings againſt God's poor innocent ones; but God will doubtleſs anſwer them according to the *idol* of their own hearts. To-morrow there is a faſt kept by both houſes, and the ſynod at Weſtminſter. They ſay it is to ſeek God about the eſtabliſhing of worſhip according to their covenant. They have *firſt vowed, now they make enquiry*. God will certainly "take the crafty in their own ſnare, and make the wiſdom of the wiſe fooliſhneſs;" for "he chooſeth the fooliſh things of this world to confound the wiſe, and weak things to confound the mighty." My wife and family remember their love to you. Salute the brethren that are with you. Farewell.

Your brother in the faith and fellowſhip of the goſpel,
HANSERD KNOLLYS."

"*London the 13th day of the 11th Month called January*, 1645."

† Croſby, vol. i. p. 232, 3; and Edwards's *Gangræna*, vol. ii. p. 50, &c. where four of the letters are printed.

but

but while he was under confinement a pamphlet, drawn up by himſelf or ſome friend, entitled "The Innocent in Priſon complaining," being a narrative of the proceedings againſt him, was publiſhed: in which the committee and ſome members of it did not eſcape ſevere reflection.*

The laſt perſon, whom I ſhall mention as ſuffering in this period, is Mr. *Samuel Oates;* whoſe name is brought forward by Mr. *Neal*, in a manner that has provoked, not wholly without reaſon, the ſevere cenſure of Mr. *Croſby:* for it leaves the reader to confound this *Oates* with *Titus Oates*, ſo noted in our hiſtorians with a brand of infamy upon him; and uninformed of the *iſſue* of the proceedings againſt him on the heavy charge of murder.

This Mr. *Samuel Oates* was a popular preacher, and great diſputant. On a journey into Eſſex, in 1646, he preached in ſeveral parts of that county, and baptiſed by immerſion a great number of people, eſpecially about Bocking, Braintree, and Tarling. Amongſt the hundreds he baptiſed, one died within a few weeks after, and her death was imputed to her being dipped in cold water. The magiſtrate was prevailed upon to apprehend Mr. *Oates* on this charge, and to ſend him to priſon, and to put him in irons as a murderer, in order to his trial at the enſuing aſſizes. The name of the woman was *Ann Martin*, and the report ſpread againſt Mr. *Oates* was, that in the adminiſtration of baptiſm "he held her ſo long in the water, that ſhe fell preſently ſick; that her belly ſwelled with the abundance of water ſhe took in; that, within a fortnight or three weeks, ſhe died; and on her death-bed expreſſed this dipping to be the cauſe of her death." He was arraigned for his life at Chelmsford aſſizes. But on the trial, ſeveral credible witneſſes, amongſt them the mother of the deceaſed, depoſed on oath, that "*Ann Martin* was in better health for ſeveral days after her baptiſm than ſhe had been for ſome time before, and that ſhe was ſeen to walk abroad afterwards very comfortably." So that, notwithſtanding all the deſign and malignity which diſcovered themſelves in the trial he was brought in *Not Guilty*. But this verdict was not ſufficient to diſarm the rage of the populace againſt him. For a little time after, ſome who were known to have been bap-

* Edwards, vol. ii. p. 169; Croſby, vol. i. p. 235.

tiſed

tiſed going, occaſionally, to Wethersfield in Eſſex, on alarm being given that Mr. *Oates* and his companions were come, the mob aroſe and ſeized upon theſe innocent perſons, dragged them to a pump, and treated them like the worſt of villains: though *Oates*, againſt whom they were chiefly enraged, was not of the party. Not long after this the mob, without any provocation, but becauſe he dared to come to the place, drew him out of a houſe at Dunmow, and threw him into a river, boaſting that they had thoroughly dipped him.*

The preceding facts ſhew, that obloquy attached itſelf to the principles of the *baptiſts*, and that they were marked out as objects for the virulence of the populace and the animadverſion of the magiſtrate. Next to the *quakers*, obſerves a late hiſtorian, "they were perhaps the moſt hated and perſecuted ſect."† But it ſhould be owned, in mitigation of the conduct of their perſecutors, that at leaſt in ſome inſtances they inflamed the ſpirits of men againſt them, as Mr. *Neal* ſuggeſts, by their own imprudence and the impetuoſity of their zeal. Much enthuſiaſm appears to have animated the profeſſion of their opinions; and it was the faſhion of the times for every party to advance its peculiar ſentiments in coarſe and irritating language; each aſſumed this licentiouſneſs of ſpeech, but none took it patiently from others. The baptiſt incurred cenſure, and excited jealouſy and reſentment, by diſturbing congregations and diſperſing challenges to diſpute with any miniſter or miniſters on the queſtions relative to baptiſm. This was much according to the practice of the

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, vol. i. p. 121; and Croſby, vol. i. p. 236—38, and p. 240. In the preceding detail the diſturbance given to an aſſembly, at Deadman's place, January 18, 1640, mentioned by *Fuller*, is omitted; becauſe he is miſtaken in calling it an *anabaptiſtical* congregation; and the matter has been ſtated, before, by Mr. *Neal*, vol. ii. p. 375, 76. But it may be added to what is there ſaid, either in the text or the notes, concerning this congregation and its miniſters, that Mr. *Hubbard*, or *Herbert*, its firſt paſtor, was a learned man, and had received epiſcopal ordination; that in his time, the church accompanied him to Ireland, where he died; that it then returned to England; that Mr. *Stephen Moore*, its miniſter in 1640, who had been a deacon of it, was poſſeſſed of an eſtate, a man of good reputation, and endowed with a conſiderable ſhare of miniſterial abilities; that, from the beginning or very early, it practiſed mixed communion: and that it was ſeverely perſecuted by the clergy and the biſhops' courts. Croſby, vol. i. p. 163—5.

† Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 52, note.

times. Mr. *Baxter*, we have ſeen, challenged Mr. *Cox:* and Dr. *Gunning*, afterwards regius profeſſor of divinity at Cambridge and biſhop of *Ely*, in the year 1656, went into the congregation of Mr. *Biddle*, and began a diſpute with him. But while the members of the dominant parties did this uncenſured, it was conſidered, and treated, as inſolence in the minority to advance their opinions, even in their own aſſemblies only. When the publick peace is broken, men are juſtly amenable to the civil magiſtrate: but for the breach of the peace merely, and not for the ſentiments they may at the time avow. Violence, penalties, and impriſonments, on account of religious tenets, are, in no view, juſtifiable. Againſt *error* they are needleſs; for *that*, not being founded in reaſon and proof, will of itſelf die away: againſt *truth* they are ineffectual; for *that* will finally prevail, by its own weight and evidence, above all oppoſition. Every perſon, againſt whom they are directed, feels them to be in his own caſe iniquitous and cruel.

The only good effect which perſecution hath ever produced, has been opening the eyes of men to ſee the iniquity of it, and raiſing in their hearts an abhorrence of it. The ſeverities, of which the *baptiſts* were the marked objects, led them to be advocates for liberty and toleration. So far back as the year 1615, Mr. *Helwiſe* and his church, at London, publiſhed a treatiſe, entitled "Perſecution for religion judged and condemned." The dedication to which was ſubſcribed thus; "By Chriſt's unworthy witneſſes, his Majeſty's faithful "ſubjects, commonly; but falſely, called *Anabaptiſts*." In this piece they aſſerted, "That every man hath a right to "judge for himſelf in matters of religion, and that to perſecute any one on that account is illegal and antichriſtian."*

In a book called "The Bloody Tenet," printed in 1644, and in another entitled "The Compaſſionate Samaritan," they advanced this principle; "That it is the will and command of God, that ſince the coming of his Son, a permiſſion "of the moſt paganiſh, jewiſh, turkiſh, or antichriſtian conſciences and worſhips be granted to *all men in all nations;* that "the doctrine of *perſecution* in caſe of conſcience maintained "by *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Cotton*, and the miniſters of New-England,

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 272.

is

" is guilty of all the blood of the ſouls, crying for vengeance " under the altar." They beſought the parliament " to allow " public protection to *private* as well as public congregations; " to review and *repeal* the laws againſt the ſeparatiſts; to per- " mit a *freedom* of the preſs to any man, who writes nothing " ſcandalous or dangerous to the *ſtate;* to prove themſelves " loving fathers to *all* good men, and ſo to invite equal aſſiſt- " ance and affection from all." Theſe opinions were in thoſe times cenſured as moſt damnable doctrines, and the parliament was invoked, by the pen of Dr. *Featley*, *utterly to exterminate* and baniſh out of the kingdom the *baptiſts*, becauſe they avowed and publiſhed them.* But the good ſenſe and liberality of more modern times will not only admit theſe principles as maxims of good polity and ſound chriſtianity, but *reſpect the deſpiſed people* who brought them forward and ſtated them, at a period when they were ſcarcely received by any others, and were held by the generality as moſt highly obnoxious: when even the great and good Mr. *Baxter* could declare, " I " abhor unlimited liberty, or toleration of all."†

It remains to take notice of ſome of the more diſtinguiſhed preachers among this denomination of Chriſtians, who died in the period of which we are ſpeaking.

Mr. *Thomas Helwiſe*, according to the order of time, ſeems to deſerve the firſt mention: a man of good natural parts, and not without ſome acquired ones, though he had not the advantage of a learned education. He was a member of the antient church of the ſeparatiſts in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, and accompanied them, when they tranſported themſelves out of England into Holland to eſcape perſecution. He was of great ſervice to them, and eſteemed a man of eminent faith, charity, and ſpiritual gifts. When Mr. *Smith*, whoſe hiſtory we have given before,‡ raiſed the controverſy about infant-baptiſm, Mr. *Helwiſe* became a convert to his ſentiments, received baptiſm from him, and was one of the firſt in the conſtitution of his church, of which after his death he had the paſtoral care. He and his people, ſoon after Mr. *Smith*'s deceaſe, publiſhed a confeſſion of their

* Robinſon's Tranſlation of Claude, vol. i. p. 250, note.

† Plain Scripture Proof, p. 246. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 45, 6, and notes.

faith, entitled "The Confeſſion of Faith, publiſhed in certain "concluſions, by the remainder of Mr. *Smith*'s Company."* At the end of it there was an Appendix, giving ſome account of Mr. *Smith*'s laſt ſickneſs and death. Three years after, Mr. *Robinſon*, the paſtor of the Engliſh congregation of Browniſts, at Leyden, publiſhed remarks upon it. About the ſame time Mr. *Helwiſe* began to reflect upon his own conduct, and that of the other *Engliſh* diſſenters, in leaving their friends and country to avoid perſecution: whether it did not proceed from fear and cowardice; and whether they ought not to return to bear their teſtimony to the truth, and to countenance and encourage their ſuffering brethren? The reſult was, that he and his church quickly left Amſterdam, and removed to London, where they continued to preſerve their church ſtate, and to hold their aſſemblies for worſhip, as the times would permit. He wrote a piece in juſtification of this conduct, entitled "A ſhort Declaration:" wherein he ſtated in what caſes it was lawful to fly in times of perſecution. To which Mr. *Robinſon* replied. The conduct of Mr. *Helwiſe* and his friends diſpleaſed the *nonconformiſts* in exile, who cenſured it as vain-glorious, and imputed it to natural confidence under the appearance of religious fortitude. It is not known when Mr. *Helwiſe* died, but from the publications of the day, it appears that he went on with great courage and reſolution; and the church, under all the ſeverities they experienced from the civil powers, increaſed in numbers.†

Mr. *John Morton*, another of Mr. *Smith*'s diſciples, appears to have been a man of note and reputation, of conſiderable learning and abilities. He was converſant with the oriental languages and the writings of the fathers, and was a zealous remonſtrant. After his return from Holland he ſettled in the country. Theſe circumſtances are concluded from a manuſcript, written by *J. Morton*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon; which was found at the beginning of the civil wars, on demoliſhing an old wall near Colcheſter. It was printed by the general baptiſts, and paſſed through ſeveral impreſſions. Its title was "Truth's Champion." It diſcuſſed the queſtions concerning baptiſm, and the points diſputed between the *Arminians* and *Calviniſts*. The piece was written

* See Crosby, vol. ii. Appendix, No. 1. † Id. vol. i. p. 269—275.

in

in a good ſtile, and the argument managed with much art and ſkill; and, not without reaſon, held in conſiderable eſtimation by the *remonſtrants*.*

A more particular and full account of ſome, whoſe names have been brought forward in the preceding narrative, will fall under the following periods of this hiſtory. The learning and abilities of whom, it will appear, did credit to the ſect to which they belonged. Mr. *Neal* has aſſerted, that "its advocates were for the moſt part of the meaneſt of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the countries making proſelytes of all that would ſubmit to their immerſion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral character." It is to be regretted, that our reſpectable author, by this general repreſentation, without producing any authority, or alledging atteſted facts to juſtify it, hath laid himſelf open to ſevere animadverſion. Mr. *Croſby* exclaims, "What a malicious ſlander is this, caſt upon a whole body of chriſtians, conſiſting of fifty-four congregations, according to his own acknowledgments!"† It may be ſuppoſed that Mr. *Neal* has here paid too great a deference to ſuch writers as the author of the "Gangræna;" and on the other hand, Mr. *Croſby* has been too partial to his own ſect; has not allowed for the operation of a precipitate and injudicious zeal, by which a new and perſecuted ſect is generally actuated; and has forgotten that a great number of its preachers would of courſe be unlearned and ignorant men, when the liberty of propheſying, as any individual was authoriſed and qualified by the gift or influence of the holy Spirit, was a received principle; for ſuch gift would, where it was ſuppoſed to exiſt and diſplay itſelf, ſuperſede acquired abilities and human literature.

Another ſect, which began to make its firſt appearance in the courſe of the civil wars, was that of the QUAKERS: but as Mr. *Neal* merely touches on their origin in this volume, any remarks which may offer on their hiſtory ſhould be reſerved to the next; only hinting, that it has been obſerved to the Editor by a reſpectable member of that ſociety, that Mr. *Neal* has, when introducing this people to publick notice, placed

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 276, 7, 8. † Vol. i. preface, p. 5.

them

them in an *unfavourable point* of view, by inſinuating that they *originated in error*, without giving them an opportunity to clear or defend themſelves: becauſe, alluding to the opinions of the ſeparatiſts, who cemented in the people afterwards known by the name of QUAKERS, he calls them, in the words of Mr. *Baxter*, *miſtakes*. In doing this he is conſidered as prepoſſeſſing the mind of his reader. The language, however, of Mr. *Neal* muſt, in this inſtance, be allowed to be very temperate; while the remark may ſerve to ſhew how feelingly alive men are to what affects the reputation of themſelves, or their party; and to teach us to be cautious and tender of hurting the minds of ſincere and upright perſons.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.



ERRATA IN THE NOTES OF VOL. III.

Page 40, line 2, for *and* ridicule, read *of* ridicule.
95, l. 6, for *Puelli*, read *Puellæ*.
l. 11, for p. 111, read 211.
233, l. 2, after *againſt*, read *Mr. Love*.
235, l. 10, for *time*, read *true*.
377, l. 18, for *Biſhops*, read *Biſhop*.
l. 20, for *Groveſnor*, read *Groſvenor*.
416, l. 11, for *ſin*, read *ſin*.
433, l. 5, for *Barien*, read *Berian*.
457, l. 9, for *eplied*, read *replied*.
l. 10, for *nd*, read *and*.